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ENQUIRY

How far it might be *expedient*, and, at this Time more particularly, *ſeaſonable*, to permit the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle, upon Conditions of Advantage and Security to the Woollen Trade of *GREAT BRITAIN*.

The ſeveral Judgments of Sir W. TEMPLE and Mr. LOCKE in reference thereto.

WITH

REMARKS on certain Paſſages in a late Piece, entitled, *The Groans of* IRELAND.

ALSO

An Examination of ſome Opinions, which have been advanced, for making a Law (to prevent abſolutely the illicit Exportation of Wool) *effectual* and *ſalutary*.

To which is added,

A Poſtſcript on Mr. *Laybourne*'s Scheme, *&c.*

In every Work regard the Writer's End.

POPE's Eſſay on Criticiſm.

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PREFACE.

WITH *regard to the principal Matter treated of in the following Pages, ſo intricate in itſelf, and yet more perplexed by a Multiplicity of diſcordant Opinions concerning it*; One *of theſe* Three Things *(none of which obtain at preſent) I venture to affirm*; viz. Either *that the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured ought to be* ſufficiently prevented, *as well as* forbid: Or *the Subject left wholly at Liberty about it*: Or elſe, *it ſhould be allowable to export a known limited Quantity of raw Wool, and* no more. *Whether the* firſt *or the* third *be, in reality, moſt expedient, it is alike difficult to frame a Law* for the Purpoſe; *and what would ſerve in* one Caſe, *would be alſo ſufficient for* the other.

But if the Subject ought rather to have his full Liberty, i. e. *if the Exportation of Wool* (ad libitum) *which is far from being my Opinion, could be thought a Matter of Indifference, or rather beneficial to theſe Kingdoms*; *'twere fit all Laws againſt it ſhould be repealed*; *and tho' it is not ſo, they might as well——Nay, they had better be* repealed *than* tranſgreſſed *in the manner ſome repreſent. For if our Rivals in the Trade*

get (as we are told) full as much Wool from us, *as they want or desire, what would they do more, if our* Ports were open *for the Exportation of that Commodity? And why should* Smugglers alone *engross the Benefit of their* being shut?

This, I presume, will pass for a sufficient Argument of the Necessity of some new Law in this Case. But then, by the same way of reasoning; To what Purpose should we rack our Invention for Laws, SCHEMES, &c. *to stop the Runnage of Wool from* Great Britain, *when we are told that* IRELAND will not *be restrained. This shows that the Regulation, whatever it is, must not only extend* thither, *but that it must, some way or another, be render'd* palatable *to the Generality of* that Kingdom. *An Essay* towards which *particularly, with some other incidental Considerations, as conceived to be of Moment, in relation to our* Wool *and* Woollen Trade, *is here offer'd to the candid Reader.*

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ENQUIRY, &c.

"* THE Currents of Trade, like those "of Waters, make themselves "Channels out of which they "are afterwards as hard to "be diverted, as Rivers that have wore them-"selves deep within their Banks." Much more, if that Trade is fed, as some Rivers are formed from unknown Springs, by subterraneous Passages.

Applying this to the Case of Wool exported *by Stealth*; if the Suspicions of that Sort entertained, and the Complains about it made, the last, and particularly the foregoing Year, were at all well founded; † it is not easy to conceive, that

* *Locke.*

† A counter Writer to Mr. *Webber*, *London*, the *Draper*, &c. has these Words, "I would not have it inferred from hence, as "if I was of Opinion, that our Wool from *England* and *Ire-"land* was not clandestinely exported in *great Quantities* to fo-"reign Parts.

"I am fully persuaded that it is ———— For which Reasons "there is the utmost Necessity that some Law more effectual "than any now in Being, should be made, to put an End to a "Practice so pernicious to this Country." *Remarks on Mr.* Webbers's *Scheme, and the* Drapers's *Pamphlet.*

that what has been, *as yet*, done in the Affair, ſhould have contributed much, if any thing, to the Cure of ſo great, and ſuch an inveterate Malady. It would be a ſanguine Expectation indeed, to imagine that the Courage and Induſtry of Smugglers, whether (*Britiſh* or *Iriſh*) heretofore ſo audacious and indefatigable, ſhould have immediately failed them, ſo far, as to deſiſt, upon being told, what they very well knew before, viz. *That, if detected, they muſt expect to ſuffer the Law*; altho' it will perhaps be ſaid, that the Nation hath already felt ſome good Conſequences from the Reſolutions that were taken; of which tho' I ſhall not diſpute the *Intention*, I cannot bnt doubt the *Effect*; believeing the little Appearances of Advantage hinted at, to have been chiefly temporary, or owing to another Cauſe.

The lately advanced Price of Wool, for Inſtance, to the Grower, is not more than what might have been expected from a proportionable Deficiency in the whole Quantity of it, occaſioned by a ſevere Rot ſucceeded by two hard Winters, *&c.* And, as to the Price itſelf, (however ſome Perſons may affect to expreſs themſelves contented with it, on their own Behalf, and that of their Tenants) it is nominally $\frac{1}{4}$ leſs than ordinarily it uſed to be *ſome Years ago*, when Money, intrinſically was $\frac{1}{3}$ more worth, as may be diſcerned by the Difference of its *natural Intereſt*; which ſhows, whatever be the Reaſon thereof, that the *landed Intereſt*, at leaſt, hath loſt Ground, in that Reſpect;

ſpect; enough, methinks to excite a Thought, how it may be retrieved.

If then, by Means of a new Channel opened through *Ruſſia*, or of the Current being quicken'd in ſome old one, the Manufacturer hath, or thinks he hath perceived ſome Alteration for the better; yet if that *ſecret Conveyance of our Wool, beyond Sea*, is continued, by which one capital Spring of our Trade is ſo far drained off, as it is commonly ſaid to be, and a conſiderable Source of our Wealth, by that Means, ſtopped; it is, and will be an Injury not eaſily compenſated another Way. *Half the Trade* (which *France* is ſaid to gain from us by the Advantage of our Wool) *reclaimed*, will, in a certain Senſe, and that a moſt material one, be equal to *twice as much* carried * elſewhere. As therefore the cultivating our Commerce in one Part of the World is no Reaſon for neglecting it in another; ſo it is to be hoped, the P——t rather adjourned the Conſideration of the woollen Buſineſs to a more convenient Seaſon, than gave it up as a Matter above their *Power* and *Comprehenſion*.

It is indeed a difficult Affair, but at the ſame time it is, we may conſider, a great one; and no great thing is to be atchieved without Difficulty.

* This is meant with regard to that Balance of Power which is ſuppoſed to follow Wealth, as Wealth does Trade, according to a Rule of Mr. *Locke*'s, which he has aptly illuſtrated by the Example of a Pair of Scales. "He that would make the lighter "Scale preponderate to the oppoſite, will not ſo ſoon do it, by "adding Increaſe of new Weight to the emptier, as if he took "out of the heavier what he adds to the lighter, for then half ſo "much will do it." *Locke*, VOL. II. p. 7.

ty. The *main Buſineſs* being to prevent the illicit Exportation of Wool in the *beſt manner*; *That* is not, I think, quite myſterious; neither, I truſt, wholly impoſſible; and whatſoever is not, however beſet with Difficulties, by Attention and Reſolution becomes practicable to a *Britiſh* P——t. And as this is a Matter not only of great, but in a manner, of univerſal Concernment to the People of theſe Kingdoms, ſo every one who pleaſes has a Right to lay his Thoughts before the Publick about it; while to thoſe who bear a Part in the Legiſlature, it more nearly belongs to gather the Gold from the Droſs, by adopting ſuch Notions as they judge moſt conducive to the *deſired End*.

But becauſe in Diſquiſitions of this Kind ſome will miſtake the Caſe almoſt entirely, moſt will err manifeſtly in ſome Point or another; hence the Name *Theoriſt*, *Projector*, *&c.* (perhaps too indiſcriminately upon the ſeveral Undertakers) by way of Neglect, if not Deriſion: For unleſs *right acting* ſhould be ſuppoſed to proceed rather from *Chance* than *Choice*, and all uſeful Meaſures were the Effect of *Inſtinct*, not *Reaſon*, the *Gentlemen of Buſineſs*, and (I may add) *thoſe of Pleaſure*, might be willing to ſhew ſome ſmall Indulgence *herein*, to the Speculations of Perſons more at Leiſure, tho' of leſs Ability, than themſelves.

The Diſcovery of the Longitude would not, I will venture to ſay, bring more real Utility to theſe Kingdoms in particular, than may be obtained from the *Golden Fleece*; underſtanding thereby

thereby the *Management* and *Diſpoſal* of our own Wool to the beſt Advantage, which by *Nature*, and *Art*, and *Labour*, it is capable of affording; towards this, whoever contributes but a ſingle *uſeful* Thought, as a Perſon helping to lay the Foundation of a good Work, deſerves to be reckoned among the Benefactors of the Publick; — nay, tho' he does not hit upon that Thought himſelf, if by beating about he happens to ſtart it from another, he will be, tho' not immediately the *Author*, yet in a remoter Senſe the *Occaſion* of *Good to his Country*. *Men of publick Spirit differ rather in Circumſtances than their Virtue; and the Man who does all he can in a low Station, is more a Hero than he who omits any worthy Action he is able to accompliſh in a great one.* Nor is it without Hopes one may be ſure of doing *ſome Good* by ſaying ſomewhat to the Purpoſe, that any Perſon prevails with himſelf to ſubmit his Opinions to the publick Cenſure: And however ſucceſsleſs otherwiſe I may be in this Attempt, I ſhall begin with one Poſition not to be denied, *viz.* That *whatever Courſe ſhall at any time be thought proper to be taken for preventing effectually the Exportation of Wool, it muſt begin or end with* IRELAND.

Begin with *Ireland* I think it ſhould, if it is true what a * Writer of that Kingdom hath affirmed, "That *France* has got the entire Poſ-

 "ſeſſion

* The Author of the *Groans* of *Ireland*; an Abſtract of which ſee retailed in the *Gent. Magazine, Dec.* 1741. and Supp.

" ſeſſion of *their Wool* — That it is a Matter
" of avowed Patriotiſm with them — That, as
" a *whole People*, they pique themſelves upon
" it, as a Commodity wherein they think
" themſelves unjuſtly reſtrain'd"; and yet, by
his own Account, do but think ſo. For (ſays
he) " That the Trade of each Nation might
" not interfere, to *Us* they have given the *Li-*
" *nen Manufacture*, and reſerved the *Woollen*
" to themſelves — This Matter has been mi-
" ſtaken in *Ireland* — In Anger and Diſguſt
" we fell upon a clandeſtine Trade with *France*
" and *Holland* for *raw Wool*. By which fatal
" Reſentment, the Price of our Wool at home
" has fallen gradually ever ſince; and the
" *French* have found the way to furniſh Far-
" mers with ſuch good Pennyworths of *Wines*,
" *Spirits*, *India Goods*, and *other Trifles*, inſtead
" of Money formerly paid for it, that it is
" much to be fear'd a very few Years may beat
" us out of the little Manufactures and Buſi-
" neſs we have at preſent, by the mere want of
" Money; bring Poverty on the middle indu-
" ſtrious Part of the People, by this new and
" unnatural Luxury; lower the Price of Land,
" and draw down an univerſal Diſtreſs on the
" whole Country, if *ſome Means* be not ſpee-
" dily contrived [*among other things*] to put a
" Stop to the *clandeſtine Trade*".

To this End, it were indeed, as he ſays,
" greatly to be wiſhed, that by Conceſſions, on
" each Side, we might be made one People,
" with one Intereſt and one Will."——But the
Misfortune

Misfortune is, that the Soil and Climate of each Kingdom are ſo near alike, abounding Both with the ſame Commodities, that it is hardly poſſible but the one muſt rival, in a Degree, and inrerfere with the other. And yet is that no good Ground for *Envy* or *Oppreſſion*. Neither do I apprehend that *Ireland* has any juſt Cauſe of Complaint in this reſpect; however liable, they may be to receive wrong Impreſſions from ſuch as find their Account (by ſowing the Seeds of Diſſention) in promoting a *foreign Trade and Intereſt*. For there is ſcarce any evil Practice whatſoever, of which the guilty do not furniſh themſelves with ſome Arguments, (to gain Accomplices) tending to palliate at leaſt, and excuſe, if not to vindicate their Crimes——. Whatever therefore may be the Cauſe of particular Poverty in *that Kingdom*, or how great ſoever the Hardſhips ſuſtained by Numbers among them, *at Times*, I ſee no Reaſon to lay them at the Door of *England* their Mother Country. " * They are the fitteſt for the Li-
" nen Trade of any People in *Europe*;" And they have it with all the Encouragement they can aſk, or *England* give them. In the woollen Trade only, we deſire to be greater than they; and, in all Reaſon we ſhould, as being the Mother Country, † firſt in Poſſeſſion of it;

 and

* *Groans*, &c.

† " Regard muſt be had of thoſe Points wherein the Trade
" of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main Branches
" of the Trade of *England*; in which Caſes the Encourage-
" ment of ſuch Trade ought to be either *declined*, or *mode-*
" *rated*; and ſo give way to the Intereſt of Trade in *England*,
" upon

and it being, as we ſhall ſee, incompatible to Both in the *ſame Way*.

Nevertheleſs, Prudence ſhould direct us, by all poſſible Means, to endeavour to reſtore a Harmony between the two Kingdoms, ſo far as it is wanting, as alſo to re-eſtabliſh ourſelves, in that Part of the woollen Trade, which (tho' *Ireland* has not got it) we, it ſeems, * have loſt in the *pretended* Quarrel; For a real one I cannot think it to be; Eſteeming it only as a Reaſon found out to cover the *Itch of Smuggling*, which is equally prevalent in all Nations, ſo far as they have *Means* and *Opportunity* and *Inducement:* And which, no more in *Ireland* than *Great Britain*, is to be reſtrained by a Principle of *publick Spirit*, upon Conſiderations of general Good to the Community.

" If (ſays my † Author) they give us a rea-
" ſonable Share in the Manufactures, it would
" be our Intereſt to keep from our Rivals the
" *Primum* thereof; and we ſhould, every Man
" in *Ireland* be a *Guarda Coſta* to reſtrain it."

Had he told us, that upon reaſonable Conſiderations, they would enact and ſubmit to ſuch Laws, as ſhould be a moral Security againſt their exporting Wool; that would have been ſaying ſomething to the Purpoſe: But, for *us* to expect it would not be done, becauſe it would be againſt *their* national Intereſt ſo to do, would

" upon the Health and Vigour whereof, the *Strength, Riches,*
" and *Glory* of his MAJESTY'S CROWNS ſeem chiefly to de-
" pend." Sir *W. Temple.*

* *Groans*, &c. † Ibid.

would be a vain Expectation indeed. As the Caſe is, by his own Confeſſion, it is againſt the Intereſt of *their Nation*, * has proved greatly detrimental to them; notwithſtanding which they purſue the Practice, and glory in it. In *Great Britain*, it is ſo far judged contrary to the publick Intereſt, that it is held to be extremely infamous, deteſted beyond every other Branch of the Smuggling Trade; and yet ſuch is the *Luſt* of *unlawful Gain*, that there are violent Suſpicions (it ſeems) of its being practiſed *among us*, to a very great Degree: And indeed, how otherwiſe, to account for the Declenſion of our woollen Trade, the Complaints thereof ſeemingly well atteſted by the low Price of Wool, for many Years together, and, all the while (which is notorious) the annual Conſumption of it, to all Appearance, is a Matter of ſome Difficulty. And therefore one may well imagine, it is in vain to think of ſuppreſſing *effectually* the illicit Exportation of Wool in *either Kingdom*, otherwiſe, than by ſuch Laws, as ſhall render it, in a manner, *impoſſible*.

Moreover, what the Author of the *Groans of Ireland* means by a reaſonable Share in the Manufacture, is, in the Caſe of ſuch a Law, as *unneceſſary*, as *unreaſonable*; in any other Caſe, would be highly *unſafe*, even according to his own Account of Things: By which, *French* Wool, without a Mixture of ⅓ (*Britiſh* or *Iriſh*) is *perfectly uſeleſs*; not only ſo, but " it is certain

* The Price of *their Wool at Home* has ſunk gradually, ever ſince their falling into this clandeſtine Trade. *Groans*, &c.

" certain (he ſays) that on the Coaſts of *Spain*, " and *Portugal*, and the *Mediterranean*, in the " Stuffs *&c.* which [they] ſend them, [they] " can under all the Difficulties of a clandeſtine " Trade, underſell the *French*, as much as the " *French* underſell the *Engliſh*:" From which He would have it believed, that if *they* were ſuffered to trade freely to thoſe Parts, the Conſequence would be, their beating the *French* out entirely; taking *one third* of the Trade to themſelves, and leaving the other *two Parts* to us. For thus he reaſons upon the Matter. " Can our Trade to thoſe Parts claſh with the " *Engliſh?* Who can ſuffer but the *French?* If " the *French* are beat out of the Trade, we " ſhall gain indeed, but the *Engliſh* muſt gain " *twice* as much; every Piece we ſell muſt be " a Drawback of *three* upon the *French* Ex- " ports; becauſe it keeps from *France* a *Pri-* " *mum*, which would give Vent to *twice as* " *much* of their otherwiſe *uſeleſs Wool*, and *En-* " *gland* would have the Benefit upon that Ar- " ticle; which, to be ſure, would they conſi- " der rightly, muſt be a ſufficient Inducement " to them, to ſet us at Work, even in that " Branch of our Trade; and if they do ſo, all " Jealouſies muſt naturally ſubſide; the falſe " Patriotiſm which at preſent prevails, of en- " couraging the clandeſtine Wool Trade with " *France*, muſt inſtantly change itſelf into a " true Spirit againſt all ſuch Traders; and not " one Lock of Wool can afterwards be ſhipped " from this Country to *France*."

But

But as this would be Matter of *general Honeſty*, not to be depended upon in *Great Britain*, where the Publick Injury (from Wool-Smuggling) is ſo much greater, how could it be expected from the *Iriſh?* who, as a Nation, certainly have not the ſame Inducement to with-hold their Wool, ſeeing they can both furniſh *France* with the *Material*, and beat them in the *Manufacture* too; ſeeing (by this Writer's own Account) they would be able to ſell them *one half* of their Wool at a high Price, and with the *other half* (which would be ſufficient for their own Hands) meet them at Market upon better than equal Terms? Who does not ſee that the Conſequence of any Meaſure like this, although ſo ſpeciouſly recommended, without a Law that ſhould render the ſmuggling of Wool from *Ireland* and *Great Britain both* abſolutely impracticable, would, inſtead of admitting *Ireland* to a *Part* with us in the Manufacture, be leaving it to be divided *wholly* between *them* and *France?*"

This, I think, would inevitably be the Conſequence of going about to *ſhare* it with *Ireland* in the Way propos'd by the Writer above mentioned (and which not a few of our own Country have ſeemingly approved as good Policy;) for ſhare it they do already in a certain Senſe, and to very conſiderable Purpoſe. They import their Yarn to *Great Britain*; that makes a Conſumption of their Produce, Wool; affording at once *Work* for the *Poor*, *Rent* for their *Land*. If any chuſe to carry the Manufacture higher

higher, they may trade to *Engliſh* Ports, upon Terms, I conceive, not farther diſadvantageous, than as the different Price of Labour in one Kingdom and the other makes it neceſſary. * So that, beſides for their own Home Conſumption, they have a Market in *England* for their Wool, either in the *Fleece*, or in *Yarn*, or in the *Piece*; and a tolerable Market too; having, as particular Owners and Workers (except, as before excepted) an equal Share in all Advantages of the Woollen Trade, with the *Grower* and *Worker of Wool* in *Great Britain*.

But our † "Debts and Taxes are a Reaſon "againſt our carrying on the Woollen Trade "in Competition with *France*; and why — consequently, I ſuppoſe, we ſhould give it up to *Ireland*. How does this agree with what is asserted at the ſame time, That the Wool of *France* (without *ours* or *theirs*) is *perfectly uſeleſs?* The Exportation of Wool then being once ſtopp'd, even according to him, our Debts and Taxes will be no real Hindrance to us. And if they are not a *Cauſe* why we *cannot* in that Caſe carry on the Trade as well as *Ireland*, they are not, I am ſure, a *Reaſon* why we *ſhould not*, but the contrary; eſpecially when ‡ *confeſſedly* those very Debts, and the Taxes occaſioned thereby, are a Part of the Purchaſe paid by *Us*, for redeeming *them*, as well as ourſelves, from *Popery* and *Slavery*. But

* If that is not the Caſe, it ought to be. The Duties upon the Woollen Goods of *Ireland* exported, ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch manner, as to reduce them, in point of Price, to the Standard of the *Engliſh* Manufacture, as near as may be.

† Groans, &c. ‡ Groans, &c.

But "* they vainly imagine, that if our "running of Wool could be prevented, they "might again recover that valuable Trade." And, if it be true, that we have the Primum of it, what ſhould hinder us? unleſs he meant to ſay, as I apprehend he did, *They vainly imagine, they ſhall be able to prevent our running a Share of our Wool, in Proportion to the Quantity grown with us.* Which if it be really and truly the Caſe; in vain, I think, have we made ſome Conceſſions, in hopes, I preſume, of a different Return; and the Land of *England* producing Wool, as now taxed at four Shillings *per* Pound, is upon a very unequal Foot with the Sheep Lands of *Ireland* paying *no ſuch Tax.* This being the Caſe, we ſhould, no doubt, as adviſed, "† make it their own Intereſt (the "only infallible Method) to contract their "Sheep Walks, by turning them to ſomething "elſe." But, as *making it the Intereſt of Ireland* implies *ſome Conceſſion* from *Great Britain*; and that, moſt reaſonably, upon *Conditions expreſſed* or *underſtood*; ſo the Obligation, on the other Part, ſhould carry with it *ſome proper Security of Performance.*

To what elſe their Sheep Walks, by reaſon, as already obſerved, of the Affinity of their Soil and Climate, to that of *Great Britain*, are more properly convertible, may perhaps admit of ſome Diſpute. Many, I know, are of Opinion, that our prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle has proved *eventually* the great

C Cauſe

* *Groans, &c.* † Ibid.

Cauſe of Wool running from thence. However that was; it is not to be imagined, that the repealing of that Act would alone reverſe the Practice ſufficiently; and yet it may not be amiſs to enquire, as I propoſe, how far it might be expedient to permit again the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle, *under certain Conſiderations.*

Mr. *Locke* indeed ſays, "the breeding Countries of *England* muſt needs fall their Rents "by the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle." The Reaſon he gives, is, "becauſe the Markets, "in that Caſe, would be ſupplied with the "ſame Commodity cheaper from another "Place." And if *England* neceſſarily bred a certain Quantity of Cattle, *i. e.* if every Parcel of Land was appropriated either by *its Nature*, or *by Law*, to one certain uſe and no other; Mr. *Locke*'s reaſoning would be quite right; as alſo, if the Land in *England* proper for *breeding only*, was too great in Proportion for the feeding Land thereof. But whatever might be the State of this Kingdom, at the Time of Mr. *Locke*'s writing; it is certain that many Parts of it, *then* eſteemed only breeding, have *ſince* improved themſelves into a Capacity of feeding large Quantities; and that a great Share of our Land is not only, by Management, convertible to various Uſes, but is actually variouſly applied by the ſeveral Occupants, who, with regard to *Corn*, *Sheep*, *breeding* and *feeding Stock*, are continually ſhifting from more of one to leſs of the other, and from leſs to more again, juſt as Times

Times and Seaſons, the known or expected Demand for *this*, or *that*, inclines them.

Mr. *Locke* compares a Kingdom to a Farmer, in that they both grow rich or poor by the ſame Means, *viz.* by making their *Exports* exceed their *Imports*, their *Returns* greater than their *Expences*. In this reſpect, (ſays he) "they "differ no more than as greater and leſs;" And the Compariſon will hold in other Inſtances of Oeconomy. If *Great Britain*, as a *large Farm*, was under the Management of a *ſingle Perſon*; his Intereſt, as the Law ſtands, would be to adjuſt the Quantity of his breeding Stock to his Capacity of feeding; as alſo to govern himſelf, as a Feeder, by his certain Occaſions, and the probable Demands he ſhould have for his Cattle, when fed. If his natural feeding Land was not equal to what he bred, together with his Vent for fat Cattle, he would have Recourſe to Improvements, and by artificial Means, enlarge his Power of feeding. If his natural and artificial feeding Land together required more Stock than he could breed, or vent, when fed; the Conſequence would be, his converting ſome feeding Paſtures to the Uſe of breeding, others to Corn; which I have frequently ſeen done, and which particularly, has been very much practiſed of late. Thus what would be prudent in one Perſon, conſidered as the Farmer of *Great Britain*, would not only be right Policy, but is, in truth, the Practice of the ſeveral Farmers of the ſame. Take *Ireland* then into the *ſuppoſed Farm*, with the

 Power

Power of importing lean Cattle from thence, and the Case will be somewhat altered; fewer will be bred in *Great Britain*; but therefore it will feed more: The Produce as well as Consumption of the *whole* will, *communibus annis*, be equal to *itself*; and the Profit to *Individuals* much the same.

However, as to the Policy of importing *Irish* Cattle, not to lay too much Stress upon my own Way of Thinking against so great an Authority, as that of Mr. *Locke*; let us hear, in this Case, that *true Patriot* and *eminent Statesman*, Sir *W. Temple*. "* Until the Transportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden "by the late Act of Parliament, the quickest "Trade of ready Money here was driven by "the Sale of young Bullocks, which, for four "or five Summer Months in the Year, were "carried over in very great Numbers; and this "made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn "their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that Sort of "Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the "Dairy, more than the Consumption within; "and few Oxen for Draught. Hence the Cattle slaughtered within were young, the Hides "mean——the Quantity of Tallow small—— "little Butter was exported——above all, the "Trade of Beef for Exportation was next to "nothing——But after the Act in *England* had "wholly stopt the Exportation of Cattle, the "Trade of this Kingdom, [*Ireland*] was forced to

* In a Letter dated at *Dublin*, 1673, to the then Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

"to find out a new Channel; a great deal of "Land was turned to Sheep, because *Wool* "gave ready Money for the *English* Markets, "and, *by Stealth*, for *those abroad*. The "Breeders of *English* Cattle, [*i. e Cattle originally of English Breed*] turned much to Dairy, or else, by keeping their Cattle to 6 or 7 "Year old, and wintering them dry, made "them fit for the Beef Trade abroad." This as *Fact*; next follows his *Opinion*.

"When the Passage is open, Land will be "turned most to great Cattle; when shut, *to* "*Sheep*, as it is at present, [1673] tho' I am "not of Opinion, that it can last; because that "Act seems to have been carried on, rather by "the Interest of *particular* Counties in *England*, "than by that of the *whole*, which, in my Opinion, must be evidently a Loser by it. For, "first, the Freight of all Cattle, that were "brought over, being in *English* Vessels, was "so much clear Gain to *England*; and this was, "one with another, near a *Third*, or at least "a *Fourth* Part of the Price. Then their coming over young, and very cheap to the first "Market, made them double their Price by one "Years feeding; which was the greatest Improvement to be made of our dry Pasture "Land in *England*. The Trade of Hides and "Tallow, or else of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten "down in foreign Markets by *Ireland* if they "come to kill all their Cattle at Home.—— "*Irish* Beef, which had, in a manner no Part before

" before in the Trade abroad will ſhare in it
" with *England*.——The Trade of *Engliſh*
" Butter will be beaten down, when *Ireland*
" turns to Dairy, in the Way of *Engliſh* Houſe-
" wifry (as it has done a great deal, ſince the
" Reſtraint upon Cattle.) And whereas *Ire-*
" *land* had before very little Trade but with
" *England*, and, with the Money for their Cat-
" tle, bought *all* the Commodities there which
" they wanted; *By this Reſtraint*, they are for-
" ced to ſeek a *foreign Market*, and where they
" *ſell*, they will be ſure to *buy too*; and *all the*
" *foreign Merchandize*, which they had before
" from *Briſtol*, *Cheſter* and *London*, they will
" have, in Time, from *Roan*, *Amſterdam*,
" *Lisbon*, and the *Streights*——He Adds, as for
" the Cauſes of the Decay of Rents, in *En-*
" *gland*, which was made the Occaſion of
" that Act; they proceeded not from the
" Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattle. Beſides, the
" Rents have been far from increaſing ſince;
" and tho' that may be, by *other Accidents*,
" yet, as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all
" to one, unleſs *Wool* be forbidden, as well as
" Cattle; for the *leſs Cattle* comes over from
" thence, there comes the *more Wool*; which
" goes *as far* as the other in beating down the
" Price of Paſture Lands in *England*; and yet
" the Tranſportation of Wool cannot be forbid-
" den, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* Wool,
" either *by Stealth*, into *foreign Markets*, or
" elſe in *Cloth*, by the Advance of that Manu-
" facture; EITHER of WHICH would bring a
ſudden

" *ſudden Decay upon a principal Branch of the*
" Engliſh *Trade*." And what *either* would do,
BOTH TOGETHER (which I am afraid is the Caſe at preſent) muſt effect to a very great degree.

Upon a Text ſo plain I ſhall not offer any further Comment. Whether this Account from ſo great a Perſon (which Experience in a Courſe of 70 Years has literally confirmed) ſufficiently proves the Expedience of permitting again the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle upon *any Conditions*, is, with all due Deference, ſubmitted to the Judgment of *thoſe* who have a proper Authority to decide in this, and all Caſes of the like Importance. I only deſire to obſerve, That if it can be thought expedient at *any time* to repeal the Act of Prohibition, it can never be done more *ſeaſonably*, i. e. with leſs Inconvenience to the breeding Countries of *England* than at *this Juncture*; when by a Series of hard Winters and dry Summers, joined with our extraordinary Demands for Shipping, the Stock of large Cattle has been ſo very much reduc'd, and the Breed thereof ſo far check'd, as that it cannot be repair'd in the ordinary Method in leſs than four or five Years to come, at the feweſt; and when, if the next enſuing Seaſons ſhould prove to be as fruitful as the laſt have been barren, the Graſiers would find a real want of Cattle for their feeding Paſtures.

And therefore for the preſent, ſuppoſing a Liberty to *Ireland* of importing Cattle to *Great Britain* upon the Conditions of their exporting

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no Wool to foreign Parts, nor woollen Goods, contrary to Law, to be (as I am inclin'd to think it) no bad Bargain on either Side; the next Question is, What would be a proper Security for the Performance of their Part of the Covenant? To which I answer; The *same* which would be a Security against the illicit Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain*. And this leads me to examine some Opinions lately advanced for making a Law (to prevent it absolutely) *effectual* and *salutary*. Which Opinions are reducible to these two Propositions.

1. *That nothing less than a Registry will be effectual for preventing the Exportation of an unknown Quantity of Wool.*

2. *That such a Registry can only be made tolerable, by a License for exporting (from certain Ports) a known limited Quantity.*

The *first* of these is so far allow'd, that it has been the *Sense of Parliament*; and is, I think, *agreeable to common Sense* *. But the *second* seems to be the peculiar Notion of a *single Writer* †, and is thought (by some) not a little fanciful and chimerical. One has gone so far as to insinuate, that it is an insidious Representation, resulting from *French* Artifice, *&c.* (*See Preface to Mr.* LABOURNE'*s Scheme*); which methinks is a Censure too severe, unless some Reasons I am not aware of could be given to support it.

The

* Experience in a manner demonstrating, that no other Measure is sufficient for suppressing the illicit Practice of Wool-Running; Reason telling us that this probably would avail.

† The Grazier's Advocate, and Supplement, 1742.

The *general Argument* for keeping our Wool at Home, is justly taken from the Consideration of the Work it affords for a Number of Hands; which, so far as exported when manufactur'd, being paid for by Foreigners, is so much real Addition to the Wealth of the Nation. The *particular* Argument of this Writer (without denying any Part of the former, but with an Eye to *another Extreme*) is taken from the Possibility, and indeed the Probability, of there being, in Fact, too great a Proportion of Wool ordinarily grown in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, for the Number of Hands that can be spar'd to the Woollen Manufacture, according to the present State of Things; and the Consequences, in that Case, of preventing absolutely the Exportation, without providing for the supposed Surplusage thereof.

Where is the Chimera of this? Does it consist in supposing any such Surplusage? Or, if there be, that the Grower, and consequently the Landed Interest, and its Dependants, would be affected by it? Or, in supposing that what affects them, would affect the Publick at all materially? In the latter Supposition, I own I think there is no great Absurdity, unless it be absurd to imagine that Wool, *which is not wanted*, won't be sold at *any Price*. In that Case it is said *, "For "Landlords to expect Rent from their Te-"nants, would be to require *Brick without* "*Straw*; and to receive none, would perhaps "be imposing as hard a Task upon another

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* Supplement, &c. p. 24.

" Claſs of People, *viz.* their Tradeſmen, who " in courſe muſt bear hard upon the Mer- " chant; by which Means the Evil would " ſoon become epidemical, diffuſing itſelf thro' " the whole Maſs of the People of theſe King- " doms." And I muſt confeſs that Mr. *Locke* " has ſaid pretty near the ſame: " † If (ſays he) " the Tenant fail the Landlord, he muſt fail " his Creditor, and he his, and ſo on, till ſome " Body break, and ſo Trade decay for want of " Money." But *muſt the Grower, and conſe- quently the Landed Intereſt, neceſſarily be affect- ed by the ſuppoſed Surpluſage, if proving a real one?* Truly I cannot but think ſo. Our Wool for Cloathing is indeed a conſiderable Neceſſary of Life; but however *neceſſary*, we muſt con- ſider it is not *uſeful* in that reſpect till it is ma- nufactur'd, which it cannot be without Hands; and what Wool a Man has not Hands to work up (not being allowed to diſpoſe of it in any other way) he will not buy; conſequently it will *lie upon the Hands of the Grower*: And fur- ther, what the *Graſier's Advocate* has ſaid about the Price of the *whole* being *by that Means* re- duced, will be found true; for " the * Price of " any Commodity riſes or falls by the Propor- " tion of the Number of Buyers and Sellers."

If a few Grains of Wheat, prepared after a certain manner, was a good Remedy for the Stone; altho' the Perſon ſkill'd in that Secret might gain conſiderably by making up and ſel- ling the Medicine, yet would not the Price of Wheat

† *Locke*, Vol. 2. p. 14. * *Locke*.

Wheat be amended thereby; the Conſumption that way would be ſo inconſiderable, and the Demand for it conſequently little, next to no- thing more. In like manner, however well our Workers and Dealers in the Woollen Trade might be paid *(under the beloved Circumſtance of a Monopoly)* for their Skill and Labour, a fi- nite Number of Hands at the moſt can work up but a determined Quantity of Wool; and what ſhall remain over and above *that Quantity*, af- ter all proper Hands employ'd, if one Year with another it be any thing conſiderable, will be not only *nothing worth* in itſelf, but will ſerve to bring down the Price of *all the reſt*; and, which is ſtill worſe, the Inconvenience will be greater every *ſucceeding Year* than it was the *former*; and hence I plainly perceive the Chi- mera, if there is one, conſiſts in ſuppoſing ſuch a probable Surpluſage of Wool.

But this being only ſuch, in caſe it is falſe, or ſo far as it is improbable, it being a Matter of ſome Importance to be known; let us try, as far as may be, the Truth, or rather the Probability of it. For *by Reflection I find it is no Contra- diction in Terms to ſay, that* Great Britain *and* Ireland *probably produce more Wool than they have Hands to manufacture.* Wool is the Pro- duce of theſe Kingdoms eminently, as well as Corn, Cheeſe, Butter, Beef, *&c.* Now it is no- torious, that one Year with another the Pro- duce of theſe Kingdoms, in thoſe Articles laſt mentioned, is far greater than the Conſumption of them; inſomuch that in the Article of Corn,

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the Wiſdom of this Nation, for the Benefit of the Huſbandman, and in Support of the Landed Intereſt, hath thought fit, when the *natural* Demands are inſufficient, to make an *artificial* Conſumption of it, by allowing a Premium under certain Circumſtances (denoting the Redundancy) for the Exportation thereof; which Premium, or Bounty, not long ſince, in the Space of one Year, amounted to near the Sum of 200,000 *l.* And how is it more a Contradiction to ſay, that theſe Kingdoms probably produce more Wool than we have *Hands to work up*, than to ſay they afford, as we certainly know they do, ordinarily more Corn, and other Proviſions, than we have *Mouths to eat?*

Further; I muſt ſay, that it does not follow from thoſe who have taken the other ſide of the Queſtion, and preſſed the Advantage of keeping *all* our Wool at Home, in Conſideration of the Employment it affords to the poor and labouring Part of theſe Kingdoms; it does not, I ſay, follow from their Accounts and Eſtimates, that we have any thing like a competent Number of Hands proper for manufacturing of the whole Quantity of Wool which *Great Britain* and *Ireland (by their own Accounts)* are ſuppoſed to produce; all that the *Graſier's Advocate* has ſaid, being little more than a *Concluſion* from *their Premiſes*, bating this one Singularity (which I ſhall therefore examine in the firſt place) of aſſigning but forty working Weeks, upon an Average, in the whole Year, to the Woollen Manufacturers.

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He ſays, " * Feaſts, Feſtivals, Fairs and " Markets, Harveſt, with the Contingencies " of Sickneſs and hard Froſts, being taken in- " to the Account; it may be reckoned, that " the Manufacturers, upon an Average, don't " perform more than forty Weeks Work in " the whole Year." By conſidering this Matter, I imagine that (without making any Deduction on the Score of Hay-making, which takes off no ſmall Number of Hands, for no ſhort Space of Time in many Places) he muſt allow *four Weeks* for the *Corn Harveſt*, which is the leaſt Portion of Time, that is ever accounted of for that Purpoſe; and which is not only a natural Avocation from the *woollen Manufacture*, to the Generality of Hands uſually employed in it: But the Law alſo, has, in Aid of Huſbandry, † provided, that there ſhall be a Diſcontinuance of this Work for that Seaſon. Then for *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, aud *Whitſuntide*, we may ſuppoſe he reckons, 12 Days; for anniverſary Feaſts, State Holidays, Fairs and Markets, ſuppoſe 12 Days more; all which together amounting to 8 Weeks, the Reſidue is 4 Weeks or 24 Days, out of the remaining Term, for the Contingencies of Sickneſſes and hard Froſts. In computing which, a rational Conjecture is the moſt that can be offered; and the beſt Method

* *Graſiers Advocate*, p. 18.

† At *Norwich*, and ſome other Places particularly the Weavers for Inſtance, may not exerciſe their Trade, for a certain Time, in the Harveſt Seaſon; as may be ſeen in the Statute Books.

thod I can think of, whereby to form a Judgment as to the Contingency of Sickness, is by considering, if the *whole Tribe* of Workers in Wool were to be mustered in Companies every Morning of those 10 Calendar Months, how many Absentees probably there might be on the aforesaid Account, one Morning with another. Now, if in any other Class of Persons, such as *Scholars*, *Soldiers*, or *Senators*, *five* in *one Hundred*, should, upon a Medium, be thought no extravagant Number; I am persuaded, twice as many might be allowed in this Case; considering what a mixed Multitude they are, of both Sexes and all Ages; allowing (under this Head) for *Childbearings*, *Christenings*, *Funerals*, *Small-Pox*, *Measles*, *Epidemic Fevers*, and other Disorders, to which, by their *Age* and *Condition*, they are beyond other People most subject; allowing also for that great Frailty of our Craftsmen, *Drunkenness*. If then, by these Means 10 in 100, (which is 1 in 10) may be supposed (upon a Medium) incapacitated for Labour, or disengaged from it, that will compleat the Reckoning of 12 Weeks; and there will remain the Article of hard Weather, as a *Supernumerary*, to make up any imagined Deficiency in the rest. Thus what, in the Gross, seemed, perhaps, extravagant, and false, has, we see when considered particularly, nearly, at least, the Appearance of Reason and Truth.

But, *tho' it must be acknowledged, that much depends, in this Case, upon the Quantity of Wool grown*

grown with us, and what we are capable of manufacturing: How does it appear that the Grasiers Advocate, (*granting him his Nostrum of* 40 *Weeks*) *has concluded rightly from the Premises of other Writers mentioned?* The *London Draper* treating professedly of this Subject, in a Piece entituled, *The Consequences of Trade* &c. [p. 8.] says "Three Packs of Wool manufactured into "broad Cloths, Camblets, Serges, Hose, &c. "is Employment for near 600 Persons, a "Week." He accounts [p. 12.] "60 Fleeces to a Pack; and Mr. *Gee*, another Writer, upon the same Subject, [p. 60.] reckons 64,800,000 Sheep in *England* and *Wales*.

Figures, like Facts, are of a stubborn Nature. If then 3 Packs of Wool, according to the *Draper*, and for the sake of an even Number, is work for 600 Persons, a Week; and if 60 Fleeces, (according to the same) one with another, make a Pack; computing (*with the Grasiers Advocate*) 40 Weeks of Work in the Year; *that* being after the Rate of *five Persons to a Pack:* In that Case, 12 Fleeces, upon a Medium, will fall to the Share of each Manufacturer. Supposing then (for the sake of even Numbers again) $\frac{1}{10}$ of the People to be employed in the woollen Trade; it will follow, that to work up *all our own*, even without any *Scotch*, *Irish*, or *Spanish Wool*, there must be as many People, as there are Sheep in *England* and *Wales*. But the People of *England* and *Wales*, in the Year 1660 were 7 Millions, and in 1668, 7,400,000,

7,400,000, and are now computed (by Mr. *Gee* from Sir *W. Petit*) at about 10,000,000, at the ſame Time that He computes the Number of Sheep at 64,800,000; which being above ſix Times as many Sheep as Perſons (a Thing I judge not incredible) inſtead of $\frac{1}{12}$, it follows that $\frac{1}{2}$, or *one half* of our People, are neceſſary to work up *all our own Wool.* As this may be thought to prove too much; take the following Computation.

Suppoſe *the Draper* to have been miſtaken; and that three Packs of Wool (all Sorts of Work, the coarſe with the fine conſidered) is Employment for 300 Perſons, a Week, which, I imagine will not be denied; and that 75 Fleeces, upon a Medium, go to a Pack (and more I think, cannot be reckoned:) Suppoſe, as before, 40 Weeks of Work in the Year (which is after the Rate of *five Perſons* to *two Packs*:) and for the Facility of reckoning by even Numbers again, $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Peeple to be employed that Way: In that Caſe, 30 Fleeces, upon a Medium, being the Share of each Perſon ſo working; in order to have *all the Wool* wrought up, there ſhould be *half as many People* as *Sheep* in the Kingdom; conſequently, not more than 20,000,000, Sheep. But they being (not improbably) computed at above *three Times* that Number; it follows, that inſtead of $\frac{1}{15}$ (even according to this leſs exceptionable Method of computing) $\frac{1}{5}$ of our Hands is requiſite for that Manufacture, excluſive of *Scotch*, *Iriſh* and *Spaniſh*

Spaniſh Wool; the latter of which, we know, (from what paſſed in the laſt Seſſion of P——t) is a neceſſary Ingredient with ours, and conſequently Employment for many Hands; and *all of them together* (ſuppoſing the illicit Exportation of Wool to be effectually prevented) would be an *additional* Buſineſs for *vaſt Numbers*; However, including *all theſe*, let us grant that $\frac{1}{5}$ of our Hands would yet be ſufficient. But conſidering (*with the Graſier's Advocate*) "How "many, in the whole Number of People, are "of Non-age and ſuperannuated; how many of "Rank and Condition above all Work, retaining many Servants; conſidering the great Buſineſs of Huſbandry, which engroſſes ſo large "a ſhare of our common working Hands; our "Mines of Coal, Tin, Iron and Lead; and beſides the two great ones of Linen and Silk, "how many other Manufactures, Trades, "Employments, Buſineſſes, Profeſſions, *&c.* "there are among us, and in how great Numbers, equally neceſſary to Society, and to "theſe Kingdoms:" *Can it be thought practicable to ſet apart* $\frac{1}{5}$ * *of the whole People for the woollen Trade?* Verily, I think not; far from it. And therefore tho' a Perſon ſhould not ſee fit to

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* Here let it be conſidered, that if this laſt Computation were juſt in every Part, inſomuch that $\frac{1}{5}$ of our Hands were *neceſſary*, while only $\frac{1}{15}$ of them could *be ſpared*; in that Caſe we ſhould be able to manufacture but *one Third* of our Wool; and tho' it would require great Allowances for miſcomputing to double that Quantity, viz. to *two Thirds*; yet even then would the *remaining one Third*, be more than ſufficient to occaſion all the Miſchief apprehended from a Surpluſage.

ſubſcribe to *every Article* in the laſt foregoing Computation; yet may he, from thence, (in my Opinion) find abundant Reaſon to ſuſpect *more Wool* grown with us, than poſſibly we *can* manufacture; conſequently, (beſides that effectual neceſſary one of a Regiſtry to prevent the clandeſtine Exportation of Wool, which there is Reaſon to think an inveterate Practice, continued, in ſome Degree, from the firſt Inhibition of it, to the preſent Time) to wiſh for ſome farther Expedient, on Behalf of the *Wool Grower* and *Land Owner*. We ſee what the Wiſdom of the Nation hath thought proper, in a parallel Caſe, that of too great a Redundancy of Corn; to the end, I ſuppoſe, that Land, *in Tillage*, might always afford *Rent* and *Taxes*. And, I confeſs, I ſee no Abſurdity, for the *ſame Reaſons*, under the like Circumſtances of a Redundancy of Wool, beyond what we can manufacture, in exporting, *(for the Benefit of Paſture Land)* at a ſufficient high Duty, a limited Quantity of *it* alſo. Nor can I ſee any Difference in the two Caſes; except that a Bounty upon Corn exported, *(as a Tax)* is ſomething paid by every one; A *Duty* upon Wool exported (and it would certainly bear a pretty high one) as a *publick Revenue*, would be ſomething into every Perſon's Pocket in the Kingdom.

But tho' the Concluſion of the Graſier's Advocate *ſhould be allow'd not to be wrong, it does not follow that the Premiſes from which he has argued are right. May there not be ſome very conſiderable*

derable Flaws in the Particulars of which this Eſtimate is compounded? Poſſibly our Quantity of Wool is not near ſo great as therein ſuppoſed; or if it be, it may not afford Work for ſo many Perſons; or we may perhaps be able to furniſh a much greater Share of our Hands for that Buſineſs than has been accounted of. As I, for my part, cannot doubt of 75 Fleeces, upon a Medium, making at the leaſt a Pack; nor of 40 Weeks, or 240 Days compleat Work in the Year, being near as much as may be expected to be performed by each Woollen Manufacturer; or however by the Bulk of them, one Perſon with another conſider'd; the only queſtionable Articles in the laſt foregoing Eſtimate, to me ſeem to be,

1. Whether three Packs of Wool are really a Week's Work for 300 Perſons?

2. If our Number of Sheep in *England* and *Wales* is probably 60 Millions, or upwards?

Whoever doubts of the *firſt*, will perhaps receive moſt Satisfaction by turning to *Chambers's Dictionary*, under the Article *Woollen Manufactory*; which, tho' perhaps not correct to the utmoſt Exactneſs, yet having no Hypotheſis to ſerve, may be look'd upon as the more authentick for that Reaſon; according to which Account, *three Packs* of Wool are (in the three ſeveral Sorts of Works, into which (it ſeems) the Manufacture is chiefly diſtinguiſhed) Employment for 449 Perſons a Week. Nor, if we compare the Work with the computed Wages,

 is

is there much doubt of it; Mr. *Webber* making five Shillings; others, I think, with more Probability, three Shillings, the medium Price of Labour for every Pound of Wool manufactur'd.

As to the *second*, the Number of Sheep in *England* and *Wales*; the best Accounts, *viz.* from *Smithfield* Toll-Books, *&c.* reaching but to a *Part*, the *rest* must necessarily be supplied by *Conjecture*, which must be attended with *Uncertainty*. However, besides what the * *London Draper* and others have said as to the whole Quantity of Wool grown in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* yearly; besides what Mr. *Gee* has offer'd to support the Belief of 60 Millions of Sheep and upwards in *England* and *Wales* only; let us by way of Estimate, suppose for every Ten Persons in the Kingdom one Quarter of a Sheep consumed in a Week, which is putting it very low; and that is *four* Quarters in *four* Weeks, *thirteen* Sheep in a Year for Ten Persons; and for Ten Millions of Persons *(our supposed Number)* thirteen Millions of Sheep slaughter'd; and the Number slaughter'd being accounted on all Hands but $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole Stock, thus we arrive at above 50 Millions; and by enlarging the supposed Consumption, all Casualties included, *one Sixth only*, may easily imagine more than Sixty Millions of Sheep in *England* and *Wales*.

But do not present Complaints of the Decay of the Woollen Trade indicate a real want of Employment

* 1,274,000 Packs, exclusive of Vel Wool, *&c.* Draper of *Lond.* p. 13.

ployment among the several Manufacturers of Wool? And why may we not believe that the Runnage of it once stopt, as the Trade would afford Work for our spare Hands, so the Nation would furnish Hands for the Work? Besides what may be urged from the Calculations and Estimates already given, the warmest Advocates seemingly, for keeping our Wool at Home, make the largest Reports of its *going abroad*, of the *French* Acquisitions, and our Loss *that way*. We are told*, that upon a modest Computation *France* obtains no less than 500,000 Packs of our Wool yearly; and tho' we might no doubt manufacture considerably more than we do; nay, "† tho' it should be conceived possible so "to manage in time, as to be able to manufa-"cture all, or the greatest Part; yet the sudden "Revulsion of so large a Share of our Wool "(as might be expected in the Case of a Re-"gistry) must throw so extraordinary, so un-"common a Stock upon our Hands, as, if not "help'd by some Means (besides that of our "Manufacture) would be a fatal dead Weight "upon the Grower." For according to the Representations we have had, and the last lowest Computations, we should immediately want 1,250,000 *additional* Woollen Manufacturers; whereas at the passing the *Callico-Act*, their *whole Number* was computed by themselves (when it was their Interest rather to magnify than lessen it) at but 700,000.

But

* *London* Draper. † Supplement, *&c.*

But may we not furnish a far greater Number of Hands than has been accounted of for that Work? Is not the Woollen Manufacture necessary beyond many other Employments followed in these Kingdoms? to which, if the latter do not naturally give way, should not the former be encouraged by Law, in order to bring more Labourers into that Branch of Business? * " Nature (it seems) in this Case won't yield so far " to Art as in some others." *How is that?* " † It is certain (except what is made into " Hats) we can manufacture no more than we " spin." If superior Artizans in this Business were only wanting, they might be tempted from Abroad; and a few comparatively, would add greatly to the Dispatch of their Part of the Work: But, by much, the greater Part of the Workers in Wool being *Spinners*, and other Persons of the *like inferior Rank*, such as can't transport themselves from one Kingdom to another, they must be Natives, *such* also as may continue to work at *certain low Wages*.

For though the Woollen Business is of great Consequence, that of *Husbandry* is still greater; and *therefore* it is the peculiar Benefit of the Woollen Manufacture to these Kingdoms that it is subservient *thereto*, and that it affords Employment for many Hands, which are capable of little other Work, or at Times when they cannot otherwise be employ'd: For poor Boys and Girls, for Example, before they are able to undergo

* Supplement, &c. † Supplement, &c.

undergo the Drudgery of inferior Services and hard Apprenticeships; for the poorer Country Women, in their Intervals of Leisure from the necessary Duties of their Houses and Families; for poor Men, Women and Children, at such Times as either the Weather won't permit, or the Season does not require their Attendance upon the Husbandman in the Barn or Field. But should the Price of Work to the lower Part of Woollen Manufacturers be raised so high *by Authority*, as that more Money was to be had, or even as much, or near as much, by that *easy domestick Life*, as by the *harder* Services of the *Plough*, and *Spade*, and *Flail*, &c. the *Nature* of it would be quite *changed*; and great would be the Inconvenience that would follow to the Community by the Discouragement that would *thence* ensue to Husbandry and Agriculture. In our Navigation also and Fisheries, the *Sea* and *Land Service*, with many other necessary lower painful Occupations, the Nation would be affected by *that Change* for the worse.* Thus we find it is, by reason of its Subordinacy to Husbandry, &c. " † that there is a certain Pitch, " beyond which the Work of spinning Wool " [*and the like inferior Offices in the Woollen* " *Manufacture*] cannot be strained.

But

* The raising the Price of one Species of Labour has a Tendency to advance all the rest; which, according to Sir *Andrew Freeport* (Spectator N° 232) would affect the whole Body of Merchants. " The Merchant *ought* to make his Out-set as cheap " as possible ——— and nothing will enable him to do this, like " the Reduction of the Price of Labour upon ALL our Manu- " factures."

† Supplement, &c.

But if Husbandry ought to be our first Care, does not the woollen Manufacture deserve our second? Admit it does. *Might not therefore some useless Employments, in Comparison, be suppressed by Law, for increasing the Number of Hands for the woollen Trade?* General Frugality, as well as Industry, would, no doubt, be of publick Benefit, in that, as well as other respects; towards which, sumptuary Laws might possibly have a very good Effect: But as I despair of seeing any such; in the mean while, as the true Measure even of *publick Advantage*, from the Labours of the People, is the Money they *bring into the Kingdom*, or *save from going out of it*; therefore should any Number of Persons *so employed*, tho' it were but in making fashionable Trifles, *at higher Wages*, quit their Business to work in Wool, *at lower*; not only they would lose the *Difference*, but the Publick would lose *so much* in the Balance of Trade. So long therefore, as it shall be the Humour and the Fashion, not only of *England*, but of *Europe* and *America*, *&c.* to wear *true* and *false Jewels*, *Silks*, *Velvets*, *fine Linen and Laces*, to use *Tapistry*, *Clocks*, *Watches*, &c. it will be the Interest of this Nation to promote the working on and making of them here, altho' it be at the Expence of some Part of the woollen Manufacture; which yet is no Reason why the Grower should want a Market for his Wool, much less why any Part of his Market should be through the Hands of Smugglers.

But

But nevertheless may not the supposed Surplusage of Wool, as founded so much upon Conjecture, be a mere Phantom, a Creature only of a biassed Imagination? Is not a contrary Hypothesis equally or more credible? Opinions unsupported by Reasons go for nothing. It is true, there is no affirming every thing, for a Certainty, in this Affair; but it has been already seen, upon what Foot it stands in Point of Probability; and if the contrary is more probable, it *may* be made to appear from *more probable* Estimates of the * *very same Kind*; which therefore, for the sake of elucidating the Truth, or rather (which is the most to be expected in this Case) the *nearest Probability*, I do hereby challenge *any one*, who favours such an Opinion, to produce; and till I see that done, shall judge of it as an *Impossibility*.

Well, but would not the Inconveniences of this supposed Surplusage, if proving to be real, be preferable to our suffering FRANCE, *or other* FOREIGNERS *to have any Part of our Wool by our own Knowledge, and by* PUBLICK CONSENT *too?* There are no Persons so unlike, *in some Cases*, as your *real* and *nominal Patriots*; the *latter* affects *Popularity* beyond all Things; the *former risks that* and every thing else, for what he conceives to be the *real Interest of his Country*. The *nominal* Patriot (in this Case) exclaims much about the *French* rivalling us in our Trade,

F and

* I say of the *very same Kind*, because that would be bringing the Matter in question, to a short and fair Issue.

and quarrels with every poſſible Expedient to prevent it: He opens his Mouth wide againſt the Grievance, but won't ſtir a Finger to remove it; and perhaps has both his Hands deep in the Iniquity of it. The *real Patriot* is willing to compound for Part of an Advantage, rather than otherwiſe inevitably loſe the whole.

And is not what is here called loſing the whole, i.e. *the* * *preſent Inconvenience to our Trade*, &c. *from Wool-ſmuggling, preferable to that of a Regiſtry? Such as, the Multiplicity of Officers, being ſubject to Inſpection, Accounts*, &c. A leſs Evil, in compariſon of a greater, becomes a poſitive Good. The Good hereby propounded, is Increaſe of Trade, national Wealth and Power; the Evil apprehended is, Reſtraint, Trouble of Attendance, and Accounts, an Increaſe of publick Officers. *But what would a Dealer, (in this Caſe) be reſtrained from?* From doing what he *ſhould not*. His Effects indeed, in one ſenſe, would be in Cuſtody, *viz.* ſo far as to prevent a *moſt infamous Practice*; but at full Liberty, to all the Intents and *honeſt* Purpoſes of *fair trading*. As to the Trouble of Attendance, that would be for a good End; and without Trouble

* "This melancholy Truth, I muſt repeat.——Unleſs the "Exportation of Wool be ſtopped, by ſome means or another, "the Nation muſt be ruined." Dedication to the Lords Regents, prefixed to *The Conſequences of Trade*, by a *Draper* of *London*.

"The Diſtemper of which we are ſo ſick, is the Decay of our "woollen Trade; and the Cauſe of our Diſtemper, is the Ex-"portation of *our unmanufactured Wool to Foreigners*, *Draper* "of *London*, p. 2."

Trouble no conſiderable Good is to be attained; and then for the Matter of Accounts, that is ſo much the Buſineſs of a Tradeſman, that it does not deſerve the Name of Trouble; eſpecially, when the *publick Good* is put in Competition with it. And with regard to the Increaſe of publick Officers, that might, or might not be, as it ſhould ſeem beſt upon the whole. Wool is as ſuſceptible of a Duty, as any other Thing; and if the Trade is put upon a *right* * *Foot*, a Duty thereupon would fall, as *all of them* ſhould, upon the Conſumers; the major Part of whom being Foreigners, it follows, that beyond moſt other Inland Duties, *it* would lie lighter upon the Subject; ſo that transferring *one* to this, from ſome other Commodity, and the Officers along with it, all Objections *from the Increaſe of ſuch*, would be fully removed.

Upon the whole therefore, as a Regiſtry *rightly eſtabliſhed* and *conducted* ſeems to be the only effectual Method of preventing abſolutely the illicit Exportation of Wool; ſo I am humbly of Opinion that a Licenſe for exporting a *limited Quantity* can only make ſuch a Meaſure *ſalutary*.

* This derogates nothing from *the Grazier's Advocate*, who ſays, (in Caſe the Trade is *not put upon* a *right Foot*) "the Tax "upon it, under the Notion of its being made dearer, would be "juſt *ſo much* out of the Growers Pocket, conſequently, no "other than an additional Land Tax." *Grazier's Advocate*, p. 16.

So far as *Caution* is any Recommendation, it certainly has the Advantage above any other Scheme, as by a comparative View of Consequences, it is manifestly attended with the *least Hazard*. We are told how the Case * stands at present, what † *immense Sums we lose*, and *France gains* every Year by our Wool. We have seen how this probably may be prevented, by a Registry throughout *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. We have seen the *Probability* of a large *Surplusage* in the Case of such a Registry, and the *more than probable* Consequences of *that* wholly unprovided for. And tho' we are divided in our Opinions touching the *Use* and the *Advantage France* makes of our Wool; some affirming roundly that *theirs*, without a Mixture of $\frac{1}{3}$ of *ours*, is *entirely useless*; others doubting it. Which soever is true; whether by getting, for Example, 400,000 Packs of our Wool, they are enabled to make the Cloth, *&c.* of 1200,000 Packs, or no more than of 400,000; yet

* We furnish an infinite Number of Hands in *France* with Matter to employ them profitably upon. *Groans, &c.*

† "The Nation loses no less than *Forty-two Millions* Ster-"ling yearly; *France* gains *Fifty-two Millions and one half.* Draper of *Lond.* p. 11.

N. B. I do not undertake to be the DRAPER's Voucher; on the contrary, in many things I don't credit him, by reason of the too visible Design of his Performance. Nevertheless it may be observed, that an opposite Writer does not attempt to reduce his supposed 42 *Millions* to less than 14; which, it must be allow'd, is a very extraordinary Sum to be yearly gain'd or lost to these Kingdoms. See Remarks on Mr. *Webber*'s Scheme and the Draper's Pamph. *Roberts*, 1741. p. 34.

yet could we use Means to them short of but half their usual annual Quantity, we should in course deprive them of half their usual annual Trade in that Article, and of the *Wealth* and *Power consequent thereupon*; which, at the same time that it was taken out of *their Scale*, would be put into *ours*, and thereby at once bring *us* upon the Par with *them* in that particular Instance, wherein before they so much outweigh'd us; and which, it must be own'd, would be no inconsiderable Point gain'd.

Nor would that be the only Advantage from such a Procedure: The greater unknown Quantity (*France* is at present suppos'd to obtain from Smugglers) is purchased chiefly with Wine, Brandies, *&c.* run upon us, and with prohibited Goods, to the no less Injury of the *fair Trader* than of the *Publick Revenue*: Whereas the proposed License for exporting a *less, known, limited* Quantity, implies Payment for it, not only in *Money*, or *Goods paying Duty instead of Money*, but at the *very best Price*, by means of the *highest Duty* it can be thought to bear, whether on the Account of its alledg'd Utility *(if that is true)* for mixing with foreign Wool, or on Account of the low Price of foreign Labour compar'd with that of ours. Thus having first served ourselves in the Woollen Trade, so far as we have proper Hands of our own to serve us, we might in some sort be said to profit also from the Labours of Foreigners, the Subjects of another Kingdom.

At

At the worst *viz.* If the Supposition, upon which the propose[illegible] Expedient is founded, should prove upon Trial, a Mistake, yet would the Inconvenience be small comparatively; as that Mistake would soon shew itself, with such a Degree of Evidence, that there could be no doubting or disputing about it. For a Registry would soon bring Matters to such a Pitch of Certainty, that the Quantity, at the first, permitted to be exported, might be *enlarged* or *lessened*, or the License *totally suspended*, or *finally revoked*, just as Circumstances should require. All this (it is observable) might be effected by *means of a Registry*, and *by no other means whatsoever*.

But if, after all, it is the confirmed Opinion of the most judicious, that we should have no Surplusage to apprehend, (the Runnage of Wool being stopped) nor (in order to it) any thing to hope from a Registry, equal to the Inconveniences it would bring along with it; and that to prevent the Exportation of Wool, we ought therefore to abide by our *old Methods* of guarding our Coasts and watching our Ports: Experience tells us, that our present Laws, for that end, are, some way or another, defective; and perhaps, from the Nature of the thing, must ever remain so. Nevertheless, it is worth considering, where that Defect most probably lies. Now as *Causes* and *Effects* are, for the most part, regular and uniform; and as smuggling of Wool must be acknowledged to owe its *Rise* and *Continuance* to the Profit arising from that

that illicit Trade; so if the Rewards of *Discovery* and *Seizure* are not proportioned to that Profit, it is equally certain, they must needs come short of the *End*. As the Law stands, the Penalties, it's true, in this Case, are pretty high, tho' I am afraid, too easily eluded; as every Offender, who has any thing considerable to lose, takes Care to keep himself out of Sight, his other Effects consequently out of the Reach of Justice: wherefore the Legislature hath of late wisely ordered, (in Case of the Offenders Insolvency, as to the Penalty of 3 shillings for every Pound of Wool) 1 *s. per* Pound to be paid to the Informer out of the publick Revenue. But what is that, compared with 1200 *per Cent.* the Advantage which (* it is said) Wool Smugglers may trade at? From which Report, (tho' I don't think it is to be taken quite literally) yet surely may we infer a very large Profit to be made from that illicit Trade: And therefore, were it possible so to contrive Matters, as to prevent any Collusion *for the sake of the Reward*, an Allowance absolutely from the publick Revenue, equal to 500 *per Cent. for all Wool seized at Sea*, or *unlawfully put on Board any Vessel*, might possibly have a good Effect. For thus have I known one Physician compass a Cure, which another had long tried, in vain, to perform, not by changing the Patient's Medicines, but by *enlarging the Dose*.

POST.

* *Gee's* Impartial Enquiry, *&c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING deferred, for ſome little Time, the ſending theſe Sheets to the Preſs, 'till I could firſt obtain the Sight of a SCHEME (advertiſed) for *preventing the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured:* By Mr. LABOURNE. I take the Liberty of remarking thereon; That ſo much of it as tends to aſcertain the Quantity of Wool grown in *Great Britain*, with the preſent Number of woollen Manufacturers, *by Profeſſion*, nearly, ſeems well enough adapted for *that End*; as containing at once, a certain, cheap, eaſy, and expeditious Method for *the Purpoſe*, in Caſe the Legiſlature ſhould think it proper to enter upon *ſuch an Enquiry only*. But further than that, ingenious as it is, I think it would not be *uſeful*; principally, *becauſe* it is calculated to operate chiefly by a RETROSPECT: It being *thereby* propoſed, That every GROWER *of* and DEALER and WORKER *in Wool*, ſhall from time to time, convey *his own Regiſter* to the Petty Conſtable of the Pariſh; a Duplicate of which ſealed up, is, at ſtated Times, to be tranſmitted, ſo ſealed, from him, through the Hands of the High Conſtable, to the Clerk of the Peace, and, *by him*, to *one* PRINCIPAL REGISTER, in *London*; by whom they are ALL to be ſorted,

digeſted alphabetically, then printed, and corrected, where needful, with *his own Pen*; to be laid before the two Houſes of Parliament, the Board of Trade; and to be ſent down in Duplicates to each Clerk of the Peace; where *one Copy* is to be locked up as an authentick Record; the other to lie open for the publick Inſpection of all Perſons, qualified in a certain Manner, who will take pains to detect unfair Traders for the *ſake of the Reward*, viz. $\frac{2}{3}$ of a high Penalty *to be levied on Offenders ſolvent*.

And if *Great Britain* was not of larger Extent, nor more populous than the little County of *Rutland*, it might do very well. But to ſhew the *whole* Scheme *impracticable* to all Intents and Purpoſes, we need only conſider the probable Bulk of *ſuch an univerſal Regiſter*, from the imaginable Number of Perſons concerned therein, and the Contents of their Dealings. The Number of Perſons would undoubtedly be ONE MILLION at the feweſt. And by reflecting in what Method it would be neceſſary to form this Regiſter; that there muſt be *one* diſtinct Column throughout, for the *Names* of Perſons, and *many others* for *Things*, ſuch as, the *County*, *Diviſion* of the *County*, *Conſtablery*, *high Conſtablery*, *Sheep*, *Lambs*, *Fleeces*, *broken Wool*, *Groſs Weight*, &c. &c.—We may perceive that it would be granting a great deal to admit that upon a Medium, one large Folio Page, would contain all the *regiſtrable* Concerns of *five Perſons*.

ſons. If ſo, the *whole Regiſter of one Year* would amount to no leſs than TWO HUNDRED *large Folio Volumes* of a THOUSAND Pages each.

And therefore, conſidering the *Part* of the ONE PRINCIPAL REGISTER, which is, to prepare ALL theſe 200 Volumes for the Preſs, with great Care and Exactneſs, with proper Indexes and References, backward and forward (or it will ſignify nothing;) to compare the printed Copies with the Originals, and correct them where needful; it is very apparent that the Buſineſs of *one Year's Regiſtry*, which, according to this Scheme, by the Nature of it, muſt *neceſſarily* be performed by *one Perſon*, could not be executed in any *one Man's* whole Life time. Conſequently, it could not be executed at all,—but, from the Moment of the Duplicates being ſealed up by the petty Conſtables, the whole Affair, for that Year, would be at an End. I think, I am not miſtaken: I would not voluntarily misjudge, or go about to miſlead any Perſon. Hence I am ſtrongly perſuaded, that an *effectual Regiſtry* muſt be conducted ſomewhat in the manner of the Exciſe.——But adopting ſome of the *Exciſe Rules*, does not, it may be conſidered, neceſſarily imply an Extenſion of the *Exciſe Laws*, properly ſpeaking.

F I N I S.