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THE GROWTH
OF
ENGLISH INDUSTRY
AND
COMMERCE
IN MODERN TIMES

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THE GROWTH
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BY
W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D.



Laissez Faire

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up by substantial tenants, before the full effects of foreign competition were felt. 840

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280. Emigration and the Colonies. The economic principles of *laissez faire* in commerce, combined with a belief that the colonies were an expense to the mother country and that they would gain by independence, rendered the English public indifferent to the retention of the colonies; while the colonists were irritated by occasional interference on behalf of native rights in South Africa, and of negroes in the West Indies, where the long protected sugar industry has suffered severely. Protection was also withdrawn from Canadian lumber in accordance with Free Trade doctrine. Emigration was encouraged by Lord Selkirk and the Canada Company, and the advantages of systematic colonisation, as a means of relieving England of redundant population and a plethora of capital, were expounded by Wakefield, whose views were partly adopted in the development of Australia and New Zealand. He helped to create a new enthusiasm at home for colonial empire, while steps were taken, both in Canada and New Zealand, to introduce responsible government and thus plant English institutions and strengthen English influence throughout the world. 850

POSTSCRIPT.

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APPENDIX A.

WAGES ASSESSMENTS, p. 37.

THE nature of the attempts which were made under the Act of 1563 to regulate wages may be best illustrated by the reproduction of one particular example. The specimen selected is a very detailed Middlesex Assessment; it is undated, and appears to have been printed as a form that might be issued from time to time, without substantial alteration. The original is in the British Museum [190. g. 13 (202)].

A list has been added of the examples of assessments, and allusions to assessments, which have come under my notice. The recently published assessment for weavers in Wiltshire in 1602, is of special interest, as well as the reasons alleged by the Grand Jury for regulating wages in 1661. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1901, *Various Collections*, I. 322.

i. THE MIDDLESEX ASSESSMENT OF 166—.

At the Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace, of our Sovereign Lord the King, held for the County of *Middlesex* at *Westminster* in the said County, upon next after the Feast of *Easter* (to wit) the Day of in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, etc. the The Rates of Servants Wages, Labourers, Workmen and Artificers (in pursuance of the Statute of the Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*, in that behalf made and provided) are rated and assessed by the Justices of the Peace of the said County at the said Sessions assembled (calling to their assistance some others of the discreet Inhabitants of the said County) as hereafter followeth :

And it is ordered by the said Justices, that the Sheriff of the said County shall cause the said Rates to be Proclaimed and Published according to the Statute in that Case also made and provided ; and that after such Proclamation and Publication made

of the said Rates, that no person whatsoever (which may be therein concerned) shall (this present Year) presume to give, allow, demand, receive, or take any greater Wages then such as are mentioned in the said Rates; neither shall any Master, or Mistress, entertain or put away any Servant, Workman or Labourer; neither shall any Servant, Workman, or Labourer, depart from any Master or Mistress, which may be mentioned or intended in the said Statute of the Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth* or any other Statute in that behalf provided, without due observation of the said Statutes, under such pains and penalties as are therein respectively mentioned.

The Rates of Wages for Labourers and Artificers, published within the County of MIDDLESEX, for the Year of our Lord, 166—

Artificers working by the Year, find themselves Tools.

Free Masons :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Carpenters :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Joyners :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Carvers :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Wheelwrights :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Rope-Makers :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Collar-makers :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Bricklayers :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Tylers :	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Blacksmiths :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Plowrights :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Tanners :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Curriers :	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.

Wind-millers:	Of the best sort,	£ 8.
	Of the second sort,	5.
Shoemakers:	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Bakers being	Of the best sort,	10,
Furners ¹ :	Of the second sort,	6.
Butchers being	Of the best sort,	10.
Foremen:	Of the second sort,	6.
Brewers:	Of the best sort,	20.
	Of the second sort,	10.
Sawyers:	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Plasterers:	Of the best sort,	12.
	Of the second sort,	8.
Tailors:	Of the best sort,	8.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Glovers:	Of the best sort,	8.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Turners:	Of the best sort,	10.
	Of the second sort,	7.
Fletchers:	Of the best sort,	8.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Sadlers:	Of the best sort,	8.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Coopers:	Of the best sort,	8.
	Of the second sort,	6.
Water Corn	Of the best sort,	12.
Millers:	Of the second sort,	8.

Artificers working by the Day from the midst of March to the midst of September.

	£	s.	d.
Free Masons:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			18.
" " " without " "	2		6.
Of the second sort with " "			12.
" " " without " "	2		0.
Carpenters:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			18.
" " " without " "	2		6.

¹ A man who has charge of an oven.

[Carpenters]:	£ s. d.
Of the second sort with meat and drink,	12
" " " without "	2 0.
Joiners:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	18.
" " " without " "	2 6.
Of the second sort with " "	12.
" " " without "	2 0.
Carvers:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	18.
" " " without " "	2 6.
Of the second sort with " "	12.
" " " without "	2 0.
Bricklayers:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	18.
" " " without " "	2 6.
Of the second sort with " "	12.
" " " without "	2 0.
Tylers:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	18.
" " " without " "	2 6.
Of the second sort with " "	12.
" " " without "	2 0.
Thatchers:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	12.
" " " without " "	2 0.
Of the second sort with " "	9.
" " " without "	18.
A paire of Sawyers:	
With meat and drink,	2 0.
Without meat and drink,	4 0.
<i>Artificers working by the Day from the midst of September to the midst of March.</i>	
Freemasons:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	12.
" " " without " "	2 0.
Of the second sort with " "	10.
" " " without "	20.
Carpenters:	
Of the best sort with meat and drink,	12.
" " " without " "	2 0.

[Carpenters]:	£	s.	d.
Of the second sort with meat and drink,			10.
" " " without "			20.
Joyners:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			12.
" " " without " "	2	0.	
Of the second sort with " "			10.
" " " without "			20.
Carvers:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			12.
" " " without " "	2	0.	
Of the second sort with " "			10.
" " " without "			20.
Bricklayers:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			12.
" " " without " "	2	0.	
Of the second sort with " "			10.
" " " without "			20.
Tylers:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			12.
" " " without " "	2	0.	
Of the second sort with " "			10.
" " " without "			20.
Thatchers:			
Of the best sort with meat and drink,			8.
" " " without " "			18.
Of the second sort with " "			6.
" " " without "			16.
A paire of Sawyers:			
With meat and drink,			20.
Without " "	3	0.	
Sawyers working by the great,			
For sawing of Boards by the hundred, for every hundred,	3	0.	
For sawing of alitting work by the hundred, for every hundred,	3	0.	
<i>Husbandmen and Hindes serving by the Year.</i>			
Carters or Drivers:			
Of the best sort,	8	0	0.
Of the second sort,	6	0	0.
Of the third sort,	4	0	0.

Hindes or Husbandmen :	2 s. d.
Of the best sort,	6 0 0.
Of the second sort,	4 0 0.
Of the third sort,	3 0 0.
Gardiners :	
Of the best sort,	8 0 0
Of the second sort,	6 0 0.
Of the third sort,	4 0 0.
Gardiners working by the day :	
Without meat and drink,	2 6.
With meat and drink,	18.
Of the second sort without meat and drink,	2 0.
" " " with " " "	12.
<i>Common Labourers and Workmen by the Day.</i>	
For mowing Corn and Grass by the day with meat and drink,	12.
Without meat and drink,	2 0.
For reaping of Corn with meat and drink,	12.
" " " without " "	2 0.
For making of Hay with meat and drink,	8.
" " " without " "	16.
Labourers of the best sort from the midst of September to the midst of March with meat and drink,	8.
Without meat and drink,	16.
The same of the second sort with meat and drink,	6.
Without meat and drink,	12.
The same of the best sort from the midst of March to the midst of September with meat and drink,	10.
Without meat and drink.	18.
The same of the second sort with meat and drink,	8.
Without meat and drink,	14.
Mowing of Grass well grown by the Acre,	2 6.
Mowing of Barley " " " "	14.
Mowing of Oats " " " "	14.
Mowing of Beans by the Acre	2 6.
Reaping, binding and laying in shacks of Wheat or Rie well grown, and not very sore Lidge ¹ by the Acre,	6 0.

¹ Corn not very badly laid.

	£	s.	d.
Thrashing and making clean Wheat by the Quarter,	2	0	
The like for Rie by the Quarter,	2	0	
The like for Barly by the Quarter,		14	
The like for Oats and Beans by the Quarter,		14	
For pleshing ¹ of a good Quick Hedge by the Rod,			3.
Making of a Hedge, Ditch, with double Quick-set, the Ditch being 2 foot and an half deep, 4 foot wide at the brim, and one foot wide in the bottom; for every Pole the workman finding Quick,			14.
The same, the Ditch being 2 foot deep, 3 foot wide, and less than one foot in the bottom; for a Pole,			12.
Scowring and paring the Bank of an old Ditch,			3.
Felling and making tall Wood by the Load,			12.
Felling and making Billet by the thousand,	2	0	
Felling and hewing Colewood by the dozen,			20.
Felling, making and binding of Faggots, and Brush, or Lash Baven ² by the hundred,	2	6	

*Women serving or working by the Year
and by the Day.*

The best Woman Servant by the year,	4	0	0.
The second sort by the year,	3	0	0.
The third sort " "	2	0	0.
Women making Hay by the day with meat and drink,			6.
Without meat and drink,			12.
The same for reaping Corn with meat and drink,			6.
Without meat and drink,			12.
The same for other Harvest Work with meat and drink,			6.
Without meat and drink,			12.

¹ Plaiting.

² Brushwood.

ii. *Wages Assessments and References to Assessments made by the Justices of the Peace*¹.

Norfolk. 9 H. VI. Assessment. Printed in *English Hist. Review*, Vol. XIII.

Northamptonshire, 1560. Assessment among Earl Spencer's MSS., *Hist. MSS. Commission*, II. Ap. 18. *CL Economic Journal*, II. 504 n.

Buckinghamshire, 1562. Assessment. *Economic Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 343.

Rutland, 1564. Assessment. Bodleian, Arch. F. c. 11.

Lincoln (County of), 1564. Assessment in Queen's College, Oxford. Proclamation Book, fol. 77—79.

Southampton, 1564. Bodleian, Arch. F. c. 11, preamble of an Assessment.

Kingston-upon-Hull, 1570. Assessment. Dyson, Proclamation Book. Brit. Museum, G. 6463 (77).

Warwick (Town), 1586. Reference to the practice in *Book of John Fisher*, p. 156.

Chester, City of, 1591. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. VI. p. 685.

Yorkshire (East Riding), 1593. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI. 686².

Chester, City of, 1594. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, VI. p. 685.

Devonshire, 1594. Assessment. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions Records*, p. 12.

Lancaster, 1595. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 689.

New Sarum, Wilts, 1595. Assessment in Proclamation Book, Queen's College, Oxford, f. 331.

Higham Ferrers, Northampton, 1595. Assessment in Proclamation Book, Society of Antiquaries.

Cardigan, 1595. Assessment in Dyson, *op. cit.* (331 B.).

London. Reference to almost continuous Assessment, made

¹ As to the rating of Wages by Gilds and Town Authorities, numerous examples are given of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in an article by Miss B. L. Hutchins: *The Regulation of Wages by Gild and Town Authorities*. *Economic Journal*, Vol. X. p. 404.

² In the year 1593 bills were drafted for regulating the wages of weavers and spinners by the piece. The assessment annexed was apparently intended to have statutory authority. S. P. D. El. cxxlrv. 129, 130.

from 1514 to 1607. E. A. McArthur: "Regulation of Wages in the Sixteenth Century," *Eng. Hist. Review*, Vol. xv., and also to assessments for other parts of the country, 1565, 1578, 1581, 1586, 1588, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1596.

Middlesex. Reference to Assessments in 17th century. See Miss E. A. McArthur, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

Wiltshire, 1602—85. Assessments and continuing orders. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1901, *Various Collections*, I. 161.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1608. Reference to the existence of an Assessment, a gentleman being presented for giving higher wages than those fixed, *North Riding Record Society, Quarter Sessions Records*, ed. Atkinson, I. p. 148. A labourer was also presented at another Sessions (April), for refusing to work for such wages as the statute appointed, *ib.* II. 114, and another instance occurs in the following January, II. 141.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1610. Two presentments. Vol. II. 202, 220, of men who refused to work at the statute rate testify to the existence of Assessments. A woman was also presented that year for giving too much wages, and two others for refusing to state the amounts their servants received, *ib.* II. 207.

Norfolk, 1610. Assessment. *Eng. Hist. Review*, XIII. p. 523.

Rutland, 1610. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 691.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1613. A man was presented for giving wages contrary to the Statute, *op. cit.*, II. p. 37.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1614. A man was presented to the justices for refusing to work for statute wages.

Lincolnshire, 1619. Assessment among the MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, *Hist. MSS. Commission*, XII. Ap. iv., p. 455.

Lincolnshire, 1621. Assessment. *Hist. MSS. Commission*, XII. Ap. iv., p. 460.

Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, 1630. The Council ordered Assessments to be made in a letter to the justices of these four counties, *English Hist. Review*, Vol. XIII.

Suffolk, 1630. Assessment. *English Hist. Review*, Vol. XII.

Norwich, 1630 reported having made an Assessment to the Council, S. P. D. C. I. CLXXVI. 1.

St Albans, 1631. Assessment. Gibbs, *Corporation Records of St Albans*, p. 281.

Hertfordshire, 1631. Assessment. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, I. p. xxii.

Derbyshire, 1634. Assessment. Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, II. p. 239.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1647. A man was presented for paying unreasonable wages to labourers contrary to the law, IV. p. 270.

Nottinghamshire (Mansfield), 1648. Reference to Assessment in George Fox's *Journal*, 1694 (p. 17).

Derbyshire, 1648. Assessment. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

Essex, 1651. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, VI. p. 696.

Devonshire, 1654. Assessment, Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

London, 1655. Assessment in British Museum, 21. h. 5 (61).

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1658. Assessment. *Quarter Sessions Records*, Vol. VI. p. 3.

Middlesex, 166-. Assessment in British Museum, 190. g. 13 (202). See p. 885 above.

Essex, 1661. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, VI. 697.

Worcestershire, 1663. Assessment. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1901; *Various Collections*, I. 323.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1680. Reference to the justices having assessed wages, *op. cit.* VII. pp. 34, 45. 57 masters and their servants were presented in the January sessions for giving and receiving more wages than were rated. In the following sessions (18 January) five more masters were presented, and in April 1681 seven more cases were brought up.

Lincolnshire, 1680. Assessment. P. Thompson, *History of Boston*, p. 761.

Suffolk, 1682. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, VI. 698.

Warwickshire, 1684. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 699.

Buckinghamshire, 1688. Assessment. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

Yorkshire (North Riding), 1692. Wages ordered to be republished as they were appointed and settled last year. *Quarter Sessions Records*, VII. p. 128.

Yorkshire (West Riding), 1703. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, Vol. VII. p. 610. This Assessment was re-issued in 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1722.

Shropshire. Reference to Assessments in 1710, 1711, 1712. The Assessment of 1732 is given in full in *Economic Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 516. This was republished in 1733, 1734, 1735, 1738, 1739.

Devonshire, 1712. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Nottinghamshire, 1724. Assessment in British Museum, 1882. d. 2 (192).

Lancashire, 1725. *Annals of Agriculture*, xxv. p. 305.

Gloucestershire, 1727. *A State of the Case, &c. of the late Commotions* (1757), quoted by Hewins, *English Trade and Finance*, 160.

Kent, 1732. Assessment. Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, vii. p. 623.

Gloucester, 1732. Assessment. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. vii. p. 610.

Lincolnshire, 1754. Assessment. P. Thompson, *History of Boston*, p. 766.

The existence of 47 assessments is mentioned by Mr Hewins in his article on "The Regulation of Wages by the Justices of the Peace," in the *Economic Journal*, Vol. viii. 344. As references are not given to the place and date of these assessments, it is difficult to say how far the instances he has collected coincide with those enumerated above. That they supplement the foregoing list to some extent is clear from the fact that it does not contain assessments from Cheshire, Colchester, Dorset and Somersetshire, though Mr Hewins has come across examples from these places.

APPENDIX B.

ENCLOSURE AND DEPOPULATION, 1607.

The following paper, endorsed *A consideration of the cause in question before the Lords touchinge depopulation* and dated 5 July 1607, has been preserved among the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum (Tit. F. iv. f. 319). It appears to consist of memoranda for consideration by the Council in connection with the Northamptonshire riots. See above, pp. 102, 103.

JULY 5, 1607. A CONSIDERATION OF THE CAUSE IN QUESTION BEFORE THE LORDS TOUCHING DEPOPULATION.

In redresse of these offences. Inclosures convertinge of Arrable. *Depopulation* made the pretended causes of this last tumulte. 3 things may falle into consideration

- 1 Whether the tyme be fitte to gyve remedie, when suche encouragement may moue the people to seeke redresse, by the like outrage, and therefore in Edw: the sixte his tyme the remedie was not pursued untill twoe Yeares after the rebellion of Ketta.
- 2 Whether these pretended be truly inconvenyant and therefore fitt to consider what iust reason may be alleaged for

I *Inclosures* w^{ch} are

- 1 *Securitie of state from*
 - i { forraigne Invadors whoe cannot see easelie marche spoile and forraye in an enclosed Countrie, as a Champion.
 - ii { *Domestic commotions* whiche Wilbe prevented when their false pretences (*Inclosiours* w^{ch} they use *ad faciendum populum* ar taken awaye.
 - i { *A contrario*: the Nurseries of Beggars are Common as appeareth by fennes and forests of Welthie people the enclosed Countries as *Essex Somersett Devon &c*: fewell w^{ch} they want in the Champion, is supplied by Inclosures. And laborers, encreased as are their employments by Hedgeinge and ditcheinge.

2 Increase of welthe and people proued

ii	{ <i>A comparatis</i> : as <i>Northamptonshire</i> and <i>Somersett</i> the one most Champion, more ground, Little Waste, the other all enclosed but inferior in <i>quantitie</i> and <i>qualitie</i> : Yett by advantage of severaltie, and choice of employment exceedinge farre in	{ People for the Musters of	{	Horses	{ <i>Northt.</i> { 20 lances 80 light horse
				{ <i>Somersett</i> { 60 lances 250 light horse	
ii	{ <i>A comparatis</i> : as <i>Northamptonshire</i> and <i>Somersett</i> the one most Champion, more ground, Little Waste, the other all enclosed but inferior in <i>quantitie</i> and <i>qualitie</i> : Yett by advantage of severaltie, and choice of employment exceedinge farre in	{	{	foote	{ <i>Northt.</i> { 600 petronalis 600 trayned
				{ <i>Somersett</i> { 4000 trayned 12000 untrayned	
ii	{ <i>A comparatis</i> : as <i>Northamptonshire</i> and <i>Somersett</i> the one most Champion, more ground, Little Waste, the other all enclosed but inferior in <i>quantitie</i> and <i>qualitie</i> : Yett by advantage of severaltie, and choice of employment exceedinge farre in	{	{	Subsidy	{ <i>Northt.</i> 97 ^s . 1 ^s . 4 ^d { <i>Somers</i> 3832. 12. 10
				Fiftene	{ <i>Northt.</i> 963. 0. 0 { <i>Somers.</i> 1138. 0. 0
				Tenths clar.	{ <i>Northt.</i> 217. 0. 0 { <i>Somers</i> 651. 0. 0
				Profitt or Welthe by the	

II Leasinge the Employment of the ground to discretion of the occupants: see all the howses and Land may be maynteyned in severalle tenancies, Ingrosinge beinge truly the disease and not convertinge wiche may be iustified for

- 1 *Equalitie*, for the Laws of tillage haveinge Lefte Essex and many other Shires to their choice, and thereby noe Inconveniencie in the stat found, and that all Arguments alleaged for those Counties will infer as muche for the inland shires of *Northampton Leicesters &c*. and because their situation see remote from any porte or navigable Ryver (wherby the charge of carriage farre exceedinge the full worthe of the Corne they sell) leaveth to them a disadvantage only: It weare more iuste to gyve the free employinge of their ground to suche Husbandrie as will reduce them to an equalitie of benefit w^{ch} the *Navigable* shires, (w^{ch} is by crasinge (to w^{ch} their soyle is more fitte then other Counties) wherby the vent of suche *their Commodities shall be more*

2 Nor the true baliaunce of our beste commodities, Wolle and Corne (whearin the ouerweight will appear in the Laste) for in Henr. the 8. his tyme wolle was the *Todde* vij^d and viij^d. Barye (the greatest grayne of the Inland shires) vi^d and viij^d the bushell the one is nowe usually xxiiij^d the todde the other xvij^d and xx^d the strike. Soe Wolle risen above 3 thirles holdeth almoste a proportion wth all other Comodities treble emproued by the encrease of moneys. And Corne Little more then doble, is the reason of conuertinge arable to reduce the profites equal to the Husbandman, for keepinge the Land in diuided Tenantry. the good individuall is the good generall: for Corne beinge dearer then Clothe or meat comparatively the Husbandman will plowe: since his only ende is profite. if equal or vnder noe reason to constraime him for that Lawe which divideth labor from profitta (as the Art of tillage) is that wth causeth the greate difference of the Welthes and abilities of severall shires as the ar oppressed with that *Statute*.

- III *Depopulation* wth (as all other engrossment) admitteth noe defence doth iustlie moue a course of remedie wth muste be for
- | | | | | |
|---|--|----|---|---|
| 1 | Redresse of what is already done either by | i | { | A newe Lawe (for theould is defectiue and will hardly support an Information) And to reache to all is mooste iust, since by noe reason <i>Antiquitie</i> ought to turne mischeffe into conuenyencie, when it weare more fitte that he that by Longest offendinge hath done the most preiudice and receyued the beste benefitt, should in the punishment vndergoe the greatest Censure. And therefore it weare conuenient to tye by Statut, all men to hold as their Demeasne not aboute the 4 th parte of any Mannour, the other 3 to be deuyded into tenements and noe one to exceede 100 Acres. And that noe man in the same parishe should keepe twoe such tenementts in his occupation |
| | or | ii | | |
| | or | | | By authoritie of Counsaill, as aboute the 9 of Henr. 7; 22 Henr. 8; and 4 or 5 of Ed: 6 when the offenders weare called uppe, and weare by order enioyned to reedifie, halfe as many in euery Mannour as they had decayed, and, became bound by recognisance as appeareth in the <i>Exchequer</i> in the case of <i>Andrews of Winwick</i> and others, from tyme to tyme to maynteyne soe many and soe much Land to them as they were ordered by the Lordes to doe. |
- 2 Prevention of that to come. And that may best be to cause throughe the Champion Countries or the whole Kingdome suche a survey to be made by Commission as was 7^e of Edw: the first returned into the Chauncerie and at this daye called the Hundred Rolles expresseng what Lande is the Lordes Demeasne, and the particular number of all the howses and quantitie of Lande belonging to them in euery Parishe in the Kingdome. That done to enioyne in euery Parishe by a newe Lawe that number to be maynteyned: and the *Judges* in their Circuits usually to enquire of all defaults thearin. And that upon euery decaye or vnpeopleinge of any of those Howses recorded, and noe other wth in the space of one Yeaer builded wth in the same Mannour or neare there vnto wth a like quantitie of ground annexed to it, it shalbe lawfull for the Lord Tresorer and Barons of the *Exchequer* to Lease it for 21^e Yeaeres only as a Mortmayne, and demise it for that tearme to the King's vse, and retorne it in charge into the *Exchequer*.

By redressing the fault of *Depopulation* and Leausinge enclosings, and conuertinge arbitrable (*sic*) as in other shires the poore man shalbe satisfied in His ende; Habitation; and the gentleman not Hindred in his desier: Improvement. But as thar is now a Labour to sute out Dwellings for as muche stocke of people as the Comon Wealth will beare it muste likewise be fitt, as good husbendes doe with their groundes to prouide that you doe not over burthen it. But as they doe wth their encrease remoue them to other places: soe must the state either by transferring to the Warres or deduceings of *Colomes* vent the daylie encrease that ells will surcharge the State: for if in London a place more contagions then the Countrye the number of Cristenings doth weakely by 40 exceede the burials, and that the Countrye proportionally doth equal if not outgoe that rate, It cannot be but that in this State, as in a full bodie there must breake out Yeaerly tumors and Inpostures as did of late.

APPENDIX C.

THE ACTION OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. IN REGARD
TO TRADE AND THE COLONIES.
pp. 175, 176, 199, 343.

The question as to the success of the early Stuarts in their efforts to promote commerce and colonisation may give rise to much difference of opinion; it is at all events clear that an attempt to control the development of material progress by means of monarchical authority was not likely to be favourably received in the circumstances of the time. The following extracts may serve to show that whether the course they pursued in regard to trade and colonisation was wise or not, neither James I. nor Charles I. was wholly supine or careless in the matter. James I. contemplated the creation of a Council of Trade, and this idea was taken up by Charles I. It had for a time at least regular sittings at which His Majesty was present and himself made suggestions. Not merely was there this activity as regards trade; a special body of Lords Commissioners for the Plantations was created with full powers to control the development of newly settled lands beyond the seas.

i. *Letter of James I. to Commissioners of Trade, on the State of the Woollen Industry.* See above, p. 199. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12,496, f. 113.

Right trustie and welbeloved Councillors and the rest. Wee greete you well.

Not long since, for the more quiet trade and Commerce within this our Kingdome. And for the better advancement of our Customes, and the keeping of our subjects from Idlenes by restraining of the Woolles of this Realme from exportation and by draping of them all here at home, being the principall staple comoditie of this our Kingdom. Wee did direct a Commission to you touching the advancement of Trade. And whilest you did attend the service required by that Commission wee founde many particular benefitts to arrise to us and our subjects thorough

your paines and endeavors taken in that behalfe. As namely the increase of our Customes, the vent and sale of a greater bulke of Cloth than formerlie was vented. The price of the Woolles risen in many of our Counties to 4^s and 5^s in a Todd more then it was wont to be solde for. The poore Clothiers and Clothworkers were then freed and disburdened of many vexatious and chargeable Suites brought against them by troublesom Informers and Aulnagers. And our Marchants incouraged and perswaded by your care to buy up clothes in a rounder and greater proportion than they were accustomed to doe. But for so much as wee are now given to understand that since you gave over your sitting upon the sayd Commission many things are much out of Frame. The woolles are weekely and familiarly transported into France Holland and other forreine parts to the decay of our Customes and of the quantitie of cloth which was wont to be made yearlie here. Our Clothiers and Clothworkers disquieted and troubled, by unjust suites comenced against them, by Informers, Aulnagers and many other greate disorders and abuses committed by sundrie persons since you neglected your Attendance upon the said Commission. This are therefore to will and require you all delays and excuses sett aparte, to meete constantlie once a Weeke at Haberdashers Hall about this Commission of Trade. For wee hold it necessarie to keepe that Commission still afoote, seeing nothing can concerne the welfare of our Revenue in point of our Customes more than the due execution thereof. Besides new Accidents doe daylie and ordinarilie befall in matters of Trade which cannot be well reformed or remedied without your travaile and paynes to execute that Commission. And weekely to consult and conferr together how to cutt off all mischiefes and inconvenience which are alreadie crept in or shall hereafter come to your knowledge. So expecting your attendance and care hearunto, And also to acquaint us from time to time with your proceedings herein wee bidd you heartilie farewell.

Given at our Court at Newmarket the 23rd of Januarie 1624.

To our right trustie and welbeloved Cosen and Councillor Henry Vicecount Mandevile President of our priue Councill and to our right trustie and right welbeloved Councillors Fulke, Lord Brooke, Sir John Suckling Knight Comptroller of our Household Sir George Caluert Knight one of our principall Secretaries Sir Julius Caesar Knight Maister of the Rolles and to our trustie and welbeloved the rest of our Commissioners for Trade.

ii. *Instructions to the Council of Trade under Charles I.*
See p. 175 n. 3. S. P. D., C. I. XLIV. 20.

Whereby a Committee, Lately chosen ; Wee have bene certeyed of the diverse and severall causes of the decaye of trade and commerce within our severall domynions, with the remedies thereof amongst which it was conceived that a standinge Committee of select persons of quallitie, to whom the subiect in cases of difference, disorder, practise and combynacion of trades and artifcyers impedymentinge the prosperitie of the kingdome, might haue reference unto, Is both usefull and of necessyitie ffor the orderly gouerninge and Ballancinge of trade and redye reformacion of any matter or cause repugnant to, or interruptinge the same ffor which purpose wee have assigned etc. Authorising them to consyder and examyne the seuerall causes of the aforesaid decaye and how the Native Comodities improvinge the revenue of the Land may be vented, the people upon Manufactories or otherwise employed, and the Nauie by traffique and Commerce increased or any matter, cause, or thinge conducinge to all or any the premisses before specified, with power by informacion or otherwise to summon by warrant under their hands or any vi of them any person or persons knowne, suspected or pryvie to the transportacon of any Wooles, Wooll-fells, Wollen yarne, Fullers earth woad ashes or any other Materyall incident to the makinge of Cloth or other Manufactories, Inhibited by any Lawe or proclamacon ; and upon such their examynacon and conviction, they shalbe by the said Comissioners, turned over to our Attorney Generall to be proceeded against for such their contempt in our high Courte of Starr Chamber And all other persons, in any cases wherein the said Comissioners shall require shall redylie assist and perform such their orders and directions.

And for the avoyding of Confederacies and combynacions incydent by contynuance of tyme amongst Merchants in Companies and Corporacions they shall by like autorite survey all such orders and institutions already made or hereafter to be made, and the same not to be put in execution without the allowance and approbacion of the said Comissioners : the greater number or any vi of them, in case the said ordynances and Instrucons tend more to the pryvate then publike good, and with like power to consyder how farr the said societies are fitt to be enlarged in Number of traders, As also of vendible returnes for the Eastland Merchants in recouerye of that and the like lost trades. And

how many the principall thinge whereof our kingdomes neede may be imported and contynued within the same for the redye ballancinge of Comodities in Commerce betweene man and man And further to bringe the Cloth and other the Woollen Manufactories into their auncient Credite and estymacion they shall out of the many Lawes alreedy made, recollect soe much at present usefull with supply of further observacions and directions incydent to the true makeing, dyeing and dressing as well for the new draperyes as the owld And for that nothinge can be more hurtfull to any Merchant or tradesman then the wastfull expence of money and tyme attendinge litigious suites, in prevention whereof any vi of the said Commissioners nominyated and chosen shall heare and determyne all such differences arising betweene the Wooll grower, Clothyer and Merchant not exceeding the some of 200£ restinge due or in demand either from other unlesse by joynt assent and agreement of all parties from whose sentence noe appeale to be admitted, otherwise they shall only proceed to heare and certefye and for their better informacion and discouerye of the truth in the proceedings herein, they shall examyn upon oath witnesses or parties themselues who upon notice by warrant as before said shall give them.....

1. That not any Wools etc. be carried or transported to any the partes beyond the seas out of his Majesties domynions of England, Scotland or Ireland or any the Isles or Ports thereof And in case Irelande have more then they can indrape they shall bring them to [] there to be stapled, And for the redye vent of the Scottish woolles in respect they have not the use of Manufactory they shall bring them either in wooll or yarne to [] there to receive in barter for them Cloth with Libertie to carrye them wheresoever they please paying the ordynarye duties due therein.

2. That Blackes at funeralles be in Cloth and stuffes of English wooll made within the Kingdome.

3. That such Cloth and Stuffes as apprentices servants and labourers doe weare be of English wooll made within the Kingdome.

4. That huswives make not Cloth other then for their owne spending but not to sell to the discouragement of the Clothyer and the Draper.

5. That all false dyeing stuffes be banished and not used in Cloth or Stuffes.

iii. *Minutes of the Committee of Trade*. S. P. D., C. I.,
CCLXXXIII. 13. p. 176 n.

5 Feb. 1634. His Majesty present.

1. To consider of the booke of Rates.
2. Imposition upon horses.
3. Imposition upon Corne especially Branka.
4. Imposition upon Raw silkes or English manufacturing of
it and the law against strangers the manufactors to be Con-
sidered of.
5. Improvement upon salt.
6. Retribution of custom and impost to be regulated.
7. Wine 20^s per tonn.
8. Groates and threepenia.
9. Refiners of siluer to be suppressed.

The 14 Feb. 1634. His Majesty present.

Mr Serjeant Heath read at the boord a paper of the pro-
posicion of salt, in which among other things it was desired that
the salt of Scotland might be limited to the quantity (heere
imported) and the price as in former times, of which particular
his Majesty comanded a paper by itselfe to be given him, and
approved the busines in generall and ordered

1. Letters from the boord to such as had panns and must be
compounded with.
2. Defalcacion of imposition in case of disturbance by
Warrs etc.
3. The measure Winchester gallons the manner of measuring
to be enquired.
4. The price 2^s per bushell.
5. A corporacion desired.

[Concern]ing Tobacco. The Lord Treasurer propounded the
garbling of Tobacco: ordered the fermors to be spoken with.

The Lord Treasurer acquainted the boord that the fermors
complained that the merchants pay them not the custom because
the wines are not taken by the vintners. Upon debate it was
propounded that the Vintners might have liberty to victuall again
paying to his Majesty something upon the consumption of Wyne
which was left to the Lord Treasurer to treate his Majestie and
the Lordes well approving for the present.

The Lord Privy Seale moued the business to Mr Evelin one of the 6 Clerkes, and thereupon it was debated if the busines of the 6 Clerkes should be compounded. His Majesty resolved that if they wold all compound, the Lord Treasurer shold treat with them all.

21 Feb. 1634. His Majesty present.

Certain demands of the Company of Vintners presented by the Lord Treasurer for dressing of meate, selling Tobacco, free buying without forestalling, lessening the number of licenses as they shall fall voide, etc.

1. Victualling with moderation etc. not disliked.
2. Tobacco as it may stand with his Majesty's profit.
3. Regrating or reselling of wine aproued.
4. No more licenses, but diminished as they fall. The number not to be increased.

for which faours it is reported to the boord they will pay the King £6000 presently and for hereafter be regulated (by way of setting the price) to pay what shalbe thought fitting to his majesty upon every Tonne.

Resolved that the £6000 shalbe taken with some engagement from the Company before the Lord Treasurer the Lord Cottington and Secretary Windebank to pay the next yeere what shalbe thought fitting upon the Consumption of Wyne. His Majestie required some aduise touching the cause now in hearing about the Londoners plantations in Ireland.

2 Mar. 1634.

Agreed the Vintners shall have leaue to victuall by connivance (by way of probacion) for one yeere, forbidding venson partridges fesants etc.

The Lord Keeper declared to the Company his Majesties pleasure to this effect and so it was resolved:

His Majestie brought a paper to the boord concerning malting, and commanded Mr Attorney to reade it. The project is the makeing the maltsters a Corporacion and regulating the number. Those that are to be licensed, to pay 4^d or 6^d upon the quarter to his Majesty.

When it was demanded what way was fitt to be helde to be[gin] the worke: Mr Attorney answered that diuers have allredy m[ade] voluntary offers to that ende by petition. Wherupon it was resolved that those who have petitioned shalbe

instantly delt with, that the speediest course may be taken for execution : to which ends the Lord Cottington and Mr Attorney are to confer with the parties that sollicit.

14 Mar. 1634. His Majesty present.

The Lord Cottington and Mr Attorney related to the boord the conferences they haue had with Maltsters, and how they offered fines and rentes to be incorporated. Whereupon it was resolved to wait the coming of others out of Yorkshire and then to propound the raising so much upon the quarter.

Manufacture of cardes heere in England to be proposed the Committee.

24 Mar. 1634. His Majesty present.

Salt. The proposition of Murford concerning salte was represented and himselfe came in person.

For the aduancing of this proiect of salt, lent and fasting daies to be strictly obserued.

An act of state to be made that no licences be granted to butchers from the Lords or others of the Counsell.

Malte. A letter drawn by Mr Attorney and now read from their Lordships to the Justices of peace of seuerall counties or to any 2 of them in every diuision to certify the boord what maltsters there are and what number fitt to be allowed.

The Lord Cottington made reporte of these particulars following :

The business of the booke of Rates referred to the next session by reason of the indisposicion of S^r Abraham Dawes.

Order to be given touching institution of imposition 13. monethes to be giuen because the East India Company have the like time the order to be drawne by Mr Attorney.

Horses. 40^s to be paid for every horse transported and £5 for every mare : this £5 was moued by the King himselfe.

Seacole. The custom abated for Jersey Gernesey Ireland and the poore of London by which the King looses a greate reuenuie ; the abatement is 12^d upon the Caldron in an order to be given to the customers not to give way to this defalcacion 10,000 chaldron of this abated for the poore of London : the King will know whether the poore have really the benefit heerof : the L. Privy Seale gave some account of the well employment of this to the poore of London. Ordered that a certificate be made hereof by the City.

Lead. 20^s to be laid upon a fether of lead exported.

Cardes. Cost the King 7 or £800 per ann. out of his purse : the King paid 2/ upon every grosse of cardes : the King receives £50 per ann. and looses £800 the customers forbidden to abate this custom.

Brankes: french wheate to be deported paying 3/4 the quarter.

Magazins of corne in seuerall townes to be considered of.

Irish hides to be marked that they may be transported again as heretofore English hides transported with them here to fore : which abuse hath interrupted this trade and his Majesty looses much by it in his customs.

6 Apr. 1634. His Majesty present.

S^r Abraham Dawes delivered his opinion : as much to be sett generally upon all as the impost is allredy which is 5 per cent : whereas his Majestie hath 10 per cent he shall have 15. It will come to betweene 30 and 40 thousand.

His Majesty's subiects in Spaine pay after 30 per cent.

The Lord Keeper proposed that the imposition might be raised rather upon such commodities as come from those nations who lay greatest upon ours, than upon others ; but this his Majestie approved not.

S^r Abr. Dawes represented that by laying no imposition upon raw silk in K. James time which was done to bring in the manufacture into England : looseth now 15 thousand per ann at the least by reason of the stufes made here which were wont to be brought from Forain partes. But now that manufacture is managed by aliens and strangers only, and not his Majestie's subiects. To remedy this, an imposition to be laid upon every loome and to that ende. To know how many strangers loomes there are in England.

A note to be delivered by S^r Abr. Dawes as well of these things that are not rated as those that are underrated.

A Privy Seale for renewing the book of rates.

In France they have raised 15 per cent.

To have it generall over all nations as it is in Spaine.

The Lord Privy Seale made a doubt whether this will not decay trade : S^r Abraham Dawes assured not.

Besides the merchant will sell his commodity so much the deerer and we are yet under the rate of other nations for the impositions : especially Spain which is 30 per cent.

Lead. Leade and the ore of it, the transportation of it to be considered of by Dawes and an answer made by him upon Thursday even sevenight being 16 April Dawes to be admonished to keepe those impositions secret till his Majestie communicate them to the whole boord and an act of State be made of it. This my Lord Marshall proposed.

Salt. Salt to be considered of by the Committee tomorrow.

Malt. Malt. Mr Dickinson assured the letters are sent away.

Messengers. The Messingers that failed in the service of the shipping. Mr Attorney gave accompt he hath them in the Star Chamber some of them in the meantime to be suspended.

The Retribution imposition: the 13. moneths to be understood calendary moneths which are but 12.

Young Cæsar having an offer from his Majesty to have a new grant of the place of one of the six clerkes, but he refused it to the Lord Cottington, and will stand upon the validity of his old patent; an act of state to be made of his refusall. Another act of state to be read concerning the rightes of the places of the Six Clerks as they are now settled.

The maritim Countres to be brought into the contribution for shipping the next yeere. The next contributions to be made more equall.

Cardes: the King to be sole merchant of them: and to sell them for 9^d the paire. The defalcacion of the 800 per annum allredy settled. Dice in like manner to be sealed and the King the sole merchant. Accompt of this at the next meeting.

Irish hides marking: respited.

16 Aprill 1635. His Majesty present.

The Lord Cottington reported to his Majesty the business of the powder.

His Majesty was pleased to tell us that S^r Ar: Mannering and Pitkairne will serve powder within halfe a yeere for so much time of respite they desire at 8^d per lb.

Ev: Newport and Sir Jo: Haydon offer to make it with a stock, at 7^d the pound.

Six one and one is six parts of saltpeeter one of cole and one of brimstone. If upon his Majesty's stock of £4000 the Earl of Newport and Sir Job. Heydon will serve it for 7^d, if upon their owne stock they will serve for 8^d.

Evelin to furnish powder at 8^d for six months after the contract ended 16 last the month. Mr Attorney ordered to call upon Evelin and see this performed.

Two of these saltpetermen that S^r John Heydon hath undertaken for, have milles.

Salt. Mr Comptroller gave accompt of what he had done with Murford.

iv. *The Colonial Commission of Charles I.* (S. P. Colonial, VIII. 13). See p. 343 n. 1.

A Commission for the making Lawes and Orders for Government of English Colonies planted in Forraigne parts. 28 Apr. 1634.

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc.

To the most reverend Father in Christe our well beloved and most faithfull Counsellor William by divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury of all England Primat and Metropolitan our well beloved and most faithfull Counsellor Thomas Lord Coventrye Lord Keeper of our Greate Seale of England The most reverend father in Christe our wellbeloved and most faithfull Counsellor Richard by Divine providence Archbishop of Yorke of England primate and Metropolitan our well beloved and most faithfull Cozens and Counsellors Richard Earl of Portland our high Treasurer of England, Henry Earle of Manchester Keeper of our privie Seale Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surry Earle Marshall of England Edward Earle of Dorsett Chamberlin to our most dear consort the Queene And to our beloved and faithfull Counsellors Francis Lord Cottington Chancellor and under Treasurer of our Exchequer Sir Thomas Edmonds Knight Treasurer of our Howsehold Sir Henry Fane knight Controller of the same howsehold Sir John Coke knight one of our priuie Secretaries and Sir Francis Windebank knight one other of our priuie Secretaries greeting.

Whereas very manie of our Subiects and of our late fathers of beloved memorie our Soveraigne Lord James, late king of England by meanes of license Royall: Not only with desire of enlarging the Territories of our Empire, But cheifely out of a pious and religious affection and desire of propagating the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christe with great industry and expenses have caused to be planted large Colonies of the English nation in

divers parts of the world altogether unmanured and voyd of Inhabitants or occupied of the Barbarous people that have no knowledge of divine worship. Wee being willing gratically to provide a remedy for the tranquility and quietnes of those people And being very confident of your faith wisdome justice and provident circumspection have constituted you the aforesaid Arch bishop of Canterbury [names repeated] and anie five or more of you our Commissioners and to you and anie five or more of you Wee doe give and committ power for the Government and safeguard of the said Colonies drawne or without of the English Nation hereafter into those parts shalbe drawne. To make lawes constitutions and ordinances pertaining either to the publike State of those Colonies or to the private proffit of them And concerning the lands goods debts and succession in those partes And how they shall demeane themselves against and towards forraigne Princes and their people, or how they shall beare themselves towards us and our subiects as well in anie forraigne parte whatsoever or on the Seas in those parts or in their retorne sailing home Or which may appertaine to the maintenance of the Clergi government or the Cure of Soules amongst the people living and exercising trade in those partes by designing out congruent porcions arising in Tithes oblations and other things there according to your sound discretions in politicall and Civile causes. And by haueing the advise of two or three Bishops for the settling making and ordering of the business for designing out necessarie Ecclesiasticall and Clergi portions, which you shall cause to be called and taken to you. And to make provision against the violators of those lawes constitutions and ordinances by imposing of penalties and mulcts imprisonment if there be cause and that the qualitie of the offence do require it by deprivation of member or life to be inflicted. With power also our assent being had to remove and displace the Governors or Rulers of those Colonies for causes which to you shall seeme lawfull and others in their steed to constitute. And to require an account of their Rule and Government And whome you shall finde culpable either by deprivation from the place or by imposition of a mulct upon the goods of them in those partes to be levied or banishment from those Provinces in which they haue bin Governors or otherwise to chastice according to the quantitie of the fault, And to constitute Judges and magistrates politicall and civile for civile causes and under the power and forme which to you five or more of you

shall seeme expedient And to ordaine Judges Magistrates and Dignities to causes Ecclesiasticall and under the Power and forme which to you five or more of you with the bishops vicegerents (provided by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being) shall seeme expedient And to ordaine Courts Pretorian and Tribunall as well ecclesiasticall as Civile of Judgments To determine of the formes and manner of proceedings in the same and of appealing from them in matters and causes as well criminall as Civile personall reale and mixt, and to the seats of Justice what maie be equally and wellordered and what crimes faults or excesse of contracts or iniuries ought to belong to the Ecclesiasticall Courts and what to the Civile Court and seate of Justice.

Provided neverthelesse that the lawes ordinances and constitutions of this kinde shall not be put in execution before our assent be had thereunto in writing under our signet signed at least. And this assent being had and the same publikly proclaimed in the Provinces in which they are to be executed wee will and command that those lawes ordinances and constitutions more fully to obtaine strength and be confirmed shalbe inviolably observed of all men whome they shall concerne. Notwithstanding it shalbe lawfull for you five or more of you (as is aforesaid) although those lawes constitutions and ordinances shalbe proclaimed with our Royall assent To change revoake and abrogate them and other new ones in forme aforesaid from tyme to tyme to frame and make as is aforesaid. And to new evils arising or dangers to applie new Remedies as is fitting so often as to you it shall seeme expedient. Furthermore you shall understand that we have constituted you and every five or more of you the aforesaid etc. [names as before]...our Commissioners to heare and determine according to your sound discretions all manner of Complaintes either against those Colonies or their Rulers or governors at the instance of the partie greived or at the accusation brought concerning iniuries from hence or from thence to be moved betweene them and their members, and to call the parties before you and to the parties or their procurators from hence or from thence being heard The full complement of Justice to be exhibited. Giving unto you and to anie five or more of you Power, That if you shall finde anie of the Colonies aforesaid or anie of their cheife Rulers upon the Jurisdiction of others by uniuert possession or usurpation or one against an other making greivance or in Rebellion against us by withdrawing from our allegiance or our

mandates not obeyings consultation in that case with us first had. To cause these Colonies or the Rulers of them for the causes aforesaid or for other just causes either to retorne to England or to command them to other places designed even as according to your sound discretions it shall seeme to stand with equitie Justice or necessitie. Moreover wee doe give unto you, or anie five or more of you Power and speciall command over all the charters letters Patents and rescripts Royall of the Regions provinces Islands or Lands in forraigne partes graunted raising colonies To cause them to be brought before you and the same being reviewed If anie thing surreptitively or unduly have bin obtayned, or that by the same privilege Liberties or Prerogatives hurtfull to us or our Crowne or to forraigne Princes have bin preiudicially suffered or graunted The same being better made knowne unto you five or more of you To command them according to the lawes and customes of our Realme of England to be revoaked And to doe such other things which to the government profit and safeguard of the aforesaid colonies and of our subiects resident in the same shalbe necessarie And therefore wee doe command you that about the premisses at daies and tymes which for those affaires you shall make provision That you be diligent in attendance as it becometh you.

Giving in precept also and firmly inioyning Wee do give command unto all and singular Cheife Rulers of Provinces unto which the Colonies aforesaid have bin drawne or shalbe drawne and concerning the Colonies themselves and concerning others that haue anie interest therein That they doe give attendance upon you and be observant and obedient unto your warrants in those affaires as often as and even as in our name they shalbe thereunto required at their perill. In testimonie whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent Witnesse ourselfe at Westminster the 28th day of April, in the tenth yeare of our Raigne. 1634.

by writ from the privy Seale

WILLYS.

APPENDIX D.

COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL ADMINISTRATION
UNDER CHARLES II. p. 200.i. *Instructions for the Councill of Trade.* S. P. D., C. II., XXI. 27.

1. You shall take into your Consideracion the Inconueni- ences which the English Trade hath suffered in any partes beyond the Seas And are to inquire into such Articles of former Treaties as haue byn made with any Princes or States in relacion to Trade and to drawe out such observacions and Resoluciones from thence as may be necessary for us to advise or insist upon in any forraigne Leagues or Allyances that such Evills as haue befallen these our Kingdomes through want of good informacion in those great and publick concernments may be provided against in time to come.

2. You are to consider how and by whome any former Articles or Treaties have byn neglected or violated What new Capitulacions are necessary either to the freedome of Sale of your Commodities of all sorts as to price and payment; to the best expedition of Justice to the recovery of debts or to the security of Estates of all ffactors and their Principalls in case of the ffactors death or to the prevencon of those Interruptions which the Trade and Navigacion of our Kingdomes have suffered by Imbargoes of florraigne Princes or States or impresting the Shipps of any of our subjects for their service.

3. You are to consider well the interest of all such Trades as are or shallbe incorporated by our Royall Charters And what jurisdictions are necessary to be obtained from such as are or shallbe in allyance with us for the more regular management and government of the Trade and of the Members of those our Corporacions in florraigne ffactories.

4. You are to consider of the seuerall Manufactures of these our Kingdomes how and by what occasions they are corrupted debased and disparaged And by what probable meanes they may be restored and maintained in theyre Auntient goodness and Reputacion And how they may be farther improved to theyre

utmost advantage by a just Regulacion and Standard of Weight Length and breadth that so the Privat and proffitt of the Tradesmen or Merchants may not destroy the Creditt of the Commoditie and thereby render it neglected and unvended abroad to the Great Loss and Scandall of these our kingdomea.

5. You are also to take into your Consideracion all the Native Commodities of the growth and producion of these our kingdomes and how they may be ordered nourished increased and manufactured to the employment of our people and to the best advantage of the Publick.

6. You are specially to consider of the whole business of the fishings of these our kingdomes or any other of our distant Dominions or Plantacions, and to consult of some effectuall meanes for the reinforceing encourageing and encreaseing and for the regulateing and carrying on of the Trade in all the partes thereof to the end that the people and Stock and Navigacon of these our kingdomes may be employed therein; and our Neighboures may not be enriched with that which so properly and advantageously may be undertooke and carried on by our owne Subjects.

7. You are seriously to consider and inquire whether the importacion of forraigne Commodities do not overbalance the exportacion of such as are native And how it may be so ordered remedied and preparationed that we may haue more Sellers then buyers in every parte abroad.

And that the Coyne and present Stock of these our kingdomes may be preserved and increased, We judging that such a Scale and Rule of proportion is one of the highest and most prudenciall points of Trade by which the Riches and Strength of our Kingdomes may be maintayned.

8. You are to consider and examine by what wayes and meanes other Naciones doe preferr theyre owne growth Manufactures and Importacions and doe discourage and suppress those of these our Kingdomes and how the best Contrivances and Managment of Trade exercised by other Naciones may be rendered applicable and practicabie by these our Kingdomes.

9. You are well to consider all matters of Navigacion and to the increase and the securitie thereof.

10. You are throughly to consider the severall matters relating to money how Bullion may be best drawne in hither and how any obstrucons uppon our Mint may be best removed.

11. You are to consider the Generall State and Condicion of our forraigne Plantacions and of the Navigacion Trade and seuerall Comodities ariseing thereuppon and how farr their future improvement and prosperity maybe advanced by any discouragment Imposition or Restraint uppon the importacion of all goods or Comodities ariseing thereuppon and how farr theyre future improvement and prosperity may be advanced by any discouragment Imposicion or Restraint uppon the importacion of all goods or Comodities with which these Plantacions doe abound and may supply these our Kingdomes And you are also in all matters wherein our forraigne Plantacions are concerned to take advice or Informacion (as occason shall require) from the Councell appointed and sett apart by us to the more perticular inspeccion Regulacion and Care of our forraigne Plantations.

12. You are to consider how the transportacion of such things may be best restreined and prevented as are either forbidden by the Lawe or may be inconvenient or of disadvantage by being transported out of these our Kingdomes and Dominions.

(*Endorsed*) Instructions for the Councell of Trade annexed to their Commission.

ii. *Proceedings of the Council of Trade.* (S. P. D., C. II., xxxi. 62—64.) By his Majesties Councell of Trade.
Thursday 3rd Janry 1660.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Roberts Reports the delivery of a Paper to his Majesty from this Councell conteyning theyre opinion and advice in the matter concerning the Exportation of forreine Coyne and Bullyon And that it was his Majesties Pleasure that all future addresses should be made by this Councell should be presented either by a Lord of his Majesties Privy Councell present when the Matters were debated Or otherwise in the absence of such Lord They should be delivered into the hands of one of his Majesties Principall Secretaries of State by the Secretary attending this Councell to the end they may come safe to his Majesties handes. Uppon Reading of the third Article of his Majesties Instruccion annexed to the Commission by which this Councell is established which directeth this Councell to consider of all such Trades as are or shallbe incorporated by his Majesties Charters and what Jurisdictions are

necessary to be obtained from such as are or shall be in alliance with his Majesty for the more regular Management and Government of the Trade and of the members of such Corporations and forreigne factoryes Ordered that it be read again Thursday 10 of Jan. and that the Merchant Adventurers of England do in the meane tyme bring in theyre Charter.

Report was this day made by the Committee in the busines concerning the Trade of the Merchants of London into the East Indies.

Ordered that it be reported to his Majesty by the Lord Roberts.

The Business concerning free Portes moved and ordered to be resumed that day seavenight.

The Petition of diuers Workemen who have provided necessaries for this Councell and want their money read and committed.

Tuesday, Jan. 8th 1660.

The right Hon^{ble} the Lord Broucher Reports the delivery of Certayne Papers from this Councell conteyning theyre opinion and humble advice to his Majesty upon the Petition of the Merchant Adventurers concerning the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands for theyre Breach of Articles upon severall Treatyes to S^r Edward Nicholas K^t one of his Majesties Principall Secretaryes of State to be presented to his Majesty.

Upon informacion given to this Councell of great deceits used in the weights and standards of gold and silver Ordered that it be referred to the Committee to examyne the severall weights and standards of the Exchequer the Tower of London and of Goldsmiths hall And to call before them such of the officers of the Minte and other persons and to send for such Papers Books and Records as may be usefull to them And to report to this Councell what they find.

A Petition from severall Merchants Clothyers and others of Exon and Devon complayneing against the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England for ingrossing that Trade and for imposing many restrictions and interrupcions upon the Makers of Wollen Manufactures was now presented and read And thereupon Ordered That the debate heereof be resumed on this day seavenight and that Mr Doncaster by whome this Petition do then attend this Councell.

Ordered that this Cooncell be adiourned to some more Convenient place and that the Secretary of this Cooncell do endeavour to provide the same and report therein to this Cooncell this day seven night.

The debate concerning Free Portes beeing now entred upon it was after some tyme spent therein Ordered That it be referred to the Committee to consider and report how many free Portes may be fitt to be made in his Majesties Domynions and in what place how the same may be effected and under what Rules of Regulation and Government.

Uppon a Debate concerning Convoys for Merchants att Sea Ordered That it be referred to the Committee to Consider and report how many Convoys will be necessary to be settled and in what places to be constantly attending and to digest such a forme and modell of Government therein as may be fitt for this Cooncell to propose to his Majesty therein.

Thursday the 10th Jan^r 1660.

According to former Order Mr Squibb appeard before this Councell and brought with him and presented the same to this Cooncell diuers Papers conteyneing a Report from a former Comittee of the Abuses used and of the wayes and meanes by which to improue the Manufactures of this kingdome, the Consideracion whereof is referred to the Comittee who are desyred to report what may be fitt for this Councell to offer to his Majesty therein.

Ordered that the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers be brought into this Counsell and there Contynue till farther Order.

Day beeing prayed for the bringing of it in and granted but not brought in further day prayed and not brought in.

Uppon a mocion that before the Treaty with the King of Denmark be concluded some express provision may be made for his Majesties men of Warr to pass through the Sound into the Baltique Sea. That the Dane be desyred to resigne Trincombe Barr And that a free Trade may be given by that King to the English into Island. Ordered that it be referred to the Committee to consider and report therein to this Counsell which report is now reddey.

Uppon a mocion made that Banckes may be sett up in England as in Holland and of the great advantage that ensaw to

his Majesty therby Ordered that it be referred to the Committee to consider and report heerin to this Cooncell.

Upon a debate of Corporacions upon the third Article of his Majestyes instructions Ordered that letters be written by this Cooncell to the Merchants of all the Outports giving them notice of the Incorporacion of the Spanish and Portugall Merchants And that it be referred to the Committee to Consider and Report therein to this Cooncell.

Thursday 17th Jan^r 1660.

There was now presented to this Cooncell his Majestyes Order of reference upon the Petition of Mr Squibb with certayne Papers thereunto annexed conteyneing a Report of the Causes of the decay of the Vent of our English Clothes and Certaine Remedyes to prevent the same which beeing read It was there-uppon

Ordered that it be referred to the Committee to consider of the perticulers thereof and to Report what may be fitt for this Cooncell to present to his Majesty therein.

There was also this day presented to this Cooncell A Petition from diuers Clothyers and others of the City of New Sarum complayneing of the decay of theyre Trade by the importacion of Dutch Cloth and praying that the ymportacion thereof maybe prohibited soch Petition beeing read it was thereupon very much debated and Ordered That it be referred to the Committee who are to consider thereof and to report theyre Opinions to this Cooncell.

For the more speedy dispatch of Business Ordered That there be only one Committee of this Cooncell to make Inspeccion into all matters brought before this Cooncell and to prepare them for the Cooncels Debate.

Ordered that the Coonsayle sitt only upon Thursdayes in the afternoone till farther Order.

Ordered upon debate of the business concerning Convoys That the officers of his Majestyes Navy be desyred to be att this Cooncell on Tuesday next.

Upon debate of the business concerning Charters It was this day ordered That the Merchant Adventurers Charter brought into this Cooncell by former Order be referred to the Committee.

Ordered upon the Petition of diuers Workemen and others who haue provided necessaryes for this Cooncell that it be referred

to the Committee to consider and report how money may be raysed for payment of them.

Thursday 24th Jan^r 1660.

A Petition recommended to this Cooncell by the right Hon^{ble} the Lord high Treasurer conteyning the desyres of diuers Merchants Factors and others for the setling of a Composition trade in Dover as formerly was this day read And after very much debate therein Ordered that it be referred to the Committee who are desyred to consider thereof and to report theyre opinions what may be fitt for this Cooncell to present to his Lordship as theyre opinion therein.

Ordered that untill the Causes now depending before this Cooncell be fully heard and determyned That no new Causes or matters be taken into Consideracion except such as relate to forreigne Treatyes or shall Come recomended to this Cooncell by his Majesties speciall order.

Upon a mocion now made That a Peremptory day may be assigned for a full debate of the Merchant Adventurers Charter and the Constitution and Practice of that Fellowship Ordered That it be the next matter to be debated after those now depending shall be heard.

This day 7 night Peremptory is given to Mr Doncaster to make good the matters conteyned in a Petition by him presented to this Cooncell in the name of certeyne Clothyers and others of Exōn and Devon complayneing against the Merchant Adventurers Charter for beeing a Monopoly of the Trade of Cloth.

A list of the number of Shippes and of the severall Portes and places att which they should be constantly attending for the Convoy of Merchants was read and agreed to in parte and

Ordered that before it be presented to his Majesty or that this Cooncell deliuer any possitive opinion therein That it be referred to the Committee to reduce the number and in respect of his Majesties great Charge and small receipts of his Revennue to lessen the Charge as much as may be and that such a number be only proposed as shall be necessary for the present and Conyent for his Majesty to allow to that purpose.

Upon reading of a Petition from the Governour Assistants and Fellowship of the Merchants of Eastland Complayneing against the Swede for Monopoliseing of Pitch and Tarr and for

venting the same att excessiue rates and under hard Restrictions to the English

Ordered That it be referred to the Committee to report therein together with those other matters that are before them concerning the Sweda.

There was now brought in, read and allowed a Report from the Committee in relation to the King of Denmarke and desyreing That in this Treaty with that Kinge That it may be insisted upon That free Passage may be allowed to his Majesties Men of Warr through the Sound That a Port called Trinicombe Barr if that King incline to parte with it may not be Disposed of by that King but to the English East India Company they givinge reasonable satisfacion for the same And That the English may have a free Trade into Island. All which beeing assented unto

Ordered That it be forthwith Reported to his Majesty as the Opinion and advise of this Cooncell And that the Lord Broonker and Mr Anthony Ashley Cooper be desyred to present the same accordingly.

Upon debate of a Petition formerly presented to this Cooncell by the Clothyers of new Sarum

Ordered that Committee do consider and Report by what wayes and meanes it comes to pass That the Dutch can afford theyre fine Clothes cheaper than we doe and what may be the remedies. How the importacion of Dutch Clothes may be prevented and whether the importacion of Forreigne Cloth be preiudiciall to the Manufacture of this Kingdome And the officers of the Customes are desyred to Certify what Customes they haue received for Dutch Clothes imported Complaint beinge againe made to this Cooncell by diuers Workemen for want of money It was thereupon

Ordered That the Lord Brounker, Mr Slingsby and the Secretary of this Cooncell do attend the Lord Treasurer therein and report his Lordships pleasure to this Cooncell.

Thursday 31 Jany 1660.

The Lord Broonker etc. Report the Commission by which this Cooncell is established to be defective in the directive parte for money to be payd out of the Exchequer and thereoppon

Ordered That his Majesty or One of his Majesties Principall Secretaries of State be attended therein by the Lord Broonker and Mr Coventry and that a Privy Seale be desyred of his

Majesty to supply the defects of the Commission and his Majestyes pleasure therein reported to this Cooncell.

A list of such shipps as are thought necessary by this Cooncell to be allowed for Convoys Reported and allowed But

Ordered That till the business of Free Portes be reddey That the Convoys be not reported to his Majesty.

Ordered That in the business concerning Free Portes and of the Composition Trade att Dover the Commissioners of his Majestyes Customes be desyred to bring in theyre Opinion in writeing on Tuesday next As to what Places it may be fitt to make Free Portes. How many and under what Regulacions And likewise what amendments they thinke fitt to be made in the Articles for settling the Composition trade of Dover what the Auntient rates were and what they conceiue may be fitt to be payd now in these tymes whercin there is no Warr to his Majesty Or whether to Contynue it in the same way for the tyme to Come as it hath byn in tymes past.

By Command from his Majestyes Cooncell for Trade.

G. DUKE.

(*Endorsed*) Councill of Trade
2^d Jany 1660.

APPENDIX E.

COMPLAINTS FROM THE COUNTIES, 1659. p. 170.

The blight which had fallen on the economic life of the country during the Interregnum was alluded to in the addresses which were sent from different counties to General Monk in 1659. It may be added that the complaints here printed occur in letters sent by supporters of the parliamentary party; they demand the 'restauration' of the ejected members of the Long Parliament. There may be good grounds for discounting the statements of the anonymous author of the *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, but this evidence is entirely different in character. It is interesting to compare the Declaration of the supporters of the Good Old Cause in Gloucester in 1659 with that of the Royalists in 1660. (Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (302 and 303).)

Devonshire. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (300).

A Declaration of the Gentry of the County of Devon. Met at the Generall Quarter Sessions at Exeter, for a Free Parliament. Together with a letter from Exeter.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament.

We the Gentry of the County of *Devon*, finding ourselves without a Regular Government, after your last interruption, designed a publick Meeting, to consult Remedies, which we could not so conveniently effect till this Week, at our *Generall Quarter Sessions at Exon*. Where we find divers of the Inhabitants groaning under high Oppressions and a generall defect of Trade, to the utter ruine of many, and fear of the like to others, which is as visible in the whole County, that occasioned such disorders, that were no small trouble and disturbance to us; which, by God's blessing upon our endeavours, were soon suppress and quieted, without Blood. And though we find since our first purposes, an alteration in the state of Affairs, by your Re-assembling at the Helm of Government, yet conceive, that we are but in part Redrest of our Grievances; and that the chief Expedient for it will be the recalling of all those Members that were secluded in 1648, and sat before the first Force upon the *Parliament*. And also by filling up the vacant places. And all to be admitted, without any Oath and Engagement, previous to their Entrance. For which things, if you please to take a speedy course, we shall defend you against all Opposers, and future Interrupters, with our Lives and Fortunes. For the Accomplishment whereof we shall use all Lawfull Means, which we humbly conceive may best conduce to the Peace and Safety of this Nation.

Exon. 14 of Jany, 1659.

Sir

The Inclosed is a Copy of what this Grand Meeting, to which the most Considerable of the Gentry have Subscribed. Mr Bampfild, Recorder of Exon, is gone this night Post to deliver it to the Speaker. That the Cornish men have done more is no Newes.

This City in very great numbers, Loudly exprest their desires for a Free Parliament. The Apprentices and Young men of the

City got the Keys of the Gates, and keep them lockt, without taking notice of the magistrates, and lesse of the Souldiers.

Kent. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (306).

The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, Ministry and Commonalty of the County of Kent. Together with the City and County of *Canterbury*, the City of *Rochester*, and the Ports within the said County.

Having with sadness weighed the multiplied calamities wherein we are at present involved, how friendless we are Abroad, and how divided at home; the loud and heart-piercing cries of the poore, and the disability of the better sort to relieve them; the total decay and subversion of Trade, together with the forfeiture and loss of honor and reputation of the Nation, and (what is more dear to us than all these) the apparent hazard of the Gospel through the prodigious growth of Blasphemies, Heresies and Schism, all of which own their birth to the instability of our Governors, and the unsettlement of our Government. Lastly, how in all these, an universal ruine threatneth us, and wil (if not timely prevented) doubtless overwhelm us. We thought it our bounden duties, both as Christians, out of tenderness to our Religion, as Englishmen, to our Country, and as Friends, to our selves and our Relations, to represent and publish to the world our just griefs for, and our lively resentments of this our deplorable condition, and to seek all lawful and probable means to remedy and redress the same.

Wherefore having the leading Examples of the renowned Cities of *London* and *Exeter*, together with the Counties of the West, before our eyes; and the clamours and out-cries of the People alwaies in our ears, (whereof the one encourageth, and the other enforceth us to this our Declaration) we thought that we would not be silent at such a time, when our silence would speak us to be either Assentors to our own ruine, or Abettors of such proceedings as have neither Law nor Equity to support them.

We therefore, the *Nobility Gentry Ministry* and *Commonalty* of the County of *Kent*, together with the City and County of *Canterbury*, the City of *Rochester* and the Ports within the said County, do by these Presents unanimously Declare, that our desires are for a Full and Free PARLIAMENT, as the only probable means, under God, to lead us out of this Maze and Labyrinth of confusions in which we are at present engag'd; that is, that the

old secluded Members, so many of them as are surviving, may be readmitted into the House, and that there may be a free Election of others to supply the places of those which are dead, without any Oath or Engagement previous to their Entrance, these we shall own as the true Representatives of the People; these we shall with our Lives and Fortunes, to the uttermost of our power, assist and with all cheerfulness submit to, and acquiesce in whatsoever they shall Enact or Ordain.

Thus concluding, that all publick spirited men, and good Patriots, wil with all readiness join and concur with us in a matter of so universal concernment, and that we shall find Opposition from none but such as prefer their own private Interests and temporal respects, to their Religion and laws of the land; we shall as boldly subscribe our Names as we do heartily declare our Desires.

(Undated.)

Compare also the following letter. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (355).

To the Supreme Authority The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England Assembled at Westminster.

The hearty Congratulations and humble Petition of thousands of well-affected Gentlemen Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Kent and City of Canterbury.

...Wherefore we take boldnesse humbly to offer at present to your grave and serious Considerations, These few particulars following.....

That you would be mindfull for the quickning of Trade so much decayed, principally that of Clothing which greatly concerns this County; the fail wherof hath greatly impoverished and ruinated many families.

4 June, 1659.

Lincoln. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (310).

The Declaration of the Gentry, Ministers, Free-holders of the County and City of Lincolne.

Wee the Gentry, Ministers and Freeholders of the County and City of Lincolne, being truly sensible of our Miseries and Greivances, namely the sad consequents of intestine Warre, the fear of *Invasion* from abroad, at the time of our Distractions and Divisions both in CHURCH and *Stats*, the violent alteration of GOVERNMENT, the heavy imposition of unheard of TAXES; All

of which of late Yeares hath ruined our TRADE, and impoverished the whole *Nation*, and are all occasioned by reason of the many Violences and Breaches made upon our known established *Lawes* and Fundamentall Liberties, *Doe therefore* humbly propose and declare (having first met and consulted, as other Countreyes have done) that the onely remedy for our said Grievances, will be for *A Free Full PARLIAMENT*, speedily to be called and assembled to sit according to our said knowne established *Lawes*, wherein the Free votes of all Free People of this *Nation* might be included.

1659.

Norfolk. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (311).

The Declaration of the Gentry of the County of Norfolk and of the County and City of Norwich.

We the Gentry of the County of *Norfolk*, and County and City of *Norwich*, being deeply affected with the sence of our sad Distractions, and Divisions, both in Church and State, and wearied with the miseries of an Unnatural Civil War, the too Frequent Interruptions of Government, the Imposition of several heavy Taxes, and the loud Out-cries of multitudes of undone, and almost Famished People, occasioned by the General decay of Trade, which hath spread itself throughout the whole Nation, and these Counties in particular; and having met together, and consulted what may best remedy and remove our and the Nations present Grievances and Distractions, Do humbly conceive, that the chief Expedient will be, the recalling of those Members that were seclued in 1648 etc.

This declaration subscribed by three hundred Gentlemen, was delivered to the Hon. Will. Lenthal Speaker of the Parliament; on Saturday the eight and twentieth of January 1659 By the Lord Richardson, S^r John Hobart and S^r Horatio Tounsend, Baronets.

Warwick. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (316).

Wee the Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Free-Holders of the County of Warwick.

Being deeply affected with, and sadly sensible of the present Miseries, which both our Selves and the whole Nation groan under, We can no longer forbear to express our Grievs, and declare our Desires and Thoughts of the most probable means (by

Gods assistance) to give some remedy to our present sufferings, and prevent those yet greater Calamities which threaten our speedy and utter Ruina. The cause of our present Calamities (we conceive) proceeds from the many Revolutions, through Misdadministration of Government, and want of the right Constitution of Parliaments: And that after all our great and intolerable Sufferings, the vast expence of Blood and Treasure, for our Rights and Liberties, and Priviledges of Parliament (which we take to be the good old Cause) we, with most of the Counties of this Nation, have not our Representatives in a Free Parliament etc.

"Subscribed by many Thousand hands."

Yorkshire. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (317).

The Declaration of Thomas Lord Fairfax And the rest of the Lords, Knights Esquires Citizens Ministers and Freeholders of the County and City of York.

Whereas this Famous County, Honoured formerly for its puissance and strength by which they have always been taken for the Bulwork of this Nation, are now reputed so inconsiderable that they have not at this time a Representative in Parliament: and being deeply sensible of the Confusions and Distractions of the Nation, the particular Decay and Ruine of the Cloathing Trade of this County, which necessarily bears an influence upon the Publick: as also the Future Evils that will attend this *Vacancy of Government* during the imperfection and incompleatness of *Our Parliaments*, whose entireness, and *Full Number* hath been in *all times* (as to a *Right English Constitution*) the only *conservation* of our *Liberties* etc.

Leeda. Feb. 13. 1659.

An Extract of a Letter from York dated the 31 of Dec. 1659 concerning the Lord Fairfax's Raising that County in Arms against illegal Taxes and Free quarter and for the Freedom of Parliament as it was in the Year 1648.

Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (248).

...“And the Trade of Cloathing being dead, by reason of the Warres with *Spain*, makes those Parts rise in abundance, to do anything for the having of a *Free Parliament* which (they think) will procure the opening of Trade again.”

London. Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (123).

A Letter agreed unto and subscribed by the Gentlemen, Minister, Freeholders and Seamen of the County of Suffolk presented to the Right Honorable, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councill of the Citty of London Assenbled Jan. 30. 1659.

Right Honorable

Please you to accept this Paper as a testimony, that we are highly and gratefully sensible of those Breathings and Essaies towards Peace, which your Renowned City has lately declared to the World. And we earnestly wish, that our serious and unanimous Concurrence, may ripen them to a perfect Accomplishment. We are willing to consider it as an Omen of Mercy, when we observe the Nation in generall, lifting up its Vowes to Heaven for a Free and Full PARLIAMENT. 'Tis that alone in its Genuine Sense, which our Laws prescribe and present to us, as the Great Patron and Guardian of our Persons, Liberties and Proprieties, and whatsoever else is justly pretious to us. And if God shall, by your hand lead us to such an obtainment, after-ages shall blesse your Memory. 'Tis superfluous to spread before you, your Merchandise decay'd, your Trade declin'd, your Estates wither'd. Are there not many within your Walls, or near them, that in your ears deplore such miseries as these? Your Lordship may believe, that our Prayers and Persons shall gladly promote all lawfull means for our Recovery. And we entreat, that this cheerfull suffrage of ours may be annex'd, as a Labell to your Honorable Intendments.

1659.

The Engagement and Remembrance of the City of London
Subscribed by 23500 hands.

Brit. Mus. 190. g. 13 (249).

...Not to insist upon the losse of Trade; how many Thousand Families have nothing now to do, but Begg and Curse these Wretches.

Dated in MS. Dec. 1659.

APPENDIX F.

STATISTICS OF PROGRESS.

It is with some hesitation that I append a few statements of statistics; information in a numerical form has an appearance of accuracy and completeness which may be misleading. While there is an abundance of reliable information for last century on many points connected with population and trade, the data for earlier times are often uncertain, and estimates must be made to do duty for actual enumeration. When an attempt is made at comparison there is no sufficient basis to work upon. It may be convenient, however, to reproduce figures given by some well-known investigators, as the best available.

Political Arithmetic, the mere counting up of similar objects or amounts at two different periods, may be very instructive up to a certain point. It serves to show the direction of change at a glance—whether e.g. shipping was increasing or declining—and to measure the amount of change in a given time. It may be advantageously employed to bring out the growth of some particular industries, the progress of commerce, shipping, and of population. The graphic method offers a convenient means of bringing before the eyes some of the changes in the prosperity of the country, as indicated by a comparison of revenue with indebtedness and of population with pauperism. Miss E. A. McArthur of Girton College, who constructed these diagrams, has kindly allowed me to insert them.

I. THE PROGRESS OF PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES is illustrated by the following figures. The first Table shows the rapid progress which took place in the woollen manufactures of the West Riding during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The second shows the progress of the woollen manufacture in Great Britain, so far as that is indicated by the accounts of the raw material imported, of the quantities of wool grown there is no trustworthy information; and the third gives the quantities of cotton wool imported. The fourth gives the quantities of pig-iron made in Great Britain, since coal-smelting began.

i. *Progress of Woollen Manufacture.* Massie, writing in 1764, says that the exports of woollen manufacture, which under Charles II. and James II. "did not much exceed the yearly value of one million pounds, amounted in 1699 to almost three millions sterling, from which vast sum, with occasional ebbings and flowings our annual exports of Woollen Manufactures have gradually risen to full four millions of late years." *Observations on New Cyder Tax*, p. l. Detailed statements of the values of woollen manufactures exported for every year from 1697—1781 will be found in *Considerations upon the present state of the Wool Trade* (1781), p. 83 [Brit. Mus. 1103. a. 3 (10)]. These are continued to 1840 in Bischoff, II. Ap. vi. The highest point reached was £7,900,000 in 1833. These tables also give the price of wool for each year, but do not discriminate the qualities for which these varying prices were charged.

No. of Pieces¹ of Broad Woollen Cloth manufactured in W. Riding, 1726—1750, extracted from Registers books kept in said County²:

1726	26,671	1739	43,086½
1727	28,990	1740	41,441
1728	25,223½	1741	46,364
1729	29,643½	1742	44,954
1730	21,579½	1743	45,178½
1731	33,563	1744	54,627½
1732	35,548½	1745	50,453
1733	34,620	1746	56,637
1734	31,133	1747	62,480
1735	31,744½	1748	60,705½
1736	38,899	1749	60,447½
1737	42,356	1750	60,964
1738	42,404		

ii. *Foreign and Colonial Wool imported into England (the United Kingdom from 1766—1857):*

	lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
1766	1,926,000	1800	8,609,000	1840	49,436,000
1771	1,829,000	1810	10,914,000	1850	74,326,000
1780	323,000	1820	9,775,000	1855	99,300,000
1790	2,582,000	1830	32,305,000	1857	127,390,000
1799	2,263,000				

An account of the woollen trade of Yorkshire, by E. Baines, in T. Baines, Yorkshire, Past and Present, I. 637. Cf. also Bischoff, II. App. II.

¹ Until 1733 or 1734 there were between 30 and 40 yds. in each piece—since then the length has been gradually increased, and each piece is now (1764) near 70 yards.

² Massie, *Observations on the New Cyder Tax* (1764), p. 3.

iii. *Cotton Wool imported. Returns from Records by Custom House.*

	lbs.
1697	1,976,859
1701	1,985,869
1710	715,008
1720	1,973,805
1730	1,545,479
1741	1,645,081
1751	3,976,610
1764	3,970,892

Baines, *Hist. of the Cotton Manufacture*, 109.

Cotton Wool imported for spinning¹ into England and Scotland, 1781—1832.

	lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
1781	3,198,778	1799	43,879,278	1816	93,920,055
1782	11,828,039	1800	56,010,732	1817	124,912,968
1783	9,735,663	1801	56,004,805	1818	177,382,158
1784	11,482,083	1802	60,845,600	1819	149,732,920
1785	18,400,384	1803	53,812,284	1820	144,818,100
1786	19,475,020	1804	61,867,829	1821	123,977,400
1787	23,250,268	1805	59,682,406	1822	135,420,100
1788	20,467,436	1806	58,176,263	1823	191,402,508
1789	32,576,023	1807	74,925,306	1824	149,840,122
1790	31,447,605	1808	48,605,982	1825	228,005,291
1791	28,706,675	1809	92,812,282	1826	170,500,000
1792	34,907,497	1810	132,488,935	1827	264,330,000
1793	19,040,929	1811	91,576,535	1828	222,750,000
1794	24,358,567	1812	63,025,936	1829	218,324,000
1795	26,401,340	1813	50,966,000	1830	259,856,000
1796	32,126,357	1814	60,060,239	1831	290,080,000
1797	23,854,371	1815	99,306,343	1832	277,260,490
1798	31,880,641				

Baines, *Hist. of the Cotton Manufacture*, in *Hist. of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. II. 496.

iv. *Quantity of Pig-Iron made in England, Wales, and Scotland, 1740—1852.*

	Tons		Tons		Tons
1740	17,350	1806	258,206	1839	1,248,781
1788	68,300	1825	581,367	1847	1,999,608
1796	125,079	1830	678,417	1852	2,701,000

Scrivenor, 136 (ed. 1854), 256, 302.

II. THE INCREASE OF THE COMMERCE of the country is shown by the tables of exports and imports; these are taken for the longest period where comparison is possible, as the change from

¹ In spinning this, allowance for loss $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. per lb. should be made, to estimate total amount of yarn spun. Baines, II. 502.

official to real values, though giving greater accuracy, renders it less easy to indicate the rate of change. To this is added Chalmers' table of the increase of shipping. (*Estimate*, 234.)

i. *Official Value of Exports and Imports.*

Exports.

England	1613 ¹	2,487,435	Misselden, <i>Circle of Commerce</i> , 121.	
	1622	2,320,436	" " " 128.	
	1662	2,022,812	Macpherson, <i>Annals of Commerce</i> , II. 707.	
	1688	4,310,000	Davenant, <i>Works</i> , II. 270.	
	1699	6,788,166	Macpherson, <i>Annals</i> , II. 707.	
	1720	6,910,899	" " III. 116.	
	1730	8,548,982	" " III. 160.	
	1740	8,197,788	" " III. 227.	
	1750	12,699,081	" " III. 283.	
	1760	14,694,970	" " III. 339.	
Gt Britain	1783	13,896,415	<i>Finance Reports</i> , 1797, II. 22, 36.	
	1796	29,196,198		
	1798	27,817,087		
	1800	34,381,617		
United Kingdom	1805	31,064,492	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1830, XXVII. 208—11.	
	1810	43,568,757		
	1815	58,624,550		
	1820	48,951,587		<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1833, XLI. 48.
	1825	56,320,182		
	1830	69,691,303		<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1851, XXXI. 170.
1835	91,174,456			
1840	116,479,678			
	1845	150,879,986	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1852—53, LVII. 198.	
	1850	197,330,265		

Imports.

England	1618	2,141,151	Misselden, <i>Circle of Commerce</i> , 122.	
	1622	2,619,315	" " " 129.	
	1688	7,120,000	Davenant, <i>Works</i> , II. 270.	
	1720	6,090,083	Macpherson, <i>Annals</i> , III. 116.	
	1730	7,780,019	" " III. 160.	
	1740	6,703,778	" " III. 227.	
	1750	7,772,039	" " III. 283.	
	1760	9,832,802	" " III. 339.	
	1783	11,651,281	<i>Finance Reports</i> , 1797, II. 22, 36.	
	1796	21,024,866		
Gt Britain	1798	25,122,203	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1830, XXVII. 209.	
	1800	28,257,781		
	1805	28,561,370		
	1810	39,301,612		
United Kingdom	1815	32,987,396	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1833, XLI. 48.	
	1820	32,438,650		
	1825	44,208,807		
	1830	46,245,241		<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1851, XXXI. 170.
	1835	49,911,543		
	1840	67,432,964		
	1845	85,281,958	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1852—53, LVII. 198.	
	1850	100,460,433		

¹ In 1570 the official value of Exports and Imports according to a State Paper in the Cotton Collection is given as £26,665 and £45,356 (Hall, *Customs*, vol. II. App.). It may be doubted however whether this was not a partial return for the purpose of a contemporary agitation against foreign competition, i.e. to show that the "balance of trade" was against England.

ii. *Increase of Shipping.*

THE EPOCHS.	THE SHIPS CLEARED OUTWARDS.			
	Tons ENGLISH.	Do. FOREIGN.	TOTAL.	
The Restoration { 1668 1669 }	95,266	47,684	142,900	
The Revolution 1688	190,538	95,267	285,800	
The Peace of Ryswick... 1697	144,264	100,524	244,788	
The last years of William III { 1700 1701 1702 }	278,698	48,635	817,828	
The Wars of Anne { 1709 1712 }	243,698 826,620	45,625 29,115	289,818 856,785	
The first of George I... { 1713 1714 1715 }	421,481	26,578	448,004	
The first of George II. { 1726 1727 1728 }	432,832	28,661	466,498	
The peaceful years { 1736 1737 1738 }	476,941	26,627	508,568	
The War of { 1739 1740 1741 }	884,191	87,260	471,451	
The peaceful years { 1749 1750 1751 }	609,798	51,886	661,184	
The War of { 1756 1757 }	451,254	78,466	524,710	
The first of George III. } ----- WAR: { 1760 1761 1762 }	471,241 508,220 480,444	102,737 117,836 120,126	578,978 626,066 600,570	
PEACE: {	1763	561,724	87,293	649,017
	1764	583,934	74,800	658,734
	1765	661,402	67,855	719,257
	1766	684,281	61,753	746,034
	1767	645,835	63,206	709,041
	1768	668,786	72,734	741,520
	1769	709,855	63,020	772,875
	1770	703,495	67,476	760,971
	1771	773,390	68,532	838,922
	1772	818,108	72,608	890,711
	1773	771,483	54,820	826,303
1774	798,240	65,278	863,518	

Increase of Shipping (continued).

THE EPOCHS.		THE SHIPS CLEARED OUTWARDS.		
		Tons ENGLISH.	Do. FOREIGN.	TOTAL.
WAR:	1775	783,226	64,860	848,086
	1776	778,878	72,188	851,066
	1777	736,234	83,468	819,702
	1778	657,238	98,113	755,351
	1779	590,911	139,124	740,035
	1780	619,462	134,515	753,977
	1781	547,953	163,410	711,363
	1782	552,851	208,511	761,362
	1783	795,669	157,969	953,638
PEACE:	1784	848,355	113,064	959,419
	1785	951,855	103,398	1,055,253
	1786	982,132	116,771	1,098,903
	1787	1,104,711	132,243	1,236,954
	1788	1,243,206	121,932	1,365,138
	1789	1,343,800	99,858	1,443,658
	1790	1,260,828	144,132	1,404,960
	1791	1,333,106	178,051	1,511,157
1792	1,396,003	169,151	1,565,154	
WAR:	1793	1,101,326	180,121	1,281,447
	1794	1,247,398	209,679	1,457,077
	1795	1,030,058	370,238	1,400,296
	1796	1,108,258	454,847	1,563,105
	1797	971,596	379,775	1,351,371
	1798	1,163,534	345,132	1,508,666
	1799	1,145,314	390,612	1,535,926
	1800	1,269,329	654,713	1,924,042
1801	1,190,557	767,816	1,958,373	
PEACE:	1802	1,459,689	435,427	1,895,116
WAR:	1803	1,245,560	543,208	1,788,768
	1804	1,248,796	553,267	1,802,063
	1805	1,284,691	572,961	1,857,652
	1806	1,258,903	538,700	1,897,603
	1807	1,190,232	600,840	1,791,072
	1808	1,153,488	272,104	1,425,592
	1809	1,318,508	674,680	1,993,188

III. The PROGRESS OF THE REVENUE and the increased CHARGE ON THE NATIONAL DEBT are shown in the first diagram: the figures on which it is based are as follows:

i. *Revenue. England, 1660—1789. Great Britain and Ireland, 1792—1850.*

1660	£1,200,000	Dowell, <i>History of Taxation</i> , II. 17.
1690	1,200,000	" " " II. 44.
1712	3,043,000	
1740	3,997,000	
1756	5,150,000	
1762	6,711,000	} <i>Statistical Journal</i> , XVIII. 250.
1774	7,137,000	
1784	12,995,000	
1789	15,460,000	
1792	18,900,630	
1795	19,657,993	
1800	33,069,775	
1805	50,348,263	} <i>Reports</i> , 1828, v. 610—645.
1810	66,704,985	
1815	71,900,005	
1820	53,880,373	
1825	52,065,389	
1830	49,889,995	} <i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1841, XLII. 183.
1835	45,893,370	
1840	47,351,563	
1845	51,719,118	} <i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1851, XXXI. 166.
1850	52,177,141	

ii. *Annual Charge on the National Debt.*

1688	£39,855	
1702	1,310,942	
1714	3,351,358	
1727	2,217,551	
1739	1,964,025	
1748	3,061,004	} <i>Sinclair, History of the Public Revenue</i> , Part II. 93.
1755	2,396,717	
1762	4,840,821	
1776	4,476,821	
1784	9,669,435	
1790	9,479,572	
1815	30,458,204	} <i>Reports</i> , 1828, v. 657.
1820	30,147,801	
1825	29,197,197	
1830	29,118,859	
1835	28,514,610	} <i>Accounts</i> , 1851, XXXI. 166.
1840	29,381,718	
1845	28,253,872	
1850	28,091,590	

IV. The INCREASE OF POPULATION is also shown by a diagram, and is compared with the annual charge for poor-relief, so far as it was reported to Parliament. The figures are as follows:

i. *Population of England and Wales.*

1688	5,500,520	G. King in Davenant, <i>Works</i> , II. 184.
1700	5,475,000	} <i>Statistical Journal</i> , XLIII. 462.
1710	5,240,000	
1720	5,565,000	
1730	5,796,000	
1740	6,064,000	
1750	6,467,000	
1760	6,736,000	
1770	7,428,000	
1780	7,053,000	
1790	8,875,000	
1801	8,892,536	} <i>Accounts and Papers</i> , 1852-3, LXXXV. XXXIII.
1811	10,164,256	
1821	12,000,236	
1831	13,896,797	
1841	15,914,148	
1851	17,927,609	

ii. *Poor-rates.*

Average, 1748-49-50	£689,971	} <i>Reports</i> , 1821, IV. 277.
1776	1,521,732	
Average, 1783-84-85	1,912,241	
1803	4,077,891	
March, 1812-13	6,656,105	
1813-14	6,294,584	
1814-15	5,418,845	
1815-16	5,724,506	
1816-17	6,918,217	
1817-18	7,890,148	
1818-19	7,531,660	} <i>Accounts</i> , 1845, XLI. 893.
1819-20	7,829,594	
1820-21	6,958,445	
1821-22	6,858,703	
1822-23	5,773,096	
1823-24	5,734,216	
1824-25	5,786,991	
1825-26	5,928,502	
1826-27	6,441,088	
1827-28	6,298,000	
1828-29	6,832,410	
1829-30	6,829,042	
1830-31	6,798,889	
1831-32	7,036,968	
1832-33	6,780,800	
1833-34	6,317,255	
1834-35	5,526,418	
1835-36	4,717,630	
1836-37	4,044,741	
1837-38	4,123,604	
1838-39	4,406,907	
1839-40	4,576,965	
1840-41	4,760,929	
1841-42	4,911,498	
1842-43	5,208,027	
1843-44	4,982,096	
1844-45	5,039,703	<i>Accounts</i> , 1847, XLIX. 51.
1845-46	4,954,204	<i>Accounts</i> , 1847-8, LIII. 181, 183.
1846-47	5,298,787	} <i>Accounts</i> , 1849, XLVII. 615.
1847-48	6,180,765	

iii. *The rate and distribution of the increase of population during the eighteenth century is excellently shown in the following table quoted from Chalmers. (Estimate, 216.)*

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Number of HOUSES, in each County of England and Wales, as they appeared in the Hearth-books of Lady-day 1690; as they were made up at the Tax-office, in 1708—1750—1781; and, as they appear from the enumeration of 1801.

Counties.	No. of Houses, 1690.	No. of Houses charged, 1708.	No. of Houses charged and chargeable, 1750.	No. of Houses charged and chargeable, 1781.	No. of Houses, enumerated, 1801.	
					Inhabited.	Uninhabited.
Bedfordshire	12,170	5,479	6,802	5,360	11,888	185
Berks	16,996	7,558	9,762	9,227	20,573	622
Bucks	18,688	8,504	10,087	9,870	20,443	543
Cambridge	18,823	7,220	9,384	9,038	16,159	312
Chester	25,592	11,656	16,006	17,201	34,482	1,139
Cornwall	26,613	9,052	14,520	15,274	32,906	4,872
Cumberland	15,279	2,509	11,914	13,419	21,573	1,472
Derby	24,944	8,260	13,912	14,046	31,822	1,869
Devon	56,202	16,686	30,049	28,612	57,955	8,285
Dorset	17,859	4,138	11,711	11,122	21,487	825
*Durham	53,845	6,298	10,475	12,418	27,195	1,171
York	121,052	44,776	70,816	76,224	168,489	6,418
Essex	40,545	16,256	19,057	18,359	38,371	1,027
Gloucester	34,476	18,285	16,261	14,950	46,457	1,715
Hareford	16,744	6,818	8,771	8,092	17,003	941
Hertford	17,488	7,447	9,251	8,628	17,081	491
Huntingdon	8,718	8,992	4,363	3,847	6,986	186
Kent	46,674	21,871	30,029	30,975	51,556	1,413
Lancashire	46,961	22,588	33,278	30,956	114,270	8,894
Leicester	20,448	3,284	12,967	12,545	26,392	742
Lincoln	45,019	17,571	24,969	24,561	41,365	1,094
London, &c.	111,215	47,031	71,977	74,704	112,912	5,171
Norfolk	56,579	19,097	20,697	20,056	47,617	1,523
Northampton	26,904	9,218	12,464	10,350	26,055	786
*Northumberland	(included in Durham)	6,787	10,543	12,431	28,518	1,684
Nottingham	17,818	7,755	11,001	10,872	25,611	542
Oxford	19,827	8,602	10,362	8,698	20,699	594
Rutland	8,661	1,498	1,873	1,445	3,274	87
Salop	27,471	11,452	18,332	12,895	31,182	929
Somerset	45,900	19,048	27,822	26,407	48,040	2,136
Southampton, &c.	28,557	14,331	18,045	16,323	38,284	806
Stafford	26,278	10,812	16,917	16,488	45,621	2,008
Suffolk	47,637	15,301	18,384	19,559	32,368	652
Surrey, &c.	40,610	14,071	20,087	19,381	48,072	1,614
Sussex	23,451	9,429	11,170	10,574	25,060	718
Warwick	22,400	9,461	12,759	13,276	41,069	2,946
Westmoreland	6,691	1,904	4,937	6,144	7,897	315
Wilt	27,418	11,378	14,303	12,656	28,059	1,170
Worcester	24,440	9,178	9,967	8,791	26,711	1,109
Angloesca		1,040	1,334	2,264	6,679	127
Brecon		3,370	3,234	3,497	6,315	479
Cardigan		2,042	2,542	2,444	8,819	221
Cardmarthen		3,985	5,020	5,128	18,449	971
Cardmarvon		1,583	2,866	2,875	8,848	129
Denbigh		4,753	6,091	5,878	19,631	427
Flint		2,653	3,520	2,990	7,585	194
Glamorgan		5,920	6,290	5,146	14,225	537
Merioneth		1,930	2,664	2,972	5,737	193
Monmouth		3,288	4,080	4,454	8,248	417
Montgomery		4,047	4,800	5,421	8,725	228
Pembroke		2,764	2,808	3,294	11,569	393
Pednor		2,092	2,425	2,076	3,675	212
	1,519,215	508,616	729,048	721,861	1,574,902	67,529

APPENDIX G.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF
HISTORICAL STATISTICS.

It is rarely possible to obtain reliable and precise information in regard to affairs in the past, so that it is all the more tempting to try to make the most of the figures which do survive, and draw as much as possible from them. The interpretation of quotations of prices and other information of a similar kind is beset by many difficulties. It must be remembered that statistics only serve to set economic problems before us in a very precise form; the greatest care and skill is needed to solve the questions they present for our consideration. Figures, however correct they may be, show the amount of some changes, but they do not in themselves give us any light as to the reason of the changes, or as to ulterior results brought about in social life, or economic conditions. These must be the matter of carefully reasoned enquiry. An illustration from the subject of pauperism may bring out the extremely limited character of the information we get from figures. It is perfectly clear that the sums expended on the relief of the poor diminished during the earlier part of the eighteenth century; but the figures in themselves and by themselves do not tell us whether this was due to greater strictness of administration, or to improved trade and better employment. The figures give us the combined effect of both causes, and do not help us to discriminate the action of one from that of the other. There are always many influences at work in any social movement, and we have no sufficient means of discriminating the precise effect exerted by any one factor singly.

A number of complex considerations are involved even in the apparently simple attempt to compare the prices charged for a particular commodity at different times and under different circumstances. Any single quotation of price is a summary statement of the value of a commodity in terms of some form of

money. But neither the measure of value nor the thing measured can be regarded as constant. There have been changes in the range of general prices which have originated in alterations in the circulating medium; and on the other hand there are very few commodities—besides precious stones—in regard to which we can be certain that the quality has remained unaltered. The quality of a pound of mediæval beef probably differed considerably from the prime cuts of the present day¹; and at all events, the ox or the sheep was undoubtedly inferior to modern breeds in size and weight. These are the difficulties which must be faced, before satisfactory data can be obtained from mere quotations of price, for discussing such an apparently simple matter as the differences in the value of the same object in the same country at two different periods. Indeed an enquiry that seems to be very roundabout may prove much more instructive. The study of the relative prices of two or more commodities at different times, enables us to evade some of the confusions which arise from changes in the value of the Circulating Medium. Professor Nicholson has shown from his admirable chapter on this subject² how much light may be thrown on social and economic changes by the careful pursuit of this line of investigation.

The difficulty is greatly enhanced if we set ourselves to compare such ill-defined *quanta* as the "material comfort" of the labourer in different centuries. To solve the question at all we must know (a) not only what he could get by paying for it, as compared with what the modern labourer can get, but we must take account (b) of cases where the modern labourer has to pay for things which the mediæval labourer got for nothing, and (c) of things which the modern labourer habitually uses, and which the mediæval labourer never had at all. That is to say, to estimate the standard of comfort, we must not only know (a) the *purchasing power of wages*, but take account (b) of the increased necessity of *purchasing fuel* in modern times, and (c) of the increased use of tea, tobacco and so forth. These last obviously imply a change in the standard of comfort, for the better if they are additional luxuries, and for the worse, if they are substitutes for things containing more sustenance.

There is a further difficulty; it is now recognised that the question of a labourer's comfort depends, not merely on his own

¹ H. Hall, *The Roast Beef of Old England*, in the *Antiquarian*, 1882.

² *Principles of Political Economy*, III. 65.

wages, but on the family income¹; Le Play and his school have put this matter beyond discussion. Before, then, we can get satisfactory information regarding the standard of comfort we must know what opportunities there are for bye-employment and domestic industry.

These considerations are all necessary to get any statement on the subject which shall be worth having; but they are so complicated, that it seems impossible to give each of them their due weight. On this ground Professor Thorold Rogers has taken the bold course of simplifying the problem as much as possible, by leaving these confusing elements on one side². He takes individual earnings as typical of family earnings, and discusses the standard of comfort of the labourer on the simpler issue of the purchasing power of his wages. But the quotations for rates of wages, on which he relies, are often statements of payments made *per day*; if the standard of comfort is to be estimated by the *free income*, which the labourer had (for clothes, &c.) after purchasing necessary food, it is necessary to know how regularly he was employed. Where we do not know this, we are forced to assume it, so as to discuss the problem at all. But regularity of employment depends on (1) opportunity of employment, and (2) on willingness to work; and these are uncertain elements which make it very difficult to hazard a reasonable assumption for any period in the past.

There are two periods during which it appears, from comparing the price of food and the rates of wages, that the labourer must have been specially well off, viz. 1401-1499, and 1701-1766. But it seems very doubtful whether there was much regularity of employment at either time. The evidence of the decay of towns

¹ The family is an element of uncertainty both as to income and expenditure. The difficulties of comparing the price of labour in our land in different centuries, are brought out in a few sentences about the price of labour in different states at the same date. "1st. The necessaries of a family is a vague term. 2dly. A family is vague; it may be four or ten persons. 3dly. A day's work is vague; it may be six hours or sixteen. 4thly. The quantity of labour in a state is uncertain. 5thly. The seasons and weather are various as to heat and cold, which must vary the price of labour. 6thly. The value of money is different, so that in one country an ounce of silver will purchase a sack of wheat, and twenty days' labour; in another but a bushel, and five days' labour. What a perplexity arises hence! But when the price of labour is talked of, and compared between two states, &c., all these ought to be considered." [Temple] *Considerations on Taxes*, p. 42 n.

² "I assumed that the peasant and the artisan work 300 days in the year. It is quite possible that they did not get so much employment, perhaps that they worked more days, or on certain occasions increased their earnings by bye-employments, by the labour of their wives, their sons, and their daughters. But in calculations such as I am making, provided you take what it may be conceived the workmen could not do without, the comparison is made more obvious if the fewest and simplest factors are taken." *Agriculture and Prices*, v. 618.

(Vol. 1., pp. 453, 507), and increase of sheep-farming (Vol. 1., pp. 403, 526) goes to prove that there were many districts where employment was not to be had at all regularly during the fifteenth century. Again, the constant complaint of laziness in the eighteenth century seems to show that the labourers, who had the opportunity of working, often preferred to take out their enjoyment in the form of idling. (See above, pp. 566, 855 n. 1.)

It has been the habit of economists from the time of the statute of Elizabeth to think of wages as varying according to the plenty and scarcity of the time; that is, that when food is dear wages should be high, and that wages may be low when food is cheap. But Temple, if he was the author of the *Essay on Trade and Commerce*, gives expression to an opposite view. "It is the quantity of labour and not the price of it, that is determined by the price of provisions and other necessaries." (p 40.) According to his observations, when men could easily earn a living, they would not work more than half their time, but when food was dear, they were ready to put in six days a week. This doctrine, which was formulated after experience of a period of comparative plenty, was certainly confirmed during the miserable days which succeeded the peace, when the men were accustomed to labour for excessive hours because food was so dear.

Where there are high rates of wages and plenty of employment is to be had, it is clear that the labourers have an opportunity of raising their standard of material comfort. There are too many pessimists who call attention to the strength of human passions, and human folly, and who despair of these opportunities being ever well used. The followers of Malthus are inclined to say that if food is cheap, there will only be a reckless increase of the population; teetotalers are inclined to insist that high wages too often mean a large drink bill; and others may urge that high wages only lead to idleness and dissipation. With so many temptations at work, it need be no matter for surprise that during all these centuries of increasing wealth, the labourers' standard of comfort has changed but little for the better; that while many have risen out of the labouring class, the standard of the class has been hardly altered at all. But at least the experience of the past may help us to understand that no permanent improvement is necessarily brought about by increased opportunities for material well-being, but only by the intellectual and moral changes which

enable men to take advantage of the opportunities that offer, be they great or small.

From the foregoing remarks it appears that very little reliance can be placed on conclusions drawn from quotations of prices as to the actual material comfort enjoyed by the labourer at any period. At the same time, as the question is constantly raised, it may not be out of place to give the calculations made by Arthur Young and commended by Tooke, for what they are worth.

PRICES AND WAGES IN ENGLAND, 1200 to 1810.—Comparative Statement framed by Arthur Young in 1812, upon the principle of representing the facts of 1810 by the number twenty (20), and the facts of the preceding periods by the proportion (in figures) borne by them to that Number.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
PERIODS.		FOOD.			VICTUALLING OFFICE. Beef and Pork.	OTHER ARTICLES.				WAGES.			
		Wheat.	Barley and Oats.	Beef, Mutton, Veal, Pork, Bacon, Butter, Cheese.		Wool (Combing).	Horses.	Coals at Bethlehem Hospital.	Manufactures at Greenwich Hospital.	Agricultural Labour.	Carpenters and Masons.		
100	1200-99	5½	4¾	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3½	...
"	1800-99	6¼	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4½	4½
"	1400-99	8	2¾	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5¾	5¾
"	1500-99	6	4¾	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5¾	4¾
"	1600-99	9½	8½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	7
"	1700-99	9½	11½	10½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12½	11½
66	1701-66	7¾	7¼	7½	7¼	12	15¾	13½	14½	14½	10	...	...
23	1767-89	11	11	11½	11	15½	17½	14½	14	14	12½	...	...
14	1790-1803	18	16½	16½	17	16½	19½	15½	15½	15½	16½	...	...
7	1804-10	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
84	1767-1800	13	11½	13½	12½	13	...	14½	15½	14	...	14	...

NOTE.—This Table may be read thus:—The price of a given quantity of, say, wheat (col. 3), was represented in 1810 by the number 20; and the price of the same quantity of wheat in coinage, of the same weight and fineness, was, in the period, say 1500-99, represented by the number 6; hence, the price of wheat in 1810, compared with 1500-99, had risen 233 per cent.

The "Manufactures at Greenwich Hospital" (col. 10) include shoes, stockings, hats, and mops.

Arthur Young combined several of the separate elements together, in order to simplify the general view, and the following were the results, viz. :

Combinations obtained from the preceding Table.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Periods.	Wheat, Barley, and Oats united. (Cols. 3 and 4.)	Wheat and Beef, &c. united. (3 and 4.)	Corn and Beef, &c. united. (3, 4, and 5.)	Labour, Corn, and Beef, &c. united. (3, 4, 5, and 11.)	Labour singly. (11.)
1200-99	5	- ...	- ...	- ...	8½
1300-99	5½	- ...	- ...	- ...	4½
1400-99	8	- ...	- ...	- ...	5½
1500-99	5	- 5½	- ...	- ...	5½
1600-99	8½	- 8	- ...	- ...	8
1700-99	10½	- 9½	- ...	- ...	12½
1701-66	7½	- 7½	- 7½	- 8½	10
1767-89	11	- 11½	- 11½	- 11½	12½
1790-1803	14½	- 14½	- 15½	- 16	16½
1804-10	20	- 20	- 20	- 20	20
1787-1800	11½	- 12½	- 12½	- 13	14

According to these figures, it is obvious that the periods during which a given quantity of *Labour* would command the largest quantity of *Food*, were the periods 1400-99 and 1701-66. Tooke, *Prices*, vi. 391.

For more recent periods it is possible to express the variations in the purchasing power of money by means of an index number, which is obtained by stating the price of each of a number of commodities in any subsequent year in the form of a percentage of the price of the same commodity in 1845-50, and then taking the sum of these percentages for the whole number of commodities. This is the plan adopted by the *Economist*, based on the figures for twenty-two articles. It gives 2947 as the index number for 1873, or an average rise of from 100 to 134. Want of data renders it impossible to calculate these changes for the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries.

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