

**THE ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF ENGLAND**

BY E. LIPSON

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND
VOL. I. THE MIDDLE AGES *Tenth edition*
VOLS. II. AND III. THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM
Fifth edition

THE HISTORY OF THE
WOOLLEN AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES

EUROPE IN THE XIXTH CENTURY: 1815-1914 *
Ninth edition

EUROPE 1914-1939 *
Fifth edition

A PLANNED ECONOMY OR FREE ENTERPRISE
THE LESSONS OF HISTORY
Second edition

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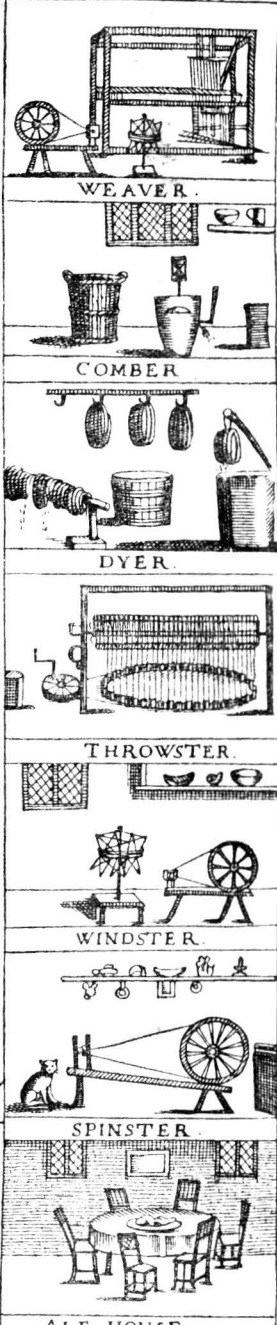
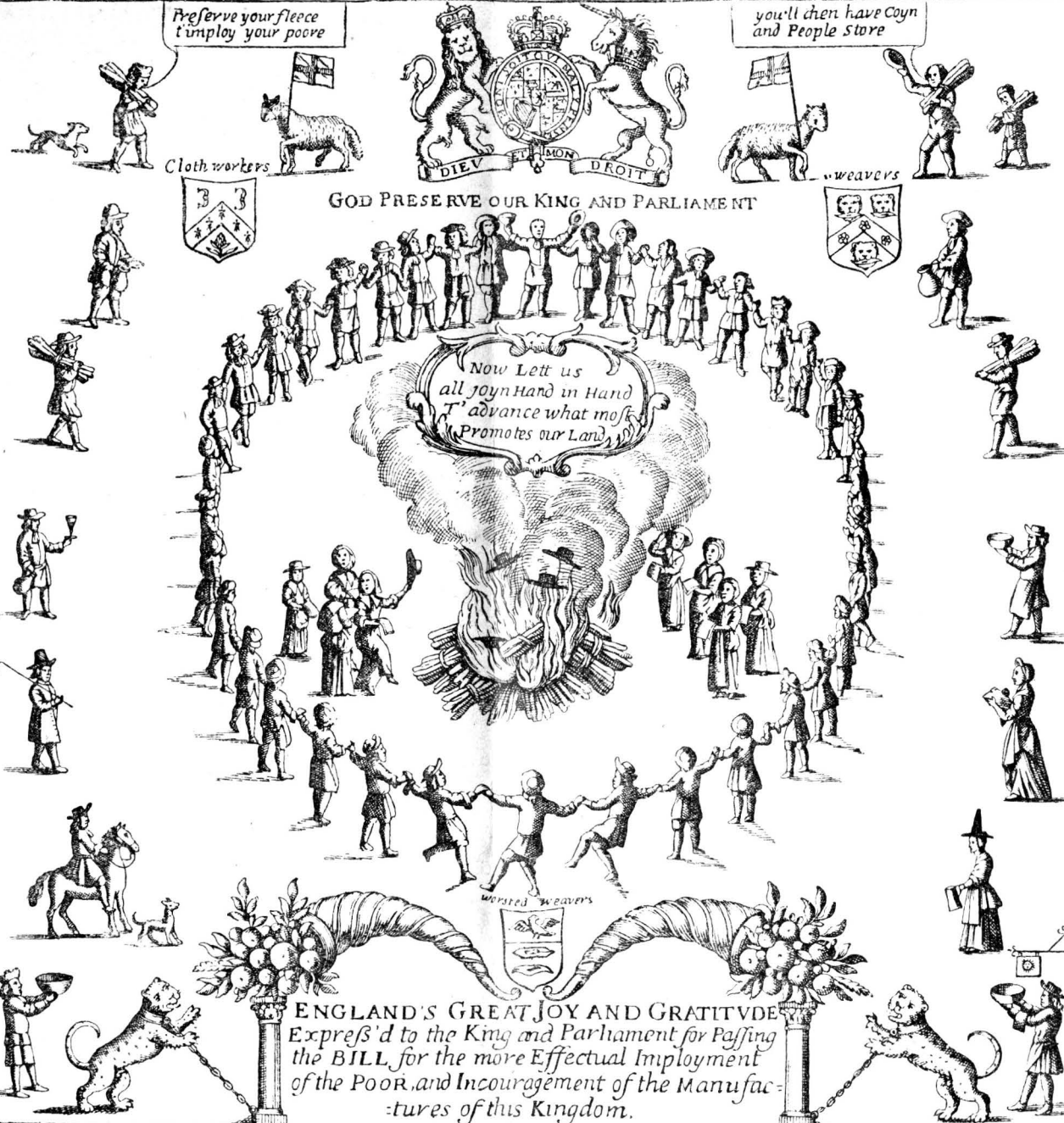
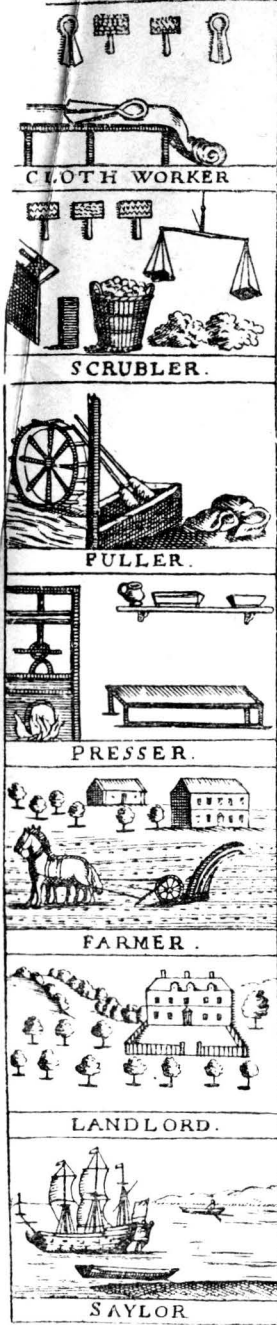
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A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATING THE PROCESSES OF THE WOOLLEN AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES.

F. H. VAN NOVE SCULP

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY
E. LIPSON

VOLUME II
THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM

Fifth edition

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE new features of this revised and enlarged edition comprise an Introduction of a hundred and fifty pages and two Appendices of nearly a hundred pages, together with numerous changes in the Text and Notes.

The Introduction is designed to provide a synthesis and an interpretation of the various aspects of England's economic development from the close of the Middle Ages to the 'Industrial Revolution'. At the present day the need for a Planned Economy has become the subject of much discussion. It is therefore of more than academic interest to turn back to the notable period in English History when there was a sustained effort to make the conception of an 'ordered commonwealth' a concrete reality; and when the principles of a regulated industry, agriculture and trade, were very far from being abstractions and embodied a national policy explicitly enunciated and consciously pursued. In the Introduction, as one of its themes, I have sought to set England's first Planned Economy in a clear historical light, and to elucidate the forces which replaced the traditional economic structure by a regime of Free Enterprise. Another theme is the revision of conventional views on the older English society on the basis of the material contained in these volumes. I may add that the Introduction is an expansion of the Lowell Lectures which I had the privilege of delivering at Boston in the United States. A few paragraphs are reprinted from an Article on "England in the Age of Mercantilism" contributed to the *Journal of Economic and Business History* (August 1932), which presents a brief summary of some of my main conclusions.

Except in special cases there are in the Introduction no

cross-references to the Text, since almost every sentence would require one, but references are indicated where they are needed to supplement those embodied in the Text.

The two Appendices furnish additional information drawn from original sources. In them I have taken account of the work done in recent studies on specialized topics.

The cross-references given in these two volumes to the first volume on "The Middle Ages" have been revised to bring them into conformity with the altered pagination of the enlarged (seventh or subsequent) edition of Volume I. I have also added a supplementary list of Authorities. For the frontispiece, a seventeenth-century illustration of the processes of the woollen industry, I am indebted to the late Sir Charles Firth.

The modern historian, in these days when the devoted labours of scholars are constantly unearthing new material or re-interpreting the old material in a fresh light, can hardly entertain the belief that his work will be "an everlasting possession". He must rest content with the hope that it may survive, *monumentum aere perennius*, in the writings of those who build upon his foundations. Notwithstanding, "if he who desires to have before his eyes a faithful picture" of the evolution of English society—the fruits of half a lifetime's research—"shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then [I quote the words of Thucydides] I shall be satisfied".

E. LIPSON

April 1943

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE reception accorded to the first volume has encouraged me to attempt a further instalment. The delay in publication is owing to various causes—the pressure of other duties, the range of the material which I have endeavoured to lay under contribution, and the strain which the task has placed upon health none too robust. That these volumes appear at all, in spite of many difficulties, is due to the oft-repeated wish of some who read the first volume that I should continue this History. Now the continuation is in their hands, I can only express the sincere hope that it may not unduly disappoint any expectations which they may have formed.

These volumes cover the period extending from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the 'Industrial Revolution' and the 'Agrarian Revolution' of the later eighteenth century. In each section I have chosen what seemed to be the most appropriate point of conclusion.

For my interpretation of the term, Domestic System, I may be permitted to refer to an Essay which I have contributed to the volume *In onore e ricordo di Giuseppe Prato*, published by the University of Turin.

It remains to give my warm thanks to those who have helped in reading the proofs, to Miss J. de L. Mann, and to my former pupils, Miss A. Moller, G. P. Ambrose, and A. D. Gayer. For their unflinching attention to detail, I owe to Messrs. A. and C. Black the gratitude which those who have the good fortune to publish their books with them will readily understand.

E. LIPSON

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD
22nd April 1931

NOTE ON THE FIFTH EDITION

In a forthcoming book on *The Economic Growth of English Society* I have devoted the greater part to the 'Industrial Revolution' and modern times.

E. L.

April 1948

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APPENDIX

(I) *Page I, note I*

As an illustration of conflicting interpretations of the term domestic system, I shall refer here to the definitions adopted in Marshall's *Industry and Trade*, and Cunningham's *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*.

Marshall¹ defined 'domestic industry' to include "all the various arrangements under which things were made . . . in the homes of the producers"; and he grouped these 'arrangements' in three classes. In the first the producer was brought into "personal contact with those who supplied his requirements and those who bought his products; and he had scarcely any occasion for the services of capitalist traders". In the second the producer had become dependent upon traders for supplying him with some, at any rate, of the materials, "and the greater part of the products had to be sold by aid of traders"; but each producer produced goods at his own risk. The third class consisted of "small master producers, who . . . were independent of external control in all matters of detail; but yet manufactured to the order of capitalist 'undertakers', who bore all the risk of marketing, and often even supplied the material to be worked up". Marshall's first two classes—in which the independent worker, with the assistance of his family or of a hired journeyman and apprentices, worked up goods for disposal by private contract or by sale in open market, either to the consumer direct or to a trader—correspond roughly to what I propose to term the gild system. His third class corresponds to the domestic system, except that I prefer to confine the latter term to dependent workers ('wage-earners') engaged in

their own homes on material supplied by capitalist employers.

Cunningham³ opposed capitalism to the domestic system as separate and successive phases of development. "The distinguishing feature of the capitalist, as contrasted with the domestic, system lies in the fact that under the former scheme employers or undertakers own the materials and pay the wages, whereas in the domestic system the workman is his own master; he owns the materials on which he works and sells the product of his labour". According to his account, there were two stages in industrial evolution—the domestic system and the capitalist system, the former existing "from the earliest times till it was superseded" by the latter. Cunningham explained that he used the term domestic system "in the sense in which it was current in Yorkshire at the beginning of the nineteenth century"; but the peculiar form of the domestic system prevalent in the West Riding of Yorkshire was not typical of England in general. It certainly was not characteristic of the greatest cloth-producing area in the kingdom, the West Country, the industrial hearth of England *par excellence* down to the 'Industrial Revolution'; nor was the worsted industry of East Anglia, another great manufacturing area, organized on this basis.

My own interpretation of the domestic system can be best indicated by setting forth the stages of industrial evolution as I view them. I shall distinguish four main stages, which I shall call the "household", the "gild", the "domestic" and the "factory". In the household stage, production was carried on in the family to serve the needs of the family. The women baked their bread, spun wool into thread, and wove thread into cloth: the men ground their corn, tanned leather to make shoes, and fashioned tools and household utensils. This stage differed from the succeeding stages in that it was non-commercial: the producers consumed their own products, and there was no production for sale in a market. In the gild stage⁴ there existed a market, but the producer was an independent artisan who sold his goods to the consumer where the market was a local one, or to a trader where the market was national

or international ⁴. Hired workers were not unknown ; but the journeymen, at any rate, looked forward to becoming masters when they had accumulated sufficient capital to set up on their own. The independence of the master craftsman in the gild stage was due to the fact that the raw material belonged to him, so that he sold not his labour but the fruits of his labour.

The next stage in industrial evolution marked the advent of capitalism. Under the domestic system, which was widespread in manufacturing industry in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ownership of the material became vested in the hands of capitalists, who employed wage labour to work it up into finished goods. The domestic system must be regarded as a capitalist system, since the fundamental trait of capitalism is the wage system under which the worker sells the labour itself. The fourth stage, the factory system, emerged when the workers owned neither the material nor the instruments of production, and were assembled under the employer's roof. The ultimate predominance of the fourth stage was due to the introduction of machinery which was incompatible with domestic production in the homes.

The extent to which English industry was organized on a capitalist basis before the 'Industrial Revolution' has been obscured by the undue attention concentrated on the West Riding of Yorkshire, to the neglect of other centres in England. This is due partly to Defoe's famous description of the West Riding ; and partly to the existence of a very detailed *Report on the State of the Woollen Industry* in Yorkshire, drawn up in 1806. The picture presented in Defoe and in the Parliamentary Report of 1806 is that of an industrial society in which the chief element consisted of "domestic manufacturers" who, unlike the West Country clothiers, were themselves manual craftsmen working with wife and children, sometimes also with apprentices and journeymen. At first sight it looks like a form of the gild system ⁵, but I prefer to regard it as a primitive form of the domestic system, since the Yorkshire clothier controlled *all* the processes connected with cloth-making (except

the finishing processes) : whereas under the gild system (as here defined) there was no centralized control of the industry and the workers in each branch retained their independence.

In drawing any inferences from the organization of industry in Yorkshire it must be remembered that the West Riding also contained a class of large clothiers, whose position was analogous to that of the West Country clothiers, as well as a class of worsted makers who conducted their business on a large scale. Thus even in Yorkshire the influence of capital was often considerable. But, in any case, Yorkshire was not the only industrial centre of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries : nor was it even the most important. England's best markets abroad were supplied by the West Country and East Anglia, and here there existed a highly-developed capitalist organization. The Parliamentary Report of 1803 on the woollen industry in the West of England exhibits a widely different picture from that of the Report of 1806 on Yorkshire ; and it deserves to be better known. It demonstrates how the control of the industry was in the hands of employers who were not themselves artisans, but who owned the material and directed the manufacture at every stage of production. This was the class which for three centuries had controlled and dominated the organization of the woollen industry throughout the West of England.

¹ Marshall, *Industry and Trade* (ed. 1920), 715 seq.

² Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1907), ii. 497 seq.

³ I use the term 'gild' stage, because it was under the system of independent artisans that the mediaeval craft gilds came into existence. The 'gild' stage could exist apart from the mediaeval craft gilds ; but the latter could function only in the 'gild' stage.

⁴ English cloth was exported abroad in the twelfth century, when there existed gilds of weavers, showing that an international market is compatible with the gild system.

⁵ Held, *Zwei Bücher zur Socialen Geschichte Englands*, applied the term 'Handwerk' (corresponding to my term 'gild system') to the Yorkshire system.

(1) Page I, note 1A

In commenting upon this passage, a writer has questioned the existence of a 'household' system. But, as E. Heckscher remarks : " Anybody who believes that a natural economy

has never existed after prehistoric times may learn better by studying conditions in Sweden as late as in the sixteenth century"¹.

¹ Heckscher, *Mercantilism* (revised ed. 1935), ii. 139, note. Cf. also Gras, *Industrial Evolution*, I.

(1) *Page 4, note 3*

The woollen industry was divided into two main branches—the clothing branch or manufacture of short carded wool, and the worsted branch or manufacture of long combed wool. The term 'cloth' was used where both warp and weft were spun from carded wool; and the term 'stuff' denoted that warp and weft were made from combed wool. A third category, 'serge', was created by the mixture of carded and combed wool—the weft being carded yarn and the warp combed yarn. The fabric, whether cloth, stuff or serge, was made up of longitudinal threads laid parallel to each other and intersected by transverse threads. The longitudinal threads constituted the warp, the transverse threads the weft. The main processes of the industry were as follows—*Carding*: to disentangle the locks of wool, and straighten out and interlace the fibres. *Combing*: to lay the fibres parallel with each other, and separate the long wool from the wool of shorter staple. *Spinning*: to draw out and twist the fibres so as to form a continuous thread (termed 'yarn'), either by a distaff (a cleft staff on which was wound the wool) and a whirling spindle, or by a spinning-wheel which gave motion to the spindle by means of a revolving wheel and was known in this country at least as early as 1404¹. *Weaving*: to insert the threads of the weft between the alternate threads of the warp—a narrow loom being worked by a single weaver, and a broad loom by two weavers. *Fulling*: to thicken and shrink the cloth either by trampling it under foot ('walking'), or by pounding it in a fulling mill containing wooden hammers worked by water-power. (The essential difference between woollen and worsted fabrics was that only the former underwent the process of fulling.) *Finishing or 'dressing'*: to 'row', that is, draw out the loose fibres from the cloth with teasles

(plants with prickly leaves) so as to raise a 'nap' on the surface; and to 'shear', that is, crop the nap as closely as possible so as to impart a smooth appearance to the surface. *Dyeing*: to dye the wool before or after it was woven².

¹ *Records of Nottingham* (ed. Stevenson), ii. 23.

² For a detailed account of the technical processes involved in the preparation and manufacture of cloth, see Lipson, *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries*, chapter iv. For a seventeenth-century description of the processes by Sir W. Petty, see Birch, *The History of the Royal Society* (1756), i. 55-65.

(1) *Page 5, note 4*

In these volumes I have defined capitalism as a system based on the existence of permanent classes of wage-earners and employers of labour, in which the latter control industry and own its products. The essential feature of capitalism is therefore not 'mass production for mass consumption' though this is now one of its usual traits, but the wage system under which the worker sells not the fruits of his labour but the labour itself. The origin of the wage system is discussed below¹.

¹ *Infra*, vol. iii. 248-249.

(2) *Page 8, note 1*

Even as early as 1589 one Robert Bowes, who had laid out £4000 in salt pans, is said to have employed 300 people in his works¹.

¹ *Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 404, note 1.

(3) *Page 11, note 1*

The Privy Council in 1620 wrote: "The clothing of the kingdom, wherein so many sorts of people are interested, as namely the wool-grower, clothier, merchant, weaver, spinner, fuller and divers others, is of far more general consequence than any other mystery or trade whatsoever"¹.

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1619-1621*, p. 197.

(4) *Page 12, note 3*

Fuller states that the clothiers of Gloucestershire enjoyed a double advantage—"First, plenty of the best wool growing

therein on Cotswold-Hills . . . Secondly, they have the benefit of an excellent water for colouring their cloth, being the sweet rivulet of Stroud" ¹.

¹ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (ed. 1662), s.v. Gloucestershire.

(1) Page 16, note 3

There are a number of estimates of the cost of manufacturing a piece of cloth ¹. One, for the seventeenth century, is contained in Sir Matthew Hale, *A Discourse touching Provision for the Poor* (1683) ². Others cover the years 1781-1828 ³. An estimate is also given in Postlethwayt, *Britain's Commercial Interest* (1757) ⁴.

¹ See Lipson, *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries*, Appendix I.

² Page 15.

³ *Parliamentary Papers* (1840), xxiii. 439 seq.

⁴ Page 342.

(2) Page 17, note 5

In the reign of James I. a woman clothier in Devon employed three or four hundred ¹.

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1621-1623*, p. 314.

(3) Page 20, note 6

In 1621 the Merchants of the Staple 'exhibited' a bill in Parliament "for restoring them to their trade of shipping cloth", of which they were now 'hindered' by the Merchant Adventurers ¹.

¹ *Commons Debates, 1621* (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 226.

(4) Page 21, note 4

The Privy Council was informed in 1621 that fine wool was taken to Worcester and Somersetshire; coarse wool to Suffolk and Norfolk for the new draperies; and the worst wool to Yorkshire, Lancashire and North Wales ¹.

¹ *Commons Debates, 1621* (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 497.

(5) Page 31, note 5

There are references in employers' wills to looms 'standing and being' in their workpeople's houses ¹.

¹ Thornton, *A History of Clare, Suffolk*, 204-205.

(1) Page 34, note 7

Sir Matthew Hale estimated that three weavers could weave a cloth about 32 yards long in three weeks¹. Postlethwayt was informed that two men and a boy would weave a cloth in 24 days². The size of the cloth is not stated: Massie supposes that it was 26 yards long³.

¹ Hale, *A Discourse touching Provision for the Poor* (1683), 15.

² Postlethwayt, *Britain's Commercial Interest* (1757), 342.

³ Massie, *Ways and Means* (1757), 67.

(2) Page 40, note 3

W. Smith, whose *An Essay for Recovery of Trade* was published in 1661, wrote¹: "Weavers seldom take apprentices, as the law enjoins, to accomplish seven years' service, but they take servants by covenant for a year or less time".

¹ Page 5.

(3) Page 44, note 3

William Stout, who was born in 1665, relates that "our sister was early taught to read, knit and spin and also needle work". His mother was "not only fully employed in house-wifery but in dressing their corn for the market and also in the fields in hay and corn harvests along with our father and servants"¹.

¹ *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster* (ed. 1851), 3.

(4) Page 44, note 6A

The spinning wheel was used in England at least as early as 1404¹.

¹ *Records of Nottingham* (ed. Stevenson), ii. 23.

(5) Page 47, note 4

There were spinning schools in Scotland in the seventeenth century¹.

¹ See Dean, *Scottish Spinning Schools*, 41 seq.

(1) *Page 49, note 7*

In a wage assessment of 1687 in Buckinghamshire the rate of payment for spinners 'by the day without meat and drink' was fixed at fourpence¹.

¹ *Buckinghamshire Sessions Records*, i. 229.

(2) *Page 53, note 8*

According to Postlethwayt¹ the dressing of a piece of cloth occupied four men for 5 days. The size of the cloth is not stated: Massie supposes that it was 26 yards long².

¹ Postlethwayt, *Britain's Commercial Interest* (1757), 342.

² Massie, *Ways and Means* (1757), 67.

(3) *Page 62, note 1*

W. Hutton, who was bound apprentice at Lombe's silk mill¹ for seven years, relates: "My parents, through mere necessity, put me to labour before nature had made me able. Low as the engines were, I was too short to reach them. To remedy this defect, a pair of high pattens were fabricated and lashed to my feet. . . . The severity [of the treatment] was intolerable"².

¹ *Supra*, p. 103.

² Hutton, *The History of Derby* (1791), 192-193.

(4) *Page 69, note 1*

The distribution of the woollen and worsted industries under the Early Stuarts is roughly indicated in Fuller's list¹—

"East: (1) Norfolk—Norwich fustians. (2) Suffolk—Sudbury bays. (3) Essex—Colchester says and serges. (4) Kent—Kentish broadcloth.

West: (1) Devonshire—kersies. (2) Gloucestershire—cloth. (3) Worcestershire—cloth. (4) Wales—Welsh friezes.

North: (1) Westmorland—Kendal cloth. (2) Lancashire—Manchester cotton. (3) Yorkshire—Halifax cloth.

South: (1) Somersetshire—Taunton serges. (2) Hampshire—cloth. (3) Berkshire—cloth. (4) Sussex—cloth".

"Observe we here", adds Fuller, "that mid-England—Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Cambridge—having most of wool, have least of clothing therein". W. Lambard, in his *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576)¹, declared that the artificers of Kent excelled as makers of coloured woollen cloths, and that from them was "drawn both sufficient store to furnish the wear of the best sort of our own nation at home, and great plenty also to be transported to other foreign countries abroad". In the next century Fuller² affirmed that "clothing is as vigorously applied here as in any other place, and Kentish cloth at the present keepeth up the credit thereof as high as ever before". None the less the county was unable to maintain its position among the manufacturing districts of England; and under the Hanoverians it was numbered with Hampshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Surrey and Sussex, among the counties which were not employed "in any considerable woollen manufacture"³, while Cambridgeshire had "no manufacture at all"⁴. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex were described by Defoe as "famed for industry"⁵. The heart of the West Country comprised part of the three counties of Gloucestershire—"famous not for the finest cloths only, but for dyeing those cloths of the finest scarlets and other grain colours that are anywhere in England"⁶—Wiltshire and Somersetshire. In the south-west was Devonshire whose original industry was the manufacture of kersies, the boast of Devonshire writers. After the Revolution kersies were displaced by serges, of which the warp was made with combed yarn and the weft with carded yarn: they were thus intermediate between the heavy broadcloth and the light worsted stuffs⁷. The classical description of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with its continuous line of villages growing one into the other and linked up by innumerable hamlets and detached houses, is contained in Defoe's *Tour of Great Britain*⁸.

Mention may be made of other important centres of the woollen industry. Leland in the reign of Henry VIII. wrote of Worcester that no town in England "maketh so many cloths-yearly as this town doth"⁹. Its prosperity declined,

for in 1575 it was declared that the number of looms had been reduced from 380 to 160, and 5000 persons were thrown out of work. But by the end of Elizabeth's reign the 'trade of clothing' was restored, and the historian of Worcester even claimed that in the seventeenth century its manufacture of broadcloth was "the most considerable of any in England"¹¹. As late as 1725 the town still carried on 'a great share of the clothing trade'¹² and was famed for making some of the best broadcloth in England. Coventry in the eighteenth century drove a great trade in 'tammies'¹³; but Newbury, associated with John Winchcombe¹⁴, was now stripped of its former glories. The fame of Bristol cloth under the Tudors is reflected in Skelton's description of a gay dress: "Her kyrtle was of Bristowe red". Kendal cottons made from Westmorland wool were "famous all over England"¹⁵. In former days Manchester, now the metropolis of the cotton industry, was also a seat of the woollen manufacture. "It excels", wrote Camden in 1586, "the towns immediately around it in handsomeness, populousness, woollen manufacture, market, church and college, but did much more excel them in the last age by the glory of its woollen cloths, which they call Manchester cottons"¹⁶.

¹¹ Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (ed. 1655), cent. xiv. book iii. 112.

¹² Pages 11-12.

¹³ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (ed. 1662), s.v. Kent.

¹⁴ Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain* (ed. 1724), i. letter ii. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (ed. 1724), i. letter i. 119. ¹⁶ *Ibid.* (ed. 1724), i. letter i. 119.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (ed. 1725), ii. letter iii. 64.

¹⁸ Cf. Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter*, 12, note 2, 16, 39-40.

¹⁹ (Ed. 1727), iii. 97 seq. (quoted in Lipson, *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries*, 243-245). ²⁰ *Supra*, vol. i. 506.

²¹ Green, *The History and Antiquities of Worcester*, i. 290.

²² Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain* (ed. 1725), ii. letter iii. 69.

²³ *Ibid.* (ed. 1725), ii. letter iv. 126. Tammies are a species of worsteds.

²⁴ *Supra*, vol. i. 476.

²⁵ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (ed. 1662), s.v. Westmorland.

²⁶ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. 1586), 428-429. See Lipson, *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries* (chapter vi. on Geographical Distribution).

(1) Page 69, note 6

The majority of the blanket weavers of Witney resembled the small Yorkshire clothiers. They were working craftsmen,

who owned their material and were responsible for most of the processes: some employed several journeymen, others were assisted only by an apprentice ¹.

¹ Plummer, *The Witney Blanket Industry*, 15-16.

(1) Page 76, note 8

The wages of a journeyman weaver in the North of England, mentioned in the text, refer to the late eighteenth century. His earnings in the seventeenth century may be illustrated by a Lancashire wage assessment (for the hundred of Blackburn) in 1673. "No journeyman weaver, fuller, cloth-worker, shearman or dyer shall not take for his wages above fourpence with meat and drink, and without meat and drink not above eightpence. And if he be hired by the year", he was to receive £2 : 10s. per annum (or £3 if 'very skilful') ¹.

¹ Hardwick, *History of Preston*, 406.

(2) Page 83, note 1

The view that 'la petite industrie' was better suited for carded wool (*i.e.* the woollen industry) and 'la grande industrie' for combed wool (*i.e.* the worsted industry) was advanced by Dechesne ¹, and accepted by Mantoux ² and Ashley ³. It was represented that combed wool was more expensive—yet at the same time more easily worked—than carded wool. Hence the higher price of the raw material (combed wool) called for considerable capital, while the workmanship was less skilled and therefore could be made more dependent on the capitalist employer. This view is criticized in the text ⁴.

¹ Dechesne, *L'Évolution Économique et Sociale de l'Industrie de la Laine en Angleterre*, 69-70.

² Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution* (English edition), 67.

³ Ashley, *The Economic Organization of England*, 148.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 83.

(3) Page 83, note 3

The fact that Yorkshire supplied yarn to Norwich ¹ may well have suggested to Yorkshire men the possibility of working up the yarn at home and entering into competition

with Norfolk manufacturers; and the fact that labour was apparently cheaper in the North than in Norwich made the experiment feasible.

¹ Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain* (ed. 1724), i. letter i. 91.

(1) Page 84, note 1

The introduction of the worsted trade opened up a new page in the history of Yorkshire, whose staple industry in early times had been the manufacture of a coarse cloth called 'kersey', though broadcloth was also made in the county. In 1727 Defoe enumerated shalloons (worsted cloth) along with broad woollen cloth and narrow woollen cloth (kersies) as "the three articles of that country's labour"¹. The competition of Yorkshire with other centres of industry began to attract attention in the early decades of the eighteenth century. T. Cowper in 1741 remarked: "Though some towns have sunk in trade, others have advanced. For I remember, in my time, the rise of some towns and the fall of others in that [woollen] manufactory—viz. Sudbury, and I think Farnham, were famous for making shalloons, as was also Newbury. Then Kettering, a little market town in Northamptonshire, from manufacturing 20 or 30 pieces of dyed serges weekly fell into making shalloons, rivalled the towns above mentioned, and sent to London market upwards of 1000 pieces per week. Yorkshire hath rivalled them since by under-working them, and very much decreased their trade, as also lowered their prices; they have also robbed the West and East; for I am told they not only make long ells but bays in imitation of Bocking bays, and sell them much cheaper for the reasons afore-said"². A writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1743)³ replied to the allegation of "the woollen trade in the West being removed into other parts of the kingdom, particularly to Halifax and the western parts of Yorkshire". He claimed that "this is true only of one inconsiderable branch, viz. white bays". In 1748 Morant asserted that the trade of Colchester had "removed in a great measure into the West and northern parts of this kingdom, where provisions

are cheaper, the poor more easily satisfied, and coals are very plentiful" ⁴. Nearly two decades later Massie drew attention to the migration of woollen manufacturers from the south-west to the northern counties. "Our woollen and other manufactories are travelling northward, where greater plenty of firing and cheaper rates of other common necessities of life, or very small taxes, favour their increase much more than in our southern counties" ⁵. It is evident that in the eighteenth century the dormant energies of the North were being quickened to new life. A fresh impulse seems to have communicated itself to the people, who began to turn to advantage the vast potential resources of which they were possessed. Their thrifty and hardy character, their resourcefulness and adaptability were immense assets in the task which they now took upon themselves to wrest from Norwich and the Stroud valley their industrial supremacy over the rest of England. The 'Industrial Revolution' assured them the final victory in this struggle largely on account of the comparative ease with which machinery was introduced into the North.

¹ Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain* (ed. 1727), iii. 99.

² Cowper, *A Short Essay upon Trade in General* (1741), 39.

³ Page 142.

⁴ Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Colchester* (1748), book i. 75.

⁵ Massie, *Observations on the New Cyder-Tax* (1764), nos. III and IV.

(1) Page 85, note 5

Apart from the extractive industries (agriculture and the mining of alum, coal, copper, iron, lead and tin) as well as the building industry—where the work had naturally to be done away from the workers' dwellings—there were numerous manufacturing industries in which the operatives worked in the employer's establishment. These included brewing ¹, brick-making ², calico-printing ³, copper and brass (smelting and battery works) ⁴, glass-making ⁵, iron (foundry and forge) ⁶, linen (cambrics and lawns) ⁷, net-making ⁸, paper-making ⁹, pottery manufacture ¹⁰, rope-making ¹¹, salt-making ¹², ship-building ¹³, silk (mills for throwing) ¹⁴, soap-boiling ¹⁵, sugar-refining ¹⁶, tailor-

ing¹⁷, tapestry-making¹⁸, woollen (mainly finishing processes)¹⁹.

- ¹ *Infra*, p. 483, No. 1. ² *Supra*, p. 113, note 4; *infra*, vol. iii. 329.
³ *Infra*, vol. iii. 42. ⁴ *Supra*, p. 176.
⁵ *House of Commons Journals*, xii. 281; and *infra*, vol. iii. 367.
⁶ *Supra*, pp. 164, 179. ⁷ *Supra*, p. 111.
⁸ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buckinghamshire*, 294.
⁹ *Infra*, vol. iii. 352, note 2. ¹⁰ *Infra*, vol. iii. 57, 60.
¹¹ *Infra*, vol. iii. 57, 389. ¹² *Infra*, vol. iii. 365.
¹³ *Supra*, p. 58; *infra*, vol. iii. 180. ¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 103.
¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 113, note ; *infra*, vol. iii. 363. ¹⁶ *Supra*, p. 113, note 4.
¹⁷ *Infra*, vol. iii. 403. ¹⁸ *Victoria County History, Warwickshire*, ii. 263.
¹⁹ *Supra*, pp. 51, note 6, 53, 84-85; *infra*, vol. iii. 57, note 10.

(1) Page 91, note 5

A shopkeeper in a provincial town (Lancaster), William Stout, has left an autobiography¹ which throws valuable light on contemporary business practices. A Quaker in religion, methodical in his habits, economical yet generous to others, he achieved a substantial competency by painstaking attention to his business and careful savings. Born in 1665 he sprang from yeoman stock. His father, "a very industrious husbandman", farmed a few acres. He received his education first at a dame school and after at the free school; but as he grew older he was often taken away to assist in tending the sheep, helping at the plough, making hay and shearing—"so that we made small progress in Latin, for what we got in winter we forgot in summer". He was sent to a boarding school at thirteen years of age; and when sixteen he was bound apprentice for seven years to a grocer and ironmonger, his father undertaking to pay a premium of £20 and "to find me all apparel". The apprentices slept in the shop² and were mostly employed "in making up goods for the market day", and "in delivering out goods". Upon the expiry of his term (1688) he set up in business with a capital of £120 inherited from his father. He visited London where he bought £200 worth of goods, paying each tradesman "half ready money as was then usual to do by any young man beginning trade"; and Sheffield where he laid out £20 "in Sheffield and Birmingham manufactures"³. Altogether he furnished his shop with goods to the value of £300 in preparation for midsummer

fair. He lodged in his shop of which the annual rent was £5, and boarded with an alderman at £5 a year for " victuals and washing ". Although he traded in Lancaster he was not a freeman of the town, since as a Quaker he could not take the oath of admission. At the end of the first year " I inspected my books . . . but found that I had been too forward in trusting and too backward in calling, as is too frequent with young tradesmen. I found I should have occasion to hire some money at interest and thereupon borrowed £40 upon bond ", for which two securities " were bound with me. . . . Upon casting up my shop ⁴ I found that I had sold goods for ready money about £450 and upon credit about £150. And with the value of goods in the shop and cellar I computed that I had gained this year about £50 besides shop rent and boarding ". After two years he took an apprentice for seven years for a premium of £20, " I to find him maintenance and his mother clothes all the term ". When his apprentice was ' loose ', he sold him his goods, chests and scales " to be paid at six, twelve and eighteen months ". " The profit [of the shop] to me then was at least £100 a year ". He had lost £220 in nine years' trading (1688-1697) by 248 insolvent debtors on his books, but his ' clear estate ' was estimated at £1100. After giving up the retail trade he stood " a sixth part share " in a new ship of about eighty tons and provided part of the cargo ⁵. He also ' ventured ' a parcel of woollen, linen and other goods with an intending emigrant to Pennsylvania ⁶. In these and other investments in ' foreign merchandising ' he suffered losses amounting to several hundred pounds and was " wholly discouraged from adventuring abroad ". In 1701 he purchased the stock of a wholesale grocer and supplied country shopkeepers without keeping an open shop but with a warehouse. Subsequently (1704) he resumed retail grocery and hardware trade. He retired from business when sixty-three years old worth £5000, the equivalent in purchasing power of at least £25,000 of modern money ⁷. He spent his leisure reading and writing and walking in the fields or his garden, his taste for books embracing " religious books or history, geography, surveying

or other mathematical sciences"⁸; and he died in 1752 at the age of eighty-seven. His autobiography contains many interesting details on his business⁹ as well as caustic comments on his neighbours¹⁰.

¹ *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster* (ed. Harland, 1851).

² "I attended the shop in winter with the windows open . . . till about 9 in the evening, and with the windows shut and the door open till ten o'clock". "We were frequently called up at all times of the night to serve customers, [which] obliged us to have a bed in the shop".

³ Visits to Sheffield involved 6 days, 2 for the journey out, 2 for his business, 2 for the journey back.

⁴ *I.e.* taking stock.

⁵ His 'share' amounted to £100. The ship, *Employment*, made a voyage to Virginia in November 1698 with a cargo costing £360, and returned July 1699 "not much more than half laden with tobacco, so made a losing voyage. My part of the cargo outward was £61: 8s. and the freight of my share £49; and my part of the tobacco received was 5697 lb. which at 3d. a lb. on board, as the market price then was, came to £71: 4: 10, so that I lost by this voyage £39: 4s." (*sic*). Another unprofitable voyage was made to Barbados. "What I sent to lade my part was in butter, cheese, tallow, candles and beef" to the value of £161. "In return she brought me sugar, cotton, wool (*sic*. ? cotton wool), and ginger". In 1701 the *Employment* was fitted out for Norway "which yielded me above £10 clear gains"—the only occasion when he made a profit "in this or any other ship or adventure". The *Employment* came to an unlucky end. In 1702 she was captured by the French but released for a ransom; on her way home she was wrecked; and so Stout lost his 'sixth share of the ship' and part of the cargo—altogether over £300.

⁶ They were to the value of £110. He died at sea, and "I lost at least £70 after four years' delay before we got what was to be had".

⁷ Some light on the purchasing power of money is thrown by the fact that in 1730 Stout gave up housekeeping and boarded and lodged for £12 a year. He allowed his nephew with wife and child £40 a year to live upon. They lived in 'a little house' at a rent of £3: 16s. Both Stout's apprentice and his nephew who in turn took over his shop became insolvent after a few years' trading: they evidently lacked the qualities which made Stout a successful man of business.

⁸ He mentions the Bible, Fox's *Acts and Monuments* and Eachard's *History of England*.

⁹ He states that his master sold prunes at 3 lb. for 4d. and bought them for about 8s. or 9s. a cwt. (a profit of about 50 per cent). Tobacco bought at 2d. a lb. was retailed at 6d. "which caused a great consumption". Tobacco at one time accounted for one-third of Stout's trade "and the most profitable", while iron was one-fourth part.

He also relates that he did not attempt to entice any of his master's or neighbours' customers, "which was a practice much then used". Again: "I always detested that [which] is common—to ask more for goods than the market price or what they may be afforded for, but usually set the price at one word, which seemed offensive to many who think they never buy cheap except they get abatement".

¹⁰ "I now did after supper walk an hour or two in my garden when it was the custom of my neighbours to sit together in an alehouse, entertaining themselves in vain conversation or impertinent reflections on the private affairs of their neighbours, or on the public affairs of state".

(1) *Page 94, note 4A*

In 1586 the Levant Company wrote to the Aleppo factors: "For cotton yarn we would have you send us 60 bags at the least; whereof some 20 or 30 bags may be of the biggest [*i.e.* coarsest] you can get, and the other [of the] finest you can get; for the great sort serveth for candles, and the smallest for fustians"¹. In 1604 Sanderson wrote from London to Constantinople—"I have sent you what you writ for". The list includes fustians, thus showing that cotton goods were already being exported².

¹ *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant* (ed. Foster), 131.

² *Ibid.*, 226.

(2) *Page 103, note 4*

An account is given by W. Hutton, who was apprenticed at the silk mill¹. The statement² that Lombe's mill was erected at Cromford is, of course, wrong. It was on an island in the River Derwent.

¹ Hutton, *The History of Derby* (1791), 197, 202.

² Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, i. 191.

(3) *Page 105, note 1*

In spite of the frame, hand-knitting for the market survived in many places on a small scale during the eighteenth century¹.

¹ Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, 226 *seq.*

(4) *Page 110, note 4*

A writer in 1689 stated that: "The French Protestants at Ipswich have lately made finer linen than ever was made in England"¹.

¹ *A Discourse of the Growth of England in Populousness and Trade* (1689), 257.

(5) *Page 112, note 1*

Foreign linen paid about 13 or 14 per cent.¹. French linen paid a heavier duty, and the effect was to increase

the importation of German linen². The Act of 1745 forbade the wearing of cambric or French lawn³.

¹ *A Letter from a Merchant . . . The Case of the British and Irish Manufacture of Linen* (1738), 12.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Kenyon*, 270-271; Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain* (ed. 1730), 16. ³ *Statutes at Large*, vi. 290.

(I) Page 112, note 4

At first the consumption of coal was confined mainly to smiths and lime-burners, and did not become general for domestic purposes until the sixteenth century. The prejudice against coal died hard. As early as 1308 protests were raised that coal contaminated the atmosphere¹. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the Company of London Brewers undertook to burn only wood in the brewhouses in the vicinity of the palace at Westminster, since Queen Elizabeth was "annoyed with the taste and smoke of the sea-coals used in their furnaces"². (Sea-coal was apparently so-called because originally it was gathered on the seashore, but the term was afterwards applied to coal brought by sea; and a place where it was sold in London still preserves the name of Sea Coal Lane.) In the reign of Elizabeth's successor, who was accustomed to coal in his northern home, coal became—in the words of a contemporary—"the general fuel of this Britain Island, used in the houses of the nobility, clergy and gentry in London and in all the other cities and shires of the kingdom"³. It was said of Pembroke-shire in 1603 that coal "is so necessary as without it the country would be in great distress. [It] serveth most people and especially the chief towns"⁴. Yet as late as 1684, in a letter to his wife the writer remarked: "This is but like the rest of your malice . . . in sitting in an outer room to entertain company by a coal fire, as if I refused you wood"⁵.

The progress of the coal trade under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts is reflected in the statistics of shipments of coal at Newcastle. Near the beginning of Elizabeth's reign (1564) they totalled 32,951 tons; while towards the end (1598) they mounted to 162,552 tons⁶. Under James I. (1609) they reached 214,305 tons⁷; and under Charles I.

(1634), 452,625 tons⁸. Imports into London nearly trebled between 1592 (34,757 tons) and 1615 (91,599 tons)⁹.

¹ Humpherus, *History of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen*, i. 21.

² *State Papers Domestic*, 1547-1580, p. 612.

³ 1612: Galloway, *Annals of Coal Mining*, i. 126-127.

⁴ Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603: ed. Owen, 1892), 87.

⁵ *House of Lords MSS.*, 1697-1699, p. 67.

⁶ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 21.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 113, note 9.

⁸ Nef, *op. cit.* i. 21.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 21.

(1) Page 113, note 4

M. Ticquet who visited England in 1738 has left an account of the coal industry¹.

¹ Archives Nationales O¹ 1293: quoted in Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 222, 237. See Introduction (*supra*, p. xl).

(2) Page 113, note 8

“ 'Tis Coal that makes our Britain Great,
Upholds our Commerce and our State ”¹.

¹ Quoted in Moller, “ Coal Mining in the Seventeenth Century ”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, viii. 95.

(3) Page 116, note 2

In *Hist. MSS. Comm. Leeds*¹ it is stated that coal sold at Rouen “ for £12 or £13 the 100 barrels, or measure proportionable to three Newcastle chaldrons ”. But the Archives Nationales are cited² for the statement that at French ports 100 barrels were approximately 15 tons (or 6 Newcastle chaldrons).

¹ Page 291. ² Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 222, 372.

(4) Page 118, note 4A

The provincial trade in coal along the east and south coasts constituted an important part of the coasting trade¹.

¹ See Willan, *The English Coasting Trade*, 62-68.

(5) Page 118, note 8

According to Povey¹, coal vessels which formerly had 7s. or 8s. for every chaldron of coal “ are now [1701]

brought to half the sum. They used to gain £15 or £20 a voyage".

¹ Povey, *The Unhappiness of England as to its Trade* (1701), 5.

(1) *Page 119, note 1*

"It seems probable that nearly half of all the coal miners in Great Britain at the end of the seventeenth century worked for collieries employing a hundred or more hands"¹.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 140.

(2) *Page 121, note 4*

In addition to the three joint-stock companies¹, it has been shown that there were scores of colliery partnerships, of which some even had the device of transferable shares. The system of joint-ownership of the collieries enabled capital to be pooled. It became possible to raise capital without the hazards of borrowing on mortgage, and it also distributed the risks of a mining enterprise over a wider area. Thus two types of collieries emerged, based on different methods of finance. Many continued to be operated by a single capitalist: others were financed by partnerships².

Apart from loans on mortgage by merchants acting as private bankers, and advances made by municipal bodies³, the two main sources of the capital invested in coal-mining were—(1) landowners, e.g. the Lowthers of Cumberland and the Willoughbys of Nottinghamshire⁴; and (2) merchants in London, Newcastle and other provincial centres. The large landowner as a rule probably financed his own collieries. Merchants tended to form partnerships, partly because they might lack the technical knowledge, partly because their main interests were remote from the coal fields, and partly from a financial aversion to putting all their eggs in one basket. The rise of a managerial class—of which we obtain glimpses in the mediaeval lead-mining industry⁵—would widen the area from which capital could be drawn, since it relieved the colliery owners of direct responsibility for working the enterprise. It is therefore significant that in the

seventeenth century there had already developed in the coal industry a class which assumed the functions of management ⁶.

¹ Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, i. 332 ; ii. 462.

² Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 43-45, 49-50, 60-61.

³ *Supra*, p. 121.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 125 ; *infra*, vol. iii. 208, 214.

⁵ *Supra*, vol. i. 509.

⁶ Nef, *op. cit.* i. 429.

(1) Page 122, note 1

"The dangers in digging these coals is the falling of the earth and killing of the poor people . . . or else the sudden eruption of standing waters in old works" ¹.

¹ Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603 : ed. Owen, 1892), 91.

(2) Page 124, note 1A

An Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1606 laid down that colliers might not be hired without a "testimonial of their master whom they last served . . . or at least sufficient attestation of any reasonable cause of their removing made in presence of any bailiff or magistrate" ¹.

¹ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (ed. 1816), iv. 286-287.

(3) Page 124, note 3

This example qualifies the statement ¹ that nothing is known of the history of the bonding system during the seventeenth century.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 165.

(4) Page 125, note 2

Miners in Pembrokeshire at the beginning of the seventeenth century worked from six to six, and rested an hour at noon ¹.

¹ Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603 : ed. Owen, 1892), 91.

(5) Page 125, note 8

A Lancashire wage assessment (for the hundred of Blackburn) in 1673 provided that no collier "skilful in getting of coals shall take wages by the day without meat and drink above rod". The daily maximum for a 'filler

or drawer of coals ' was 6d. and for a ' bankesman or drawer up of coals ' 8d.—both without meat and drink ¹.

The conjecture in the text that piece-work wages were not unknown at an early period is confirmed by the colliery accounts of Gower, Glamorganshire, dated 1400, which show that coal-hewers were paid by the piece ².

Among the varied forms of employing labour in the coal-mines one resembles the *mélavage* system, under which miners surrendered to the owner a fixed proportion of their output and enjoyed the free disposal of the rest ³. Similar practices existed in the case of other minerals ⁴.

¹ Hardwick, *History of Preston*, 406.

² They are printed in Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. Appendix K.

³ Nef, *op. cit.* ii. 153.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 169-170.

(1) *Page 126, note 1*

We may infer from a comparison of the rates paid to coal-hewers in 1610 and in 1675 ¹ that—even allowing for variations in wage rates in different parts of the country—wages in the coal-mining industry tended to remain stationary after the rise due to the revolution in the level of prices. It has been surmised that the trend of miners' wages was exceptional, but the textile workers afford a parallel ².

¹ *Supra*, pp. 125-126.

² *Supra*, pp. 33-34.

(2) *Page 126, note 4*

Wages were always higher in the northern parts about Sunderland and Newcastle than in Cumberland. In 1708 a coal-hewer, working on piece-rates, received 10d. or 12d. per score of baskets, which was apparently an average daily output. The chief banksman had 16d. a day, and the other banksmen 14d. a day. The charge for two barrowmen was about 20d. or 22d. a day ¹.

¹ J. C. *The Compleat Collier* (1708 : ed. 1845), 35. 39.

(3) *Page 127, note 3*

Lord Harley's chaplain speaks in 1725 of 800 keels. This has been considered ¹ an overstatement on the ground that

there were only 1600 keelmen about the year 1707, which would imply about 400 keels. The estimate of 1600 is contained in a rival petition of the keelmen² whose argument required that they should understate the number. But in any case the quantity of coal shipped from the Tyne in 1725 was nearly twice the quantity in 1707³, a year of war; and as the chaplain was evidently a precise and careful observer, his figure was not perhaps unduly wide of the mark.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 389, note 1.

² *Records of the Hostmen* (ed. Dendy), 172, 176.

³ *Ibid.* 260-261.

(1) Page 127, note 4

This shows that mobility of labour was a feature of the coal industry, as also it was of the iron industry¹. Miners were not invariably indigenous, since some were imported from Scotland²; and other elements of a floating population may have been attracted or coerced.

¹ *Supra*, p. 168.

² Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 147-149.

(2) Page 128, note 3A

The Hostmen of Newcastle instituted a selling agency in 1603, 1617 and 1622; but in 1627 each sold on his own¹. A MS. memorial of 1605 states that "the Hostmen that deal in coal have appointed eight clerks, and every clerk hath his quarter where he shall sell. . . . Now no coal-owner is a seller to any merchant that would buy, but serveth as a storer to their eight clerks"². There was also a selling agency in 1637³.

¹ *Records of the Hostmen* (ed. Dendy), 45, 64, 68, 72.

² Taylor, "The Archæology of the Coal Trade", in *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute (Memoirs of Northumberland)*, 1852, vol. i. 173.

³ *Infra*, p. 490, No. 1.

(3) Page 129, note 3

Subsequently the increased size of the vessels made it impracticable to require all of them actually to load at Newcastle, and those of larger burden were mainly loaded at Shields¹.

¹ *Supra*, p. 153.

(1) Page 135, note 6

Yet as early as 1618 independent coal-fitters bought coal from the coalowners and sold it to the shippers¹.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 132, note 2.

(2) Page 136, note 2

The fact that the coal-fitters, who were the middlemen between the coalowners and the shippers, sometimes owned their own ships affords evidence of integration in the coal industry. Similarly, some of the Hostmen, in addition to being coal merchants at Newcastle, were coalowners¹. At the other end of the coal trade (the metropolis), some London merchants were part owners of ships; or they entered into contracts for delivery, which virtually destroyed the independence of the shippers who became parties to a contract. This practice of advancing money to the shipper to buy coal in return for an undertaking to deliver the cargo to a particular merchant existed as early as 1598². There is also evidence of integration in the textile industry (the clothier sometimes owned his own flock or was a merchant exporter)³, and in the iron and copper industries⁴.

¹ *Supra*, p. 131.

² Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 445.

³ *Supra*, pp. 18, 25.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 164-165, 177. Also see *infra*, vol. iii. 214-215.

(3) Page 137, note 1A

The system of 'gift coal' or overplus measure has been regarded¹ as a concession exacted by the shippers from the coalowners, when owing to over-production "the market at Newcastle was glutted with coal". But the shippers themselves claimed that this 'overplus' was 'their very livelihood'². It was reported to the Privy Council in 1625 that the Hostmen gave the shippers over-measure to induce them to accept the inferior quality which was mingled with the better grades³.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 91-92.

² *Supra*, p. 137.

³ Nef, *op. cit.* ii. 249.

(1) Page 137, note 1

Charles I.'s agreement with the Hostmen and coalowners provided that all coal should be sold to the King alone. Factors were appointed to vend each owner's coal in a due proportion. The Hostmen were to choose eleven representatives to determine "what number of tens¹ every colliery and Hostmen shall furnish towards making up the whole quantity of coals to be vented that year"². This agreement thus instituted a selling agency and a 'stint', and made the King the sole purchaser of all the coal handled by the Hostmen.

¹ See *supra*, p. 131, note 4.

² Taylor, "The Archæology of the Coal Trade", in *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute (Memoirs of Northumberland)*, 1852, vol. i. 222; Welford, *History of Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. 356-357.

(2) Page 137, note 3

In 1638 the wholesale price of coal had risen to 26s. the London chaldron 'in the Pool'¹.

¹ *State Papers Domestic*, 1637-1638, p. 422. For the Pool, see *supra*, p. 138.

(3) Page 138, note 4

Crimps are mentioned as early as 1675¹.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 431, note 7.

(4) Page 141, note 4

We have noticed in the text price agreements in the coal and iron industries and the provision trades¹. In 1773 Lord Hardwicke wrote that the publicans in Westminster had combined to raise the price of porter "and a greater necessary than porter in this immense unruly town we all know there is not"². The practice of concluding price agreements was of long standing. In the Middle Ages the judges were instructed to hold an inquiry into the combinations formed by merchants, which "set from year to year a certain price on wool for sale in the country, so that none of them will buy or bid more than others in the purchase of wool, beyond the fixed price which they themselves have

ordained"³. We also hear of mediaeval provision dealers who combined to raise the price of food⁴.

¹ *Supra*, pp. 128, 136, 140, 151, 165, 178, 422, 436-437.

² *Home Office Papers, 1773-1775*, pp. 9, 12-14.

³ Quoted in Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (ed. 1938), xi. 478.

⁴ *Statutes*, iv. part i. 58 (1548).

(1) Page 142, note 6

In 1446 the London Fishmongers' Company distributed coal to the poor under a bequest for an annual distribution¹. In 1554 the Common Council of London voted a tax to provide sea-coal 'for the succour of the poor'².

¹ Humpherus, *History of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen*, i. 49.

² *Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i. 196.

(2) Page 145, note 3

The Royalists surrendered Newcastle to the Scots in October 1644¹.

¹ Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (ed. 1886), i. 499.

(3) Page 146, note 3

The retail price of coal per London chaldron in March 1665 was £3: 10s., "and will be £5 in a day or two"¹.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* vi. 364.

(4) Page 148, note 3

A writer in 1701 observed: "To my knowledge the best coals in the Pool¹ have been sold for 18s. or 18s. 3d. per chaldron this last summer, out of which 7s. 2d. is to be deducted; viz. 5s. to the king, 18d. towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's, and 18d. [*sic* read 8d.] metage; besides the charges of labourers that deliver them, and the clearing at the custom-house, with the chaldron they are obliged to give gratis into every score". He stated further that the usual price of good coal at Newcastle was £4 or £4: 4s. a keel; and that every keel generally made 15 chaldrons in the Pool, which amounted to over 5s. per chaldron. The charges at Newcastle came to near 15d. per chaldron. So when the

whole was computed there was not left above 3s. per chaldron freightage for the owners. The coal-dealers were at 4s. expense per chaldron, besides the prime cost—they paid 9d. for lighterage, 6d. to the porters that loaded the coal into the carts, 8d. metage, 2s. or 2s 6d. 'to the teams' ².

Povey states that every chaldron in the Pool yielded 1s. 6d. for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Church, which brought in every year 'one with another' near £25,000 ³.

¹ *Supra*, p. 138.

² Povey, *The Unhappiness of England as to its Trade* (1701), II, 12, 29, 30.

³ *Ibid.* 59.

(1) Page 148, note 4

Other schemes for Crown ownership of the coal trade were put forward in 1628 and 1665 ¹.

¹ Printed in *Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 272 seq. and Appendix J.

(2) Page 151, note 3

As early as 1603 it was said: "They now most commonly sink down right 12, 16 or 20 fathoms before they come to the coal, whereas in old time four fathoms were counted a great labour" ¹.

¹ Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603: ed. Owen, 1892), 90.

(3) Page 154, note 1

The State tax applied only to coast-wise shipments, not to river-borne coal. In addition the price of coal shipped from the North of England to the South was increased by local charges (Newcastle dues, London dues and 'the Richmond shilling'). It has been pointed out ¹ that the chief centre of colliery enterprise (the Tyne valley) and one of the principal seats of manufactures (the Thames valley) carried a heavier fiscal burden than the rest of the country. Their handicap must have served to stimulate coal-mining and foster industrial expansion in the Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshire. It may also be conjectured that the duties levied on English coal exported abroad ² encouraged the growth of coal-mining on the Continent. In this, as in

other directions, fiscal policy was a contributory factor in determining the trend of economic evolution.

¹ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii. 313.

² *Supra*, p. 116, note 6.

(1) Page 155, note 1

Similarly, during the Seven Years' War (1762), colliers were "deterred from putting into the river" by fear of sailors being impressed¹.

¹ Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter*, 133.

(2) Page 161, note 4

A contemporary, William Stout, relates in his *Autobiography*¹ that the Swedish War caused iron "to advance here from £16 to £24 a ton, which has induced this country to build furnaces here to run iron, which makes it as good as Swedish iron, and brings a great benefit to the north part of this county where mines and coals are plentiful and labour cheap".

¹ Page 94.

(3) Page 165, note 2

The discovery of MSS. records (1690-1750) reveals a 'high degree of integration' among a group of ironmasters in South Yorkshire who owned iron mines, charcoal leases, furnaces, forges, and slitting mills for the nail trade¹.

¹ Raistrick and Allen, "The South Yorkshire Ironmasters", in *The Economic History Review*, ix. No. 2, 168, 178.

(4) Page 166, note 5

Sometimes the furnace men were paid piece rates¹.

¹ Raistrick and Allen, "The South Yorkshire Ironmasters", in *The Economic History Review*, ix. No. 2, 174.

(5) Page 167, note 1

The London (Quaker) Lead Company, which existed from 1692 to 1905, showed concern for the well-being of its workpeople¹.

¹ See Raistrick, *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare*.

(1) *Page 168, note 2*

Stubs, a file-maker, brought workmen to Warrington at considerable cost ¹.

¹ Ashton, *An Eighteenth-Century Industrialist*, 25.

(2) *Page 175, note 1*

The volumes containing the minutes of court meetings have been recently discovered ¹.

¹ Davies, "The Records of the Mines Royal and the Mineral and Battery Works", in *The Economic History Review*, vi. No. 2, 209 seq.

(3) *Page 181, note 4*

A Cumberland colliery owner formed a benefit fund in 1786 at his collieries. His employees were required to pay 6d. per week, and the employer contributed one-third of the sum subscribed ¹.

¹ Raistrick, *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare*, 47-48.

(4) *Page 187, note 1*

There is also a list of English exports and imports during the Interregnum ¹.

¹ Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, Appendix B.

(5) *Page 188, note 6*

The total of general exports is made up of English and Scottish merchandise (£24,304,283 : 13 : 6) and Irish, colonial and foreign merchandise (£18,847,735 : 12s.). The corresponding real marketable values are represented at £39,471,203 and £16,359,640 (the total is £55,830,843). "The excess of the official, beyond the marketable, value of [Irish, colonial and foreign] merchandize exported is chiefly owing to an old-established error in rating coffee for exportation very much above its real value" ¹.

¹ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 536.

(6) *Page 189, note * (and page 250, note 2)*

'A Scheme of the Trade' drawn up in 1674 ¹ stated that "for all England we calculate one-third part more",

that is, for the outports add one-third of the London total.

¹ *Infra*, vol. iii. 101.

(1) *Page 192, note 1*

The Merchant Adventurers in 1621 described apprenticeship as "the nursery and seminary of merchants", which supplied "the wonted education of the younger sons of the gentry and a great number of others of honest quality in this land, which hath been heretofore the raising of many good families from small beginnings and the recovery of many decayed houses of the gentry of this kingdom"¹.

¹ *Commons Debates*, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 238.

(2) *Page 192, note 5*

In 1713 a 'clothworker and merchant, free of trading to the Levant', received a premium of £800 with an apprentice¹.

¹ *Surrey Apprenticeships, 1711-1731* (Surrey Record Society), 107.

(3) *Page 194, note 4*

During the war with France in 1697 an English merchantman was taken by the French, and soon after retaken by a Dutch privateer and restored to the owners upon payment of about 15 or 20 per cent. 'for salvage and other charge'¹.

¹ *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster* (ed. 1851), 46.

(4) *Page 194, note 5*

A writer in 1695 adduced arguments against the convoy system during the war with France under William III.—namely, "the inconvenience and danger attending our trading in fleets" under convoy of warships, *e.g.* the enemy could contrive to intercept our convoys¹.

¹ *Some Thoughts concerning the better security of our Trade and Navigation* (1695), 5.

(5) *Page 215, note 1*

The commissioners for trade reported to the Privy Council in 1626 that "the State hath always had an interest

in settling the residence of companies beyond the seas. . . . Without direction from the State residency may not be changed by any company" ¹.

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1626, p. 438. Cf. *supra*, p. 212.

(1) *Page 216, note 1A*

Similarly, among the Merchant Staplers freedom was acquired "by patrimony, redemption, by free gift commonly called gratis, and apprenticeship" ¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 132.

(2) *Page 218, note 1*

The regulations governing the institution of apprenticeship among the Merchant Staplers provided that the apprentice should not be under sixteen years of age nor over twenty-four years, and that he should serve nine years 'at least'; he was to remain unmarried 'except licensed'. A master was permitted to have only two apprentices at a time, though past mayors and 'lieutenants' (deputy mayors) might have three apprentices ¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 134-135.

(3) *Page 220, note 3*

The Merchant Staplers exercised control over their apprentices ¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 189.

(4) *Page 223, note 6*

The Ordinances of the Merchant Staplers, dated 1565, laid down that "there shall be but two general shippings in one year" ¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 142.

(5) *Page 224, note 2*

Similarly, the Merchant Staplers appointed 'days of shows' ¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 155.

(1) Page 225, note 1

Among the Merchant Staplers the 'stint' fixed the amount for past and present office-holders, married members and bachelors. The reason assigned for drawing these distinctions was that—"Forasmuch as in all bodies politic and corporations of fellowships the members and parts of the same be not of equal authority and reputation, but there is a greater respect to be had to the superiors than to the inferiors, in that most commonly those be at greater charge in keeping their estate and family than the other"¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 149.

(2) Page 232, note 3

The concept of a 'well-ordered and ruled trade' was expressed in the Preamble to the Ordinances of the Merchant Staplers (1565), which speaks of the "commodity and benefit [which] heretofore grew to the whole Company by good orders and laws, and by the contrary no commonwealth or society can stand or endure"¹.

¹ *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (ed. Rich), 104.

(3) Page 236, note 5

It was stated in 1621 that "the old [Company of] Merchant Adventurers had brought the tare of the cloth in the Low Countries to be made in the mart town only and in the dry cloth". The Dutch "in the late new Company's time" (*i.e.* Cockayne's Company¹) "ordained that the tare should be made at home at the dwelling of the buyer after he hath brought his cloth out of the mart town, which course hath augmented the tare or abatements for faultiness to £8000 a year more than before". It was also affirmed that the practice at Hamburg against making tares except in the mart town and in the dry cloth "alone within these ten or eleven years last past hath saved them and this kingdom £50,000 at least"².

¹ *Infra*, vol. iii. 379.

² *Commons Debates, 1621* (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 235, 237.

(1) *Page 254, note 1*

Shrewsbury maintained its hold upon the Welsh cloth manufacture for a long period ¹.

¹ See Dodd, "The Story of an Elizabethan Monopoly", in *Economica* (June 1929), No. 26, 197 *seq.*

(2) *Page 273, note 2 (and page 337, note 2)*

W. Ravenhill, the clerk of the London Grocers' Company, claimed in 1682 that "the merchants trading to the Levant Seas and other societies have originally been the offspring of this society, as appears by ancient records of indentures of apprentices to members of this Company" ¹. Since the Levant Company was closely connected with the East India Company ², it follows that the latter can trace part of its ancestry to the Grocers' Company.

¹ Ravenhill, *The Case of the Company of Grocers Stated* (1682), 1.

² *Supra*, p. 273.

(3) *Page 289, note 3*

At first the East India Company built its own ships, and James I. granted a subsidy towards the cost ¹. It also bought ships ². But the question early arose whether it were better to hire ships, and in 1607 inquiry was to be made "for substantial ships well-manned, victualled and furnished at £30 freight per ton" ³. In the next reign (1627) the Company was urged to forbear building any more ships, but this course was considered to be less profitable ⁴. Then in 1629 it was thought fit to let the members choose whether to hire ships or not. Some wanted to hire them, and the directors decided to hire half the number of ships. However the governor (chairman) declared that "he conceived that it was not absolutely settled" ⁵. The controversy persisted; some wanted to sell old vessels rather than repair them, shut up the dockyards, and hire ships; and in 1639 a privately-owned ship was 'freighted [*i.e.* hired] on trial' ⁶. During the Interregnum the practice of hiring ships instead of building or buying them became established ⁷. Under Charles II. the Company adopted the practice of hiring ships specially constructed for the voyage to India ⁸. According

to Povey⁹ the owners of East India ships received £24 the ton freightage, though during the war with France the price dropped to £18¹⁰.

¹ *State Papers East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 284.

² *Ibid.* 1617-1621, p. 188.

³ *Ibid.* 1513-1616, pp. 153, 156.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1625-1629, pp. 422-423.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1625-1629, pp. 661, 663-664, 672.

⁶ *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1635-1639, pp. 154, 322, 332-333, 342.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1655-1659, p. xxxiii.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1668-1670, p. vii.

⁹ Povey, *The Unhappiness of England as to its Trade* (1701), 4.

¹⁰ For an account of the 'shipping system', see Sutherland, *A London Merchant*, 81-125.

(1) Page 289, note 4

The largest man-of-war (*Princess Royal*) was 1200 tons¹.

¹ Marsden, "English Ships in the Reign of James I.", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S. xix. 310.

(2) Page 317, note 1A

In 1660 the navy commissioners reported on the petition of the Eastland merchants that nearly £15,000 was due to the Company for hemp; and a warrant was issued to pay the sum due to the Eastland merchants¹. This petition would not justify the assumption that the Eastland Company traded in a corporate capacity. It was apparently nothing more than an application made on behalf of individual members who had supplied the hemp.

¹ *State Papers Domestic*, 1660-1661, pp. 403-404.

(3) Page 346, note 2

The factors were remunerated by a commission. A London merchant wrote to Sanderson in 1600: "You put 4 per cent. for factorage; I will allow but 2½". Sanderson replied: "I will not have my factorage pared. . . . I take and always have taken 5 per cent. (or 4 at least) of all my friends or foes that commit any their matters to me. . . . They that find cheaper factors, let them use them"¹. Among the records of the Levant Company are preserved some copybooks of factors' letters, "which describe the

problems of buying, shipping, transport, marketing, finance, as well as the social life " 2.

¹ *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant* (ed. Foster), 202.

² See the valuable article by Ambrose, "English Traders at Aleppo, 1658-1756", in *The Economic History Review*, iii. No. 2, 246 seq. On the Levant factories, see also Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 59 seq., 229 seq.

(1) Page 366, note 10

It was said in 1660 that "sixty houses of English merchants existed at Lisbon, while in Spain there were two of them" 1.

¹ *State Papers Venetian*, 1659-1661, p. 228.

(2) Page 368, note 3

It has been stated ¹ that "the acquisition of the Assiento did not, in fact, prove hurtful to English trade in Old Spain". A contemporary account does not support this view. A correspondent at Seville wrote in 1718—"The West India merchants at the despatch of galleons won't lay out a penny in British woollen manufactures, for they say the permission Assiento ships so plentifully furnish the West Indies with all sorts of woollen goods, and can sell them 30 to 40 per 100 cheaper than they can by carrying them from Spain, that they can't employ their money but to loss; so that what formerly of those countries went from Spain runs now in another channel to the lessing the trade of Spain to these parts" 2.

A commercial treaty between England and Spain in 1667 allowed the establishment of English consuls, and some are said to have been appointed with ill-defined powers 3. But the British envoy in Spain wrote in 1716 that the king of Spain had established a number of English consuls in the Spanish ports—a thing "almost impossible to obtain hitherto" 4.

¹ McLachlan, *Trade and Peace with Old Spain*, 74.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Polwarth*, i. 638.

³ McLachlan, *op. cit.* 22, 75-76, 175.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Polwarth*, i. 45.

(1) *Page 373, note 3*

The Royal Society appointed a committee to collect information about agricultural practices from all parts of the British Isles ¹.

¹ The more important information resulting from a questionnaire, issued in 1664, is summarized in Lennard, "English Agriculture under Charles II.: The Evidence of the Royal Society's 'Enquiries'", in *The Economic History Review*, iv. No. 1, 23 *seq.*

(2) *Page 389, note 5*

The account book of the Thornborough estate in the North Riding of Yorkshire (1749-1773) shows the daily agricultural wages ¹.

¹ Gilboy, "Labour at Thornborough", in *The Economic History Review*, iii. No. 3, 388 *seq.*

(3) *Page 392, note 4*

J. Massie's calculations assumed a family of six—a man, wife and four children. He computed the yearly consumption of bread-corn among "manufacturers or common working people" at "six bushels a head for men, women and children upon an average" ¹.

¹ Massie, *Brief Observations and Calculations on the present high Prices of Provisions* (1765).

(4) *Page 424, note 5*

The early history of the Assize of Ale is given above ¹. In 1604 Parliament fixed the price of ale and beer sold in alehouses ². The Assize of Ale lapsed at an earlier date than the Assize of Bread. In the Middlesex Records even the formal order for the enforcement of the Assize of Ale ceases to recur after 1692 ³.

¹ *Supra*, vol. i. 293 *seq.*

² *Statutes*, iv. part ii. 1026.

³ Dowdell, *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions*, 183.

(5) *Page 432, note 3*

The common law rules regarding forestalling, engrossing and regrating were not repealed until 1844 ¹.

¹ Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (ed. 1938), xi. 472.

(1) *Page 438, note 1*

It was stated in Parliament in 1621 that "London spends 5000 or 6000 quarters of corn a week"¹.

¹ *Commons Debates*, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), v. 171.

(2) *Page 441, note 4*

Indictments were framed against offenders for not sending or finding a suitable person to mend the highways on the appointed six days¹. In one instance the surveyor of the highways (a maltster) was himself indicted for not giving notice in the parish church of the six days to be allotted for the repair of the highways².

¹ *Surrey Quarter Sessions Records*, 1661-1663 (Surrey Record Society), 148; *ibid.* (1663-1666), 84.

² *Ibid.* (1661-1663), 106.

(3) *Page 444, note 5A*

There was also a considerable coasting trade—not only in coal¹ but in other commodities. In the late seventeenth century at least 20 ships were employed annually in carrying the cheese of Lancashire and Cheshire from Liverpool and Chester to London². Goods sent from London to Lancaster by ship took seven days³. In war time sailing in convoys involved much delay, and land carriage was 'quick if dear'⁴. During the French war under William III. goods sent by land from London to Lancaster cost from 5s. to 6s. 6d. a cwt.⁵

¹ *Supra*, pp. 117-118.

² *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster* (ed. 1851), 25.

³ *Ibid.* 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* 29.

⁵ *Ibid.* 70. For the organization of the coasting trade (shipmasters and shipowners), see Willan, *The English Coasting Trade*, 20, 34-54.

(4) *Page 447, note 4*

Taylor, the 'water poet', was a Thames waterman¹.

¹ See Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 115 *seq.*

(5) *Page 447, note 5*

A recent study—which stresses the importance of the early improvements in river navigation—observes that "it is true that some canals were designed to overcome the dis-

advantages of river navigation, but at first more were planned as a supplement to, rather than a substitute for, the existing water communications" ¹.

¹ Willan, *River Navigation in England, 1600-1750*, pp. 16 seq., 138, 140.

(1) *Page 452, note 5*

Riots were widespread in 1766 owing to the price of corn ¹.

¹ *Home Office Papers, 1766-1769*, p. 80.

(2) *Page 458, note 1*

J. Massie defended the corn bounty ¹: "Is not that bounty an assurance to the farmers of the lands of England that they will not be ruined by plentiful crops of corn? Hath not that assurance reduced the average price of wheat . . . while, on the other hand, the land rents of England have been rising? Have not that reduction in the price of corn", in conjunction with other factors, contributed to the expansion of the exports of woollen manufactures? "The bounty hath lowered the average price of bread to about two-thirds of the price it was sold for before the bounty on corn was granted".

¹ Massie, *Observations on the New Cyder-Tax (1764)*, No. X.

(3) *Page 458, note 3*

It is unnecessary to notice the insubstantial comments made upon the view in the text. The contention that, but for the bounty, prices at home might have been lower overlooks the consideration that without the bounty the arable area might have been contracted—thus leading to much higher prices.

(4) *Page 459, note 5A*

Stout, writing under the year 1734, stated that "great quantities of corn [were] shipped off from London and the south ports of England to most foreign parts". The next year "corn at London and the South, where [it] is shipped, is cheaper than it is here in the North" ¹.

¹ *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster* (ed. 1851), 126-127.