# 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

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# E. LIPSON

# VOLUME III THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM Fifth edition

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▼.

# (I) Page I, note-3

Mr. E. Heckscher<sup>1</sup> interprets economic self-sufficiency as follows-to "limit or entirely abolish all trade relations with other communities, and not imports alone", that is. to abolish exports as well as imports. People, he observes, did not realize that exports as well as imports forged links with other countries. "So long as the ultimate goal of Mercantilism was to export as much as possible . . . it was far removed from any real aspiration towards " self-sufficiency. In common usage the conception of self-sufficiency scarcely implies economic isolation, that is, the complete severance of all economic ties with other countries. The mercantilist ideal was that a nation should rely upon its native resources, agricultural and industrial, essential for its existence-so far as it was able to do so-and utilize commercial relationships with other countries to supply its deficiencies in return for the export of its surplus products. In contrast, the system of free trade was held to sacrifice a balanced national economy for a lop-sided development of certain industries, certain branches of agriculture, certain forms of trade, combined with a preference for capital investment overseas in return for a greater command over the products of the whole world. A country which aims at self-sufficiency does not exclude either imports or exports: but the former are intended to supply deficiencies which cannot be made good at home, and the latter consist of particular kinds of commodities (other than raw materials) offered in exchange for particular kinds of imports (raw materials, precious metals, etc.). This is not a fallacious economic view. It is a deliberate preference for security

<sup>1</sup> Heckscher, Mercantilism (revised ed. 1935), ii. 130-131.

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in place of a higher (though possibly less stable) standard of life. If the Mercantilists chose the ideal of self-sufficiency, as interpreted in the above sense, there is no reason to infer that they were unable to grasp elementary economic principles, as some of their critics have implied. Life is not governed purely by economic considerations, nor can the complex factors which mould the evolution of society be explained solely in terms of economic analysis.

# (I) Page 3, note 3 (and page 65, note 3)

To give an example. The author of An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions  $(1767)^{1}$  wrote that the first general cause of high prices in this country was "the wealth of it or the great quantity of money accumulated in it". Yet on the next page he is careful to explain that money is "representation merely and a conventional contrivance for the easier exchange of goods".

The term money, like the term wealth, was also a source of ambiguity. Writers sometimes used 'money' as a synonym of 'capital'. Thus E. Philips (An Appeal to Common Sense, 1720)<sup>2</sup> in one place used money in its proper sense of an instrument of exchange: "Money is only valuable according to the proportion it bears against other commodities". Elsewhere he presumably means capital: "Plenty of money reduces the interest of money". The ambiguity of mercantilist phraseology is no less marked than that of the classical economists, as may be seen from J. S. Mill's varying—and inconsistent—definitions of the term wealth.

<sup>1</sup> Part i. 1-2.

\* Pages 12-13.

## (2) Page 4, note 3

A sea-captain, "who discoursed well of the good effects in some kind of a Dutch war", remarked to Pepys: "The trade of the world is too little for us two, therefore one must down"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Diary of Samuel Pepys (ed. Wheatley), iv. 31 (1664); Williamson, The Ocean in English History, 179.

#### (I) Page 4, note 4

Sir W. Holdsworth rightly stresses the fact that England did make great commercial and industrial strides during the Age of Mercantilism<sup>1</sup>. The question how far this advance was due to mercantilist legislation is discussed above<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the section on "Commerce and Industry" in Holdsworth, *A* History of English Law (ed. 1938), vol. xi.

\* Introduction (supra, vol. ii. pp. xcvi. seq.).

# (2) Page 5, note 5

The view that private interests coincided with public interests was expressed even as early as 1623 by Misselden<sup>1</sup>: "Is it not lawful for merchants to seek their *privatum commodum* in the exercise of their calling? Is not gain the end of trade? Is not the public involved in the private, and the private in the public? What else makes a commonwealth but the private wealth, if I may so say, of the members thereof in the exercise of commerce amongst themselves and with foreign nations?"

<sup>1</sup> Misselden, The Circle of Commerce (1623), 17.

#### (3) Page 7, note 4

In giving evidence before a Committee on the Decay of Trade in 1669, Child observed that "labourers' wages are the test of a nation's wealth"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm. viii. part i. 134.

#### (4) Page 8, note 8A

Internal tolls levied by towns on the goods of strangers had not entirely disappeared in the seventeenth century. In 1689 Lancaster "had a contest with Liverpool about the toll of goods we had from them; our town alleging that their charter exempted them from passage-toll all over this nation and Ireland; but for refusing it our goods were taken and kept". In a lawsuit "some hundred pounds [were] spent on each side without being determined. Our

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town, being tired with the suit, let it drop, upon which Liverpool vaunted that [whoever] had the better cause, they had the better purse". London cheesemongers also had their goods seized by Liverpool and went to law, " and cleared themselves from toll there "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 27. On the subject of tolls, see supra, vol. i. 279 seq.

# (I) Page 9, note I (and page 66, note 3)

Spain, it was said in 1621, "for his gold is rich but consumes many men in fetching it home; none are set on work but his coiners; it hires men unto the wars but maketh not his country populous"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 251-252.

#### (2) Page 10, note 1

The list of references given above on the causes assigned for the prosperity of Holland can be supplemented <sup>1</sup>. Other reasons were the Dutch "fidelity in their seal" (*i.e.* on their products<sup>2</sup>) and their possession of colonies. The absence of restrictions in internal trade <sup>3</sup> refers particularly to the easy admission of burghers <sup>4</sup>. The predominant influence of mercantile law in Holland is reflected in the negotiable character of bills <sup>5</sup> and the swift determination of mercantile suits <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. supra, p. 337. <sup>d</sup> Cf. supra, p. 347. Supra, p. 10.
 Supra, p. 221.

Supra, p. 10.

# . (3) Page 15, note 2

A speaker in the House of Commons in 1621 put the case for protection in a nutshell, when he criticized the importation of grain, which "makes the price too low for the husbandman to live, it being against all policy of State that foreign commodities should be brought in till our own be spent"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), iv. 105. Cf. supra, vol. ii. 461.

## (1) Page 16, note 3

North's doctrine did not fall on stony soil. J. Vanderlint in 1734 repeated it in the words: "All nations of the world should be regarded as one body of tradesmen, exercising their various occupations for the mutual benefit and advantage of each other". He also wrote that prohibitions "cut off so much trade and employment from mankind as these mutual prohibitions can affect"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 42-3.

#### (2) Page 16, note 5

That imports paid for exports was recognized in the instructions given to the Committee on Trade set up in 1622<sup>1</sup>. In order to enable English merchants to export cloth, the Committee was instructed to "take into your consideration by what means to enlarge their returns"<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, it was said in Parliament in 1621: "To restrain the merchant for importing of corn is the way to restrain the exporting of our cloth"<sup>3</sup>.

J. Vanderlint (1734) called this "an invincible argument for a free and unrestrained trade"—" If any nation makes goods for us, we must be making others for them or some other nation, and so mutually for each other"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 310, note 3. <sup>8</sup> Rymer, Foedera. xvii. 414.

Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), ii. 178. Cf. supra, vol. ii. 462.

• Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 78.

# (3) Page 19, note 1

Similarly J. Vanderlint wrote (1734): "No inconvenience can arise by an unrestrained trade, but very great advantage"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 43.

#### (4) Page 21, note 6

Bounties were also paid on the export of British-made gunpowder (1731) and of British calicoes and cottons (1781)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Statutes at Large, v. 579; ix. 153.

### (1) Page 23, note 4

The Company of the Merchants of the Staple survived into the twentieth century <sup>1</sup>. It is of interest to observe that the present century has witnessed the nominal survival of one of the two oldest English trading companies and the active survival of one of the two youngest (the Hudson's Bay Company)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple (ed. Rich), 3. <sup>2</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 362.

#### (2) Page 28, note 2A

"The landed and trading interests are eternally jarring, and jealous of each other's advantages "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions (1767), part i. 22, note 1.

#### (3) Page 29, note 4

"Our wool doth help all nations in making of cloth", ran the argument in favour of a Bill (1621) for prohibiting the export of wool <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 251.

## (4) Page 31, note 8

In The Marchants Humble Petition and Remonstrance to his late Highnesse (1659)<sup>1</sup>, it was stated that imported Spanish wool was "of important concernment".

#### <sup>1</sup> Page 3.

#### (5) Page 38, note 8

Miege wrote in 1691: "So hard it is sometimes to know a tradesman's wife from a lady, or the maid from the mistress"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Miege, The New State of England (1691), 39.

# (6) Page 46, note 4

It was also proposed in the House of Commons to tax women who wore hoods instead of hats made of wool<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, 1698, p. 188.

#### (1) Page 48, note 3

In 1625 the Privy Council was informed that a Frenchman had come over " to seduce beyond the seas the workmen in his majesty's furnaces for making of iron ordnance " 1. <sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1623-1625, p. 492.

#### (2) Page 48, note 4

The Spanish ambassador in London was sent orders to entice British artisans, woollen workers and shipwrights, to Spain in the reign of George II <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> McLachlan, Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 143-144, 215-217.

# (3) Page 51, note 1

The railway employed in the sixteenth century for the conveyance of coal from the pits was an English invention <sup>1</sup>. It was introduced into the Ruhr district at the end of the eighteenth century as an "englischer Kohlenweg"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 152.

\* Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, i. 245.

# (4) Page 63, note 3

The Quantity Theory is implied in the statement made in 1621 that "since the treasure of the Indies was found, when we had plenty of silver come home, the price of things did arise"<sup>1</sup>. A clear exposition was given in 1720 by E. Philips, An Appeal to Common Sense<sup>2</sup>—"Money is only valuable according to the proportion it bears against other commodities; plenty of money always occasions the rise of the value of other things, as scarcity of money brings it down, provided the commodity is not scarce too, and then the demand for that commodity makes it rise in proportion to the necessity of the purchaser". He also touched upon an aspect rarely mentioned, the velocity of circulation— "The same money may serve by circulation the purposes of twenty people"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), ii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Philips, An Appeal to Common Sense (1720), 12. See also Philips, The State of the Nation (ed. 1726), 7; Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 112.

\* Philips, An Appeal to Common Sense (1720), 16.

# (1) Page 65, note 1

Davenant's contention that paper money performed 'all the offices of money' was in substance anticipated by R. Murray twenty-two years previously (1676): "Money being no more than a deposit given for such commodities as men part withal, if in lieu thereof a credit be raised upon a substantial fund, it will in all respects answer the use of money"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Murray, A Proposal for the Advancement of Trade (1676), 4.

# (2) Page 65, note 3

J. Vanderlint explained that the functions of money were to serve as a medium of exchange and a standard of value. He expressly dissociated himself from the notion that money constituted wealth—" Gold and silver are of little use besides procuring the necessaries and conveniences of life, which alone are real riches, and for which gold and silver are now universally exchanged"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 53 (also pp. 2-3). See also supra, p. 495, No. 4.

# (3) Page 65, note 7

That the promotion of industry—and not the accumulation of money—was the kernel of Mercantilism, is demonstrated in the following passage. "Our wool if it be clothed at home . . breedeth men for the king's service, it maketh the kingdom populous, it makes rich subjects, a much respected and honourable State, . . . an invincible monarchy"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 252.

### (4) Page 65, note 8

Similarly E. Philips wrote—"The riches of a nation consists of numbers of industrious inhabitants"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Philips, An Appeal to Common Sense (1720), 18.

### (5) Page 67, note 5

The use of money as an instrument of war was stressed by Whiston—" Since the introduction of the new artillery

of powder, guns, etc. . . . war is become rather an expense ' of money than men, and success attends those that can most and longest spend money "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Whiston, The Causes of our present Calamities in reference to the Trade of the Nation fully Discovered (1696), 2.

# (I) Page 67, note 7

While importance was attached to money for war purposes, we need not infer that English mercantilist writers had in mind the hoarding of gold by the State. They apparently wanted an abundance of precious metals within a country upon which the Government could draw by taxation or loans—just as to-day the Government may take possession of foreign credits owned by subjects.

#### (2) Page 68, note 7

A document drawn up by merchants in 1621 declared that "money is the life of all trade and commerce", and that "as a body cannot move without sinews, so a realm cannot prosper or maintain itself without money"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 583, 585.

#### (3) Page 69, note 3

Hume apparently had in mind the words of J. Vanderlint (1734)—" It is of no consequence whether any nation hath a vast deal of gold and silver or but very little money amongst them "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 55.

#### (4) Page 69, note 5

Although the export of gold and silver from Spain was prohibited, there existed at Cadiz an organized corps of bullion smugglers. British merchants employed the royal packet boats to carry their silver, and British consuls resisted Spanish claims to search these boats since they were not ordinary merchant vessels <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> McLachlan, Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 14. VOL. III 32

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#### (1) Page 70, note 2

In the Parliament of 1621 some speakers were aware that scarcity of money was due to the absence of demand. "The want of money is because trade is sick; and as long as trade is sick, we shall be in want of money"<sup>1</sup>. And again—"I heard it debated at the Council Board that there were two causes that pulled down the price of wool—first, want of buyers of wool; secondly, want of buyers of cloth" (that is, absence of demand, not an alleged scarcity of coin)<sup>2</sup>.

# <sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vi. 296. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii. 77.

#### (2) Page 74, note I

The absence of bullion restrictions doubtless facilitated the development of a bullion market in London <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the growth of London as a bullion market, see Sutherland, A London Merchant, 19-23.

#### (3) Page 78, note 5B

A contemporary account states that the old money, coined before the Restoration, "was called 'hammered money', which had the king's reign and year of coinage, etc., stamped in a ring on each side on the outward, but in much of that money the ring was cut away, which at least was one-third of the weight of 6d. 1s. or half or whole crown it was cut from. . . . And as to the money coined after the restoration of King Charles II. called 'milled money', which was lettered on the edge, there was scarce any of it to be seen, and [it was] supposed to be melted down or ... clipped.... The diminishing of our old silver coin increased and made great confusion in trade; people being cautious in setting a price on their goods without knowing in what money they would be paid. . . . It was feared the distraction about the coin would be more fatal than the war with France". In London guineas were advanced to 28s. or 30s. apiece; in a provincial town (Lancaster) to 225. or 235. apiece; "and all goods in the market advanced accordingly " 1.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 36-41.

#### (1) Page 80, note 4

"Exchange is a way of paying the debts reciprocally due between two cities of the same or different countries, without transmitting any money from the one to the other, and only by changing the debtors of one city into the debtors of the other. . . As long as the total sums due from each city to the other are equal, the whole may be discharged by bills of exchange without transmitting a single farthing from or to either of the cities" 1.

<sup>1</sup> The Course of Exchange between London and Paris before the Revolution (1713), 2.

#### (2) Page 89, note 2

It is possible that mercantilist writers sometimes used the term money to mean capital <sup>1</sup>. In that case the importance which they attached to foreign trade can be explained by their belief that a favourable balance increased a nation's capital by augmenting its resources and so decreased the rate of interest <sup>2</sup>.

> <sup>1</sup> See supra, p. 490, No. 1. <sup>2</sup> E.g. Philips, An Appeal to Common Sense (1720), 13.

#### (3) Page 89, note 5

Hume shared the mercantilist view in dwelling upon the "advantage of foreign commerce in augmenting the power of the State. . . A kingdom that has a large import and export must abound more with industry . . . than a kingdom which rests contented with its native commodities. It is therefore more powerful as well as richer and happier "1. J. Vanderlint wrote : "Affluence and strength are so connected with the maritime trade of a nation that they must increase or diminish together "<sup>2</sup>.

> <sup>1</sup> Hume, Essays (ed. Green and Grose), i. 295. <sup>2</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 80.

#### (4) Page 90, note 1

Mr. E. A. J. Johnson in his Predecessors of Adam Smith<sup>1</sup> dissents from my description of The British Merchant as "the most unimpeachable exposition of mercantilist thought". He appears to read into the phrase more than was intended. It meant that this group of authors belonged unquestionably to the mercantilist school; but it did not imply that the set of economic ideas which they propounded was either complete or fundamental. Mr. Johnson elsewhere concedes that the standpoint embodied in *The British Merchant* "formed an integral part of the fabric of British economic thought before Adam Smith."; that in it "protection emerges as a fundamental creed"; and that its "economic doctrines had a profound effect" and "enjoyed 'unique authority'"<sup>2</sup>. With this view of *The British Merchant* I am in agreement.

It may be added that, though the motives which led *The British Merchant* to rank domestic above foreign trade<sup>3</sup> may have differed from those which influenced Adam Smith<sup>4</sup>, this does not invalidate the statement that both reached a similar conclusion. From the point of view of formulating a national policy the preference for domestic trade, expressed by influential writers, was of greater significance than the particular lines of reasoning which prompted it.

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, op. cit. 7, 157, 383-384. <sup>8</sup> Supra, p. 89. <sup>9</sup> Johnson, op. cit. 383-384. <sup>9</sup> Johnson, op. cit. 383-384.

# (1) Page 91, note 3

"Trading is dead is every man's complaint " 1.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. "The Citizens Complaint for Want of Trade" (1663), in Fugitive Tracts, second series (1875), 3.

#### (2) Page 93, note 1

William Culliford was appointed in 1696 to be inspectorgeneral of exports and imports at a salary of  $\pounds$ 500 per annum, with a staff of three, "in order to make a balance of the trade between this kingdom and any other part of the world"<sup>1</sup>. This appointment was perhaps the most useful outcome of the controversy over the balance of trade, since it led to the accumulation of valuable statistical data, which

in 1776 were published by Sir C. Whitworth under the title State of the Trade of Great Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of Treasury Books, xi. 264.

# (I) Page 95, note IA

Another 'invisible export' is referred to by a writer in 1767. "It often happens that money is spent in a kingdom, which has not been acquired there"—by foreigners, by natives whose riches have been gained abroad (e.g. 'nabobs'), by colonists who flock to the mother country <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions (1767), part i. 26.

# (2) Page 97, note 4A

Hume was not the first to expound this view. Thus in 1734 J. Vanderlint pointed out that if the money of a nation be decreased by an unrestrained trade "which prohibitions are designed to prevent, those nations that get the cash will certainly find everything advance in price", and then the money will flow out again to countries where prices are lower. He instanced Spain as "the conduit-pipes to disperse the gold and silver over the world, which other nations, by making goods cheaper than they can do, are fetching from them"<sup>1</sup>.

The fundamentals of the theory of the international distribution of specie had been enunciated in the speech attributed by Lord Herbert (whose *History* was published in 1649) to Sir Thomas More  $(1523)^2$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 43-46, 54, 170. <sup>2</sup> Introduction (supra, vol. ii. p. lxxviii.).

#### (3) Page 98, note 2A

In commenting on the view advanced in the text that the Mercantilists were concerned primarily with 'the short run', Mr. J. Viner<sup>1</sup> concedes that the mercantilist position is not indefensible "if appraised" from 'the short run' point of view. But he avers that "they were ordinarily not aware of any distinction between what was desirable monetary or trade practice, to meet a temporary situation, on the one hand, and as permanent policy on the other". The reply may be fairly described as irrelevant. The Mercantilists were perpetually exercised about the balance of trade inasmuch as it was impossible to ascertain the true balance<sup>3</sup>; hence they were not induced to carry their analysis beyond 'the short run'. And Great Britain's departure from free trade in 1931, due to the exigencies of 'a temporary situation', affords convincing proof that even at the present day 'monetary or trade practice' is still governed primarily by 'short run' considerations. In this respect the mercantilist standpoint does not differ essentially from the modern attitude towards economic problems, in which 'long run' considerations are usually relegated to the province of economic science. It may be added that the Mercantilists' continued preoccupation with the problem of money was also due to the fact that currency difficulties were always cropping up<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viner, Studies in the Theory of International Trade, 111. <sup>2</sup> Supra, p. 92. <sup>3</sup> See Introduction (supra, vol. ii. p. lxxxii.).

## (I) Page 100, note 6

Four years before Fortrey wrote, the adverse balance was estimated at one million pounds, which agrees with the amount stated in 'A Scheme of the Trade', 1674<sup>1</sup>. The nation, it was claimed, was "very much impoverished by the present French trade, which doth exceedingly drain us; for that thereby our national stock is diminished—and the French stock increased—a million of pounds sterling *per annum*"<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 101.

\* The Marchants Humble Petition and Remonstrance to his late Highnesse (1659), 13.

#### (2) Page 112, note 7

The career of William Braund (1695-1774) shows the business activities of a merchant in the Portugal trade, first in the export of cloth and subsequently in the import of gold bullion <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Sutherland, A London Merchant, passim.

# (3) Page 116, note IA

As early as 1734 a writer expressed the view that imports should be discouraged "not by Acts of Parliament which

can never do any good to trade, but by raising such goods' ourselves [cheaper]. This is the only natural and effectual prohibition " $^{1}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 54.

#### (1) Page 116, note 2A

Sir W. Holdsworth, after quoting the passage in the text, comments: "The truth of this is clear from the way in which Pitt stated his case"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A History of English Law (ed. 1938), xi. 394, note 3.

# (2) Page 131, note 6

In his valuable study of The English Navigation Laws (1939), Mr. L. A. Harper defends the navigation policy, though he acknowledges that " from year to year I changed my mind as to whether the laws were beneficial, merely ineffectual or positively harmful"<sup>1</sup>. He contends<sup>2</sup> that after the Restoration English shipping developed more rapidly than did the growth of commerce-but the statistical data are admittedly insufficient<sup>3</sup>. He also alludes 4 to the argument in the text 5 that the difficulties confronting English shipping were only temporary and " would have adjusted themselves without legislation ". He proceeds . "Our researches do not show that the laws materially affected England's maritime relations with Asia and Africa, but they . . . definitely benefited English shipping in America ". As to their influence on European commerce "English vessels fared worst in trades like those with Denmark and Norway . . . and best with Russia and the Mediterranean". He disputes ' Coke's view that the Navigation Acts were responsible for the loss of the Baltic trade. and in this he is in agreement with Brewster<sup>8</sup>. Yet in 1671-when Coke issued the first two parts of his Treatiseonly 106 English ships entered the Sound, as compared with 173 in 1641. The Sound Toll Accounts have been printed by N. E. Bang (Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Oresund). They furnish evidence of very considerable variations in the numbers of ships entering the Sound during the first half of the seventeenth century. Thus in 1606 there were 985 Dutch and 109 English; in 1623-1074 Dutch and 159 English; in 1641-771 Dutch and 173 English<sup>•</sup>; but the Dutch always greatly outnumbered the English. It must be remembered, however, that the navigation policy was in operation before 1651<sup>10</sup>; and the failure of English shippers to contest successfully Dutch supremacy in the Baltic, in spite of the expansion of trade after the Restoration, may be reasonably attributed to the combination of factors enumerated in the text. The Sound Toll Accounts show that the exclusion from English ports of Dutch vessels engaged in the Baltic trade benefited Scandinavian shipping. Between 1601 and 1650 the percentage of Dutch ships leaving England for the Sound was 11.36, and of Scandinavian ships 4.90; between 1661 and 1700 the corresponding figures were 0.67 and 12.27<sup>11</sup>.

	• •
<sup>1</sup> Page ix. <sup>2</sup> Pages 342-343. <sup>8</sup>	Page 368. • Page 349.
<sup>6</sup> Supra, pp. 129-130.	Harper, op. cit. 365. ' Ibid. 314.
<sup>8</sup> See supra, p. 130, note 5.	Bang, op. cit. i. 190, 258, 322.
<sup>10</sup> Cf. supra, vol. ii. 321 ; iii. 120.	<sup>11</sup> Harper, op. cit. 316, note.

# (1) Page 141, note 4

In 1661 Parliament made a grant, assigning in advance to each county and borough a specified sum as its contribution to the grant. Commissioners, nominated for each county and borough, assessed the proportions of this sum to be charged on each district in their area; and they appointed assessors who determined the amount to be paid by individual payers within that district 1. In 1663 Parliament levied a national pound rate, and no fixed quotas were specified either for the kingdom as a whole or for each county and borough <sup>2</sup>. In 1664, 1665 and 1666 it revived the method adopted in 1661 3. In 1671 it reverted to the method of 1663 4. In 1672, 1677, 1678 and 1679 it returned to the method of 1661<sup>5</sup>, and again in the first session of 1689<sup>6</sup>; but in the second session of 1689 it reverted to 1663 7. In 1690 and 1691 it returned to 1661 8. In 1692, 1693, 1694, 1696 and 1697 it reverted to 1663 %. In 1698 it again adopted the method of a fixed sum for each county and borough, but it now laid down the principle that the proportions assessed in the several districts (hundreds

and other divisions) were to be those of 1692<sup>10</sup>, which had been made on the basis of a national pound rate. This was repeated in 1701<sup>11</sup> and in the next reign. Contrast the statement <sup>12</sup> that whenever after 1665 Parliament voted an aid or direct subsidy it "steadily refused to assess rates on particular counties". Actually, as we have shown, Parliament alternated down to 1698 between the two methods of assigning the total amount to be paid by each county or imposing a national pound rate for the entire kingdom. After 1698, instead of a national pound rate equitably distributed over the whole country, the sum to be raised by taxation was henceforth partitioned out in stereotyped proportions. Thus it was in 1698 that the 'land tax' of the eighteenth century originated.

<sup>1</sup> Statutes, v. 325. An Act of 1660 made a grant with the same proportions and the same commissioners as were specified in an Ordinance enacted before Charles II.'s return: *ibid.* v. 250, 252.

Ibid. v. 453.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. v. 525, 570, 616.

Ibid. v. 693.
Ibid. vi. 24.

Ibid. v. 752, 802, 867, 897.
Ibid. vi. 104.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. vi. 180, 259.

• Ibid. vi. 323, 426, 510 ; vii. 8, 166.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 484. Under the Act of 1698 personal estates were to pay 3s. in the pound, but land was to be "charged with as much equality . . . as is possible" by a pound rate : *ibid.* vii. 473. Similarly in the reign of Queen Anne personal estates paid a fixed pound rate, but land was to be charged as equally as possible.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. vii. 648.

<sup>18</sup> Hughes, Studies in Administration and Finance, 169.

#### (I) Page 142, note 6

Farming was abandoned in the customs from 1643 to 1662 and revived in 1662–1671. It was finally abandoned in 1671 in the customs, in 1683 in the excise, and in 1684 in hearth money  $^{1}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Hoon, The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786, pp. 6-7; Hughes, Studies in Administration and Finance, 138, 154-155. On the scope of the farm of the customs, see Dietz, English Public Finance, 1558-1641, pp. 337 seq. Various 'petty farms' of the minor branches of revenue survived : see Harper, The English Navigation Laws, 83.

#### (2) Page 142, note 8

The 'artisan', who figures in Massie's calculations, is "a manufacturer of woollen cloth, stuffs, etc. in the country".

#### (1) Page 144, note 1

The system of free ports was advocated in a pamphlet. entitled Free Ports (1652). The writer remarked that "Dover, after the composition trade was settled there (that made it in some kind a free port), did within ten years' time arise from nothing to have near two hundred sail of pretty / great shipping "1. The 'composition trade', by which Dover was made a free port for the transhipment of goods. was established under Charles I., and again after the Restoration <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Free Ports (1652), 4. <sup>3</sup> Ogg. England in the Reign of Charles II., i. 234-235; Harper, The English Navigation Laws, 70.

# (2) Page 146, note 2

A contemporary, William Stout, relates in his Autobiography<sup>1</sup> that the proposed excise on wine and tobacco "was approved of by the majority of the Parliament and by most prudent and impartial people; but it gave a great deal of alarm to the clandestine dealers in wine and tobacco : and the Jacobites and disaffected to the Government took in with them, and petitions [were] sent from all parts of the kingdom against it. They represented it to the people as if they were about to excise all eatables and clothes. They were so offended that the mayor of London, aldermen and common council and others to the number of 800 went to the Parliament in 200 coaches with a petition against it, which much astonished the Parliament that they should bring their petition in such a tumultuous or riotous manner, and [the House] unanimously voted it as seditious and a slight of their authority. Upon a vote it was carried for an excise . . . but, considering what a ferment the nation was in about it, they thought fit to drop or postpone it ".

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 122.

## (3) Page 146, note 3

A writer in 1652 alleged that "the trade we now drive [is] very little of foreign commodities that is re-transported upon the present encouragement or settled rate of half

custom "1. A broadsheet dated 10th September, 1694 entitled Whiston's Merchants Weekly Remembrance of the Present Money Prices of their goods ashore in London—shows the prices of imports (e.g. drugs, dyeing, fruits, rice, raw silk, spices, sugar, tobacco), and whether rising or falling, as well as customs duties and the drawbacks laid upon re-exportation.

### <sup>1</sup> Free Ports (1652), 5.

# (1) Page 148, note 3

The Venetian ambassador in France referred in 1664 to the "well-known and habitual quarrels" between the English and Dutch "over the injuries received from the usurped fisheries"<sup>1</sup>.

#### <sup>1</sup> State Papers Venetian, 1664-1666, p. 2.

# (2) Page 156, note 4

A memorial from the Treasury (1763) stated that the revenue arising from the duties imposed in America and the West Indies " is very small . . . and is not yet sufficient to defray a fourth part of the expense necessary for collecting it . . . through neglect, connivance and fraud " <sup>1</sup>. The benefit derived by the mother country from the colonies came not from revenue but from trade. The Elder Pitt declared in 1766 : " I will be bold to affirm that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies through all its branches is two millions a year. . . This is the price that America pays you for her protection"<sup>2</sup>.

Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1745–1766, p. 569. The Parliamentary History of England, xvi. 105-106.

# (3) Page 161, note 4

Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, proposed in 1611 that all offenders condemned to death should be sent for three years to the colony: he had taken out with him 300 'disorderly persons'<sup>1</sup>. Oxfordshire prisoners were transported overseas in 1617<sup>2</sup>. In 1619 the Privy Council laid down the policy of transporting offenders condemned to death provided they were able-bodied and were not convicted for murder and other specified crimes<sup>3</sup>. In 1620 it

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ordered the transportation of certain reprieved offenders 4 in 1621 a reprieved prisoner returned from the plantations owing to sickness 5. In 1622 there is an allusion to a commission for reprieving criminals and sending them to the plantations 6. In 1622 a horse-stealer petitioned to be transported to Virginia; in 1623 it was represented that the prisons might be emptied, and much blood saved, by sending offenders to the plantations; and in 1638 a woman petitioned to be transported to Virginia 7.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Colonial, 1574–1660, p. 12.

\* Gretton, Oxfordshir Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century, p. xciii.

<sup>a</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1619–1621, pp. 53, 101, 175.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1619–1621, p. 175.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 1621–1623, p. 39.

Ibid. 1621–1623, p. 294.
State Papers Colonial, 1574–1660, pp. 33, 50, 281.

#### (I) Page 163, note 4

The register, in which were entered the names of servants legally bound who left Bristol for the plantations, has been preserved. It is known as the *Servants to Foreign Plantations*, and frequently records the place of origin, occupation, age and sex of the servant, the master, and the place of destination 1.

<sup>1</sup> MacInnes, A Gateway of Empire, 161.

# (2) Page 163, note 5

A proclamation in 1682, after alluding to the malpractices of 'spirits', stated that many voluntarily enlisted for the plantations, and afterwards procured their friends to prosecute the merchants. It therefore ordered servants to be taken by indenture, which was to be executed in the presence of a magistrate <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian Library—Ashmole 1681 (138).

### (3) Page 165, note 6

There are some early estimates of the population of England (and also of London) before and after the Reformation  $^{1}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See A Discourse of the Growth of England in Populousness and Trade (1689), 111 seq.

# (1) Page 167, note 3

In a famous dictum Seeley observed : "We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind"<sup>1</sup>. Mr. J. A. Williamson, however, has pointed out : "The British Empire, indeed, was not founded in a fit of absent-mindedness. . . Its planning occupied the best brains of thinkers and masters of action"<sup>a</sup>.

> <sup>1</sup> Seeley, The Expansion of England (ed. 1883), 8. <sup>8</sup> Williamson, The Ocean in English History, 85.

# (2) Page 170, note 3

Light is thrown on tobacco-growing in England by the petition of a London capitalist to the Privy Council in 1622. He had planted 100 acres of ground with tobacco at 'a very high' rent of  $\pounds7$  and  $\pounds8$  an acre, involving an outlay of  $\pounds5000$ , whereof  $\pounds1400$  were disbursed in wages. He was now faced with ruin by the restraint laid on the planting of tobacco in England <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1621-1623, pp. 347, 463.

#### (3) Page 171, note 4

A petition of Giles Dowle in 1696, showing that he had a commission to prosecute planters of tobacco at a stipend of  $\pounds 80$  a year, carries the history of tobacco-planting in England to the year 1696<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of Treasury Books, xi. 146.

# (4) Page 187, note 4

It is significant that Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of American Independence, did not favour the development of manufactures in America. He wrote: "The political economists of Europe have established it as a principle that every State should endeavour to manufacture for itself; and this principle, like many others, we transfer to America without calculating the difference of circumstance. . . In Europe the lands are either cultivated or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacture must therefore be resorted to of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people. But we have an immensity of land courting the industry of the husbandman. . . . For the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe "  $^{1}$ .

<sup>1</sup> The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (ed. Washington), viii. 405-406 (circa 1781).

# (1) Page 191, note 3

At the time of the American Revolution the colonies contained more blast furnaces and forges than did England and Wales, and they were as large in size. The Act of 1750, which did not apply to iron works already in existence, was disregarded <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry, 24, 27, 30-31, 70-72, 86, 92.

#### (2) Page 193, note 2

On numerous occasions the Privy Council disallowed Acts passed by colonial legislatures laying duties upon British manufactures as "not being consonant to reason and repugnant to the laws of England "<sup>1</sup>. In 1731 the Board of Trade was directed to prepare instructions for colonial governors prohibiting them from giving assent to any laws "where the inhabitants of the colonies are put on a more advantageous footing than those of Great Britain ", or from passing "any laws by which the trade or navigation of this kingdom may be any ways affected"<sup>2</sup>. In 1775 the Privy Council approved the principle that "all laws enacted by the legislatures" in the colonies imposing duties upon the ships and manufactures of this kingdom "are not warranted by the constitution"<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1680-1720, p. 740 (1718). Similarly ibid. 1720-1745, pp. 63-64, 70, 162.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. 1720–1745, p. 348. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. 1766–1783, p. 408.

# (3) Page 194, note 1

T. Pownall wrote (1765)—" Nothing does at present, with that active and acute people [sc. Americans], prevent their going into manufactures except the proportionate dearness of labour"<sup>1</sup>. Franklin observed (1768) that the reports of colonial governors " are all much in the same strain,

that there are no manufactures of any consequence. . . . All speak of the dearness of labour that makes manufactures impracticable "<sup>2</sup>.

Pownall, The Administration of the Colonies (1765), 199.
 Franklin, Works (ed. 1887), iv. 132.

#### (I) Page 194, note 5

Among the grievances of the colonies one related to the shortage of currency. England did not allow the establishment of separate colonial mints, and refused to sanction colonial legislation against the export of specie on the ground that it would stop the flow of coin to the mother country <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nettels, "British Policy and Colonial Money Supply", in The Economic History Review, iii. No. 2, 230, 244.

# (2) Page 195, note 3

The Act of 1696 "gave parliamentary recognition to the admiralty courts in the colonies, and enlarged and defined their jurisdiction", but it "did not institute these courts". Between 1660 and 1696 cases were occasionally tried in what were called admiralty courts. Following the Act of 1696 a dozen vice-admiralty courts were set up in the colonies. Their powers were extended in 1764 and 1768<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, iv. chapter viii. ; Andrews, "The Acts of Trade", in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, i. 295-299 ; Crump, Colonial Admirally Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century, passim ; Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), xi. 60-61.

#### (3) Page 196, note 1

Agreement with the views contained in the text  $^{1}$  is expressed by the eminent American historian, C. M. Andrews, who quotes this passage *in extenso*<sup>2</sup>.

#### <sup>1</sup> Supra, pp. 194 seq.

\* Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, iv. 425 seq.

#### (4) Page 200, note 6

The Irish Parliament legislated in 1522 against the export of Irish wool on the ground that it injured the native cloth

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manufacture. The prohibition was evaded by the issue of licences to export <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century, 77-78.

### (I) Page 209, note I

Capitalism has denoted different things at different periods; and the lucid analysis contained in N. S. B. Gras's Essay, "Types of Capitalism"<sup>1</sup>, serves to disentangle the complex phenomena comprised in a historical category.

<sup>1</sup> In Facts and Factors in Economic History.

### (2) Page 212, note 4

Contrast also the statements—(1) "The Mercantilists did not have in mind the possibility that a country may make investments abroad or may borrow from abroad "<sup>1</sup>; and (2) "Deposits abroad are a result of economic developments since the Age of Mercantilism "<sup>2</sup>.

> <sup>1</sup> Viner, Studies in the Theory of International Trade, 16. <sup>2</sup> Heckscher, Mercantilism (revised ed. 1935), ii. 213.

# (3) Page 213, note 3

In a statement laid before Parliament by merchants in 1621, it was represented that : "In former times [strangers], being not able to make above 5 or 6 per cent. in foreign parts, brought their money hither and had 10 per cent.; and yet the debtor by employment thereof made 30 or 40 per cent."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 581.

# (4) Page 213, note 9

Foreigners purchased English stock because they were attracted by the rate of interest and had confidence in 'our parliamentary securities '1. The Dutch were large proprietors of the stock of the Bank of England and the East India Company, and the stock quotations on the Amsterdam Bourse (1758) included both these and the South Sea Company. The Swedish ambassador in London wrote in 1735: "The world knows that a great part, perhaps a

third, of the capital of the English East India Company belongs to the Dutch and other foreigners". In 1773 foreigners held £940,227 East India stock (out of £3,200,000), that is, nearly one-third <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 51.

<sup>8</sup> DuBois, The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, 283, 308. Cf. also, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions (1767), part i. 32.

### (I) Page 214, note 2

English capital was also invested in water and canal enterprises in France. Boulton and Watt frequently received payment for engines sold abroad in the form of shares in foreign companies<sup>1</sup>. It is significant that in 1722 British subjects were forbidden to subscribe to the stock of the Ostend 'East India Company—another indication of English investments abroad<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also the project for an international pooling of capital<sup>3</sup>.

#### (2) Page 215, note 7

The Coles of Northumbria provide an example of enterprising men who pushed themselves up from the ranks <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, ii. 40-41; and supra, vol. ii. Introduction, p. xi.

#### (3) Page 216, note 5. (Cf. vol. ii. 6, note 1)

The London Mercers' Company carried on corporate trading <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company (ed. Lyell), pp. x, 178. For the Eastland Company, see supra, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 499, No. 2.

#### (4) Page 218, note 1

In an interesting study of the effects of the 'Bubble Act' Mr. DuBois<sup>1</sup> points out that it decreased the number of incorporated companies, and so "ensured England the benefits of experimentation" with the joint-stock association which had no formal act of incorporation, and thereby it ensured a "variety of financial devices. . . . But the VOL. III 33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> DuBois, The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, 283, 308. <sup>8</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 313. <sup>9</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 305.

unexpected freedom, resulting paradoxically from prohibition, . . . had its penalties ". The profit-making motive in joint-stock enterprise enjoyed freer scope in the unincorporated association. "Therefore to the extent that the 'Bubble Act' prevented the early introduction in England of a carefully planned system for the regulation by governmental control of joint-stock business organization . . . it had an unfortunate influence". It eliminated the possibilities of intelligent official control. Furthermore, owing to the ambiguity of its wording and the severity of its penalties, it created for counsel "a new and great role in the shaping of big business. This was the first step by which the lawyer came into his own as the originator of business practices that were to be crystallized into the company laws of the future. 'On advice of counsel' was to be the keynote of the developments in the realm of business organization ".

<sup>1</sup> DuBois, The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, 3, 13, 24, 40, 437.

### (1) Page 219, note 1

In addition the shopkeepers bought goods on credit <sup>1</sup>. <sup>1</sup> See supra, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 479, No. 1.

# (2) Page 219, note 4

A Lancashire firm of calico printers failed in 1788 forit was reported—nearly a million and a half pounds <sup>1</sup>. <sup>1</sup> Wadsworth and Mann. The Cotton Trade, 307.

# (3) Page 220, note 5

In 1659 it was stated that "the English trade with Spain is driven and upheld in a circular motion, as well by credits as by the real stock [*i.e.* coin] of the nation"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Marchants Humble Petition and Remonstrance to his late Highnesse (1659), 2.

# (4) Page 242, note I

The statement 1-that after the South Sea Bubble<sup>3</sup> the policy of financing the State by corporations was discredited -needs to be modified. Both the Bank of England and

the East India Company made loans to the Government after 1720<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hargreaves, The National Debt, 10.

\* Supra, vol. ii. 369.

<sup>8</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 311, note 5; vol. iii. 242, note 1.

#### (I) Page 244, note 6

In the latter part of the seventeenth century the credit of a Lancaster grocer and ironmonger "was so much that any who had money lodged it with him to put out to interest or make use of "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 8.

# (2) Page 248, note 4

Legislation on the subject of bankruptcy showed, as Sir W. Holdsworth observes, that "the bankrupt had ceased to be regarded as necessarily a criminal". An Act of 1705 laid down that a bankrupt who made over his property to his creditors was entitled to his discharge. Lord Hardwicke, in 1744, declared that this provision was unique, that it was "temporary at first and never intended to be a perpetual law, but was made in consideration of two long wars which had been very detrimental to traders, and rendered them incapable of paying their creditors"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), xi. 445.

#### (3) Page 256, note 1-s.v. 1563 (Kent)

Archæologia Cantiana, xxii. 316.

Hardwick, History of Preston, 405-406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kelsall, Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers (1938), Appendix I.

#### (1) Page 256, note 1

Our statement that other wage assessments " will doubtless come to light "<sup>1</sup> has been amply confirmed. It is now possible to supplement the lists given above -1563 (Holland) <sup>3</sup>; 1570 (Chester) <sup>4</sup>; 1597 (Chester) <sup>5</sup>. Wage assessments were continued in operation at St. Albans in 1587 and 1588 .

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 262.

<sup>a</sup> Supra, pp. 256-263. \* Kelsall, Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers, Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> Morris, Chester, 367-368. <sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Gibbs, The Corporation Records of St. Albans, 17, 25.

# (2) Page 257, note 5

Additional wage assessments are recorded—1612 (Essex)<sup>1</sup>; 1621 (Faversham) 2; 1634 (Norwich) 3; 1640 (Norwich) 4; 1641 (Staffordshire) 5; 1642 (Portsmouth) 6. Wage assessments were continued in operation in Wiltshire in 1629 and 1630 7.

<sup>1</sup> Kelsall, *l.c.* \* Ibid. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. 4 Ibid. Ibid. • Ibid. <sup>7</sup> Records of the County of Wiltshire (ed. Cunnington), 93-94.

#### (3) Page 260, note 4

Additional wage assessments are recorded—1647 (Somerset) 1; 1648 (Somerset) 2; 1648 or 1649 (Staffordshire) 3; 1650 (Norwich) 4; 1650 (Somerset) 5; 1651 (Somerset) 6; 1652 (Somerset) "; 1653 (Somerset) "; 1654 (Somerset) "; 1655 (Somerset) 10; 1655 (Gloucester) 11; 1656 (Staffordshire) 12; 1657 (Warwickshire) 13; 1657 (Norwich) 14.

<sup>1</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iii. 40.

<sup>a</sup> *Ĩbid.* iii. 67. \* Kelsall, I.c. Kelsall, I.c.

<sup>5</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iii. 121.

• *Ĩbid.* iii. 151. ' Ibid. iii. 177. \* Ibid. iii. 211. <sup>10</sup> Ibid. iii. 263.

Ibid. iii. 236.

Ibid. iii. 230.
 Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices, vi. 694.
 Kelsall, I.c.
 Kelsall, I.c.
 Kelsall, I.c.

# (4) Page 262, note I

Additional wage assessments are recorded-1661 (Norfolk) 1; 1662 (Norfolk) 3; 1666 (Somerset) 3; 1668 (Somerset) 4; 1669 (Somerset) 5; 1669 (East Riding of Yorkshire) 6; 1669 (Hull) 7; 1669 (Lindsey) 8; 1671 (Somerset) 9; 1672

(Warwickshire) 10; 1672 (Somerset) 11; 1673 (Somerset) 12; 1673 (Blackburn) 13; 1676 (Somerset) 14; 1676 (Holland) 15; 1677 (Somerset) 16; 1677 (Bury St. Edmunds) 17; 1679 (East Riding of Yorkshire) 18; 1684 (West Riding of Yorkshire) 19; 1687 (Buckinghamshire) 20; 1687 (Hertfordshire) 21; 1687 (Oxfordshire) 22; 1688 (Buckinghamshire) 23; 1690 (Buckinghamshire) <sup>24</sup>; 1690 (Kesteven) <sup>25</sup>; 1693 (Hertfordshire) 26; 1695 (West Riding of Yorkshire) 27; 1697 (Buckinghamshire) 28.

Rates of wages were fixed without change in Somersetshire in 1670, 1674 and 1675<sup>29</sup>. Wage assessments were ' continued ' or ' confirmed ' or ' agreed upon ' in Buckinghamshire from 1679 to 1684 30. (The reference to an assessment of 1673<sup>31</sup> may be a misprint or clerical error.) Wage - assessments " as they were last year " were continued in Nottinghamshire in 1678 and 1686, while in 1694 the clerk was instructed to procure the rates of wages and deliver them to the constables <sup>32</sup>. Wage assessments were reissued without changes in Buckinghamshire from 1691 to 1696, and from 1698 to 1700 33. The Herefordshire Sessions Records are said to contain " practically a complete set " of wage assessments from 1666 to 1762-" The assessed wages were altered in some respect on 20 occasions, the old rates were reissued without alteration 59 times, and for only 18 years out of the 97 have we no information at all " <sup>34</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 13. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. iv. 61.

• Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 99.

<sup>10</sup> Ashby, One Hundred Years of Poor Law, 172.

<sup>11</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 116. 12 Ibid. iv. 134.

13 Hardwick, History of Preston, 405-406.

14 Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 202. 16 Kelsall, I.c.

<sup>16</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 224.

17 Kelsall, I.c. <sup>18</sup> Ibid. 19 Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Kelsall, I.c. <sup>30</sup> Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, i. 227.

<sup>21</sup> Gretton, Oxfordshire Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century, p. lxiii.

\* Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, i. 262. <sup>24</sup> Ibid. i. 337.

<sup>26</sup> Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions held for the Parts of Kesteven in the County of Lincoln (ed. Peyton), ii. 364, 376.

[contd.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kelsall, *l.c.* \* Ibid. -

Ibid. iv. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kelsall, I.c. 7 Ibid. <sup>8</sup> Ibid.

\* Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Kelsall, I.c.

<sup>30</sup> Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, ii. 125.

<sup>29</sup> Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 84, 159,

173. <sup>40</sup> Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, i. 29, 52, 71, 95, 121, 149.

\* Nottinghamshire County Records (ed. Copnall), 65.

<sup>33</sup> Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, i. 386, 425, 465, 504; ii. 44, 87, 173, 204, 247. <sup>34</sup> Kelsall, "A Century of Wage Assessment in Herefordshire", in

The English Historical Review, lvii. 115 seq.

#### (I) Page 262, note IA

It has been pointed out 1 that "the original order [of a schedule of assessed wages] should have been filed by the clerk of the peace with other county records, though not of necessity enrolled among quarter sessions' orders, nonappreciation of this difference leading at one time to the belief that the seventeenth-century justices failed to exercise their powers concerning wages ". When the actual schedules are not forthcoming, proof that assessments were made and enforced is provided by presentments of offenders for refusal to work at the official rates or for paying excessive wages <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions held for the Parts of Kesteven in the County of Lincoln (ed. Peyton), i. p. cxi.

\* See infra, p. 521, No. 3.

#### (2) Page 262, note 2

The reason advanced by the Worcestershire grand jury for the assessment of wages may be compared with the preamble to a wage assessment in Lancashire (the hundred of Blackburn) in 1673: "To the end that masters and mistresses of families shall not so frequently tempt a good servant to leave his service by offering more or greater wages than the law permits "1.

1 Hardwick, History of Preston, 405.

#### (3) Page 263, note 4

Additional wage assessments are recorded—1701 (Devon-1701 (Oxfordshire)<sup>2</sup>; 1708 (Hertfordshire)<sup>3</sup>; shire) 1: 1714 (Holland) 4; 1719 (Kendal) 5; 1721 (Hull) 6; 1722 (East Riding of Yorkshire) 7; 1723 (Nottinghamshire) 8;

1724 (Suffolk) <sup>9</sup>; 1730 (Warwickshire) <sup>10</sup>; 1731 (Holland) <sup>11</sup>; 1732 (Devonshire) <sup>13</sup>; 1738 (Warwickshire) <sup>13</sup>; 1750 (Devonshire) <sup>14</sup>; 1778 (Devonshire) <sup>15</sup>. The wage assessment of 1723 was regularly confirmed for ten years in Nottinghamshire <sup>16</sup>. The assessment of 1738 held good in Warwickshire until 1773 <sup>17</sup>. In Devonshire wage assessments have been found for the years 1700–1704, 1712, 1716–1722, 1724–1726, 1728–1733, 1740–1741, 1750, 1752–1753, 1778. Except for 1701, 1732, 1750 and 1778, they were reissues without changes in the rates <sup>18</sup>. In Buckinghamshire there were reissues without change from 1701 to 1710 <sup>19</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gilboy, Wages in Eighteenth-Century England, 88. Ibid. <sup>a</sup> Gilboy, op. cit. 89. \* Kelsall, I.c. • Ibid. <sup>1</sup> Ibid. Ibid. \* Chambers, Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century, 281. • Kelsall, I.c. <sup>16</sup> Ashby, One Hundred Years of Poor Law, 174. <sup>18</sup> Gilboy, op. cit. 88. 88. <sup>16</sup> Ibid. 11 Kelsall, I.c. 18 Ashby, op. cit. 175. 16 Chambers, op. cit. 281. 14 Gilboy, op. cit. 88. 18 Gilboy, op. cit. 88. 17 Ashby, op. cit. 176. <sup>10</sup> Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, ii. 288, 325, 383, 422; iii. 11, 51, 94, 132, 165, 216.

# (I) Page 263, note 7

The Courts (1685 and 1691) held that the Statute of Apprentices applied only to servants hired by the year<sup>1</sup>. "This decision ruled out most of the workmen who were employed by the capitalist manufacturer by the week or by the day "<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See supra, p. 301. <sup>8</sup> Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), xi. 468.

#### (2) Page 264, note 5

J. Vanderlint wrote in 1734: "As is notoriously known, the dearness of labour hath been found so burthensome to our farmers that the gentry and justices of the peace in their open quarter sessions have lately, in several places in the kingdom, attempted to redress this evil by regulating the rates of servants' wages". He stigmatized this attempt as " unnatural and impossible to answer the end"<sup>1</sup>.

As late as 1787 the employers of the wool-sorters in

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Exeter applied to the justices to assess the wages of their journeymen according to the Act of 1563.

> <sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 148. Boskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 54.

# (I) Page 271, note I

It has been said that the Mercantilist State "everywhere exerted its influence on the side of low wages "1. Evidence is given in the text suggesting a different conclusion<sup>2</sup>. And the advocacy in the early nineteenth century of low wages for the sake of the export trade shows that the notion that "a country might become rich through the poverty of its people " was not confined to certain mercantilist writers <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Heckscher, Mercantilism (revised ed. 1935), ii. 167, 171.

 Supra, pp. 254-259, 266, 274, 395. See also infra, No. 3.
 Some mercantilist writers considered high wages a sign of national prosperity : see supra, pp. 273-274.

# (2) Page 272, note IA

The principle of a sliding scale, in which wages were regulated by the cost of living, was adopted by the London (Quaker) Lead Company. At first wages were related to the price of lead. Then at the end of the eighteenth century. a monthly estimate of the cost of food was made and wages were adjusted accordingly <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Raistrick, Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare, 36.

# (3) Page 273, note IA

It might appear that writers who advocated a reduction of wages wanted to lower the workers' standard of living. This was not necessarily the case. For example, J. Vanderlint argued that money wages were too high, but he did not approve of "making the poor fare harder or consume less than their reasonable wants in that station require; for they being the bulk of mankind would in this case affect the consumption of things in general so mightily that there would be a want of trade and business amongst the other part of the people", and this would "affect the rents".

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He added: "If it was unreasonable to muzzle the ox that trod out the corn, what name shall I give the measures that render it so difficult for the bulk of mankind" to raise families? He believed that "when the necessaries of life were rendered so much cheaper", the value of the reduced money wages would be greater, *i.e.* real wages would rise <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 61, 87-88.

# (I) Page 275, note I

In 1611 the duke of Rutland paid his chief hop-grower  $\pounds 6: 13: 4$ , while the highest wage in the assessment of 1610 in Rutland was  $\pounds 2: 125.$ <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century, 279.

# (2) Page 275, note IA

The payment of 'Statute wages' in a particular locality might also be evaded by moving to other districts where the same rates did not apply. Thus master tailors in the City of London sometimes set up in the suburbs with the express purpose of paying *higher* wages and attracting the best workmen<sup>1</sup>. Again, the migration of the silk industry from London and Middlesex was stimulated by the motive of paying *lower* wages than those fixed by law for the metropolis and adjoining areas<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 406.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 270.

#### (3) Page 275, note 5

The reluctance to accept 'Statute wages' is shown in the indictment of labourers for their refusal to work according to the rates fixed by the justices of the peace <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See supra, pp. 253 (note 3), 257 (note 5), 260 (note 4), 262 (note 1); and Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions held for the Parts of Kesteven in the County of Lincoln (ed. Peyton), i. 35, 86, 93 (1676, 1678-1679).

# (4) Page 276, note 2

There are numerous other examples of the reissue of wage assessments without changes in the rates <sup>1</sup>. The formal entry "that rates of servants' wages do stand as they were at the last general quarter sessions" was inserted almost every year from 1610 to 1725 in the Middlesex sessions register <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Buckinghamshire (Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, i. 29, 52, 71, 95, 121, 149-150, 386, 425, 465, 504; ii. 44, 87, 173, 204, 247, 288, 325, 383, 422; iii. 11, 51, 94, 132, 165, 216); Devonshire (Gilboy, Wages in Eighteenth-Century England, 88); Herefordshire (The English Historical Review, lvii. 115 seq.); Nottinghamshire (Nottinghamshire County Records, ed. Copnall, 65; Chambers, Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century, 281); Somersetshire (Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, iv. 84, 159, 173); Warwickshire (Ashby, One Hundred Years of Poor Law, 176); Wiltshire (Records of the County of Wiltshire, ed. Cunnington, 93-94).

<sup>a</sup> Dowdell, A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions, 149.

# (I) Page 277, note 2

The author of An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions  $(1767)^{1}$  dissented from this view. "We have been told that the poor have been found to live better in years of scarcity and dearness than when provisions have been more plentiful and cheap. I cannot but question the truth of this fact. . . . It is, I must say, totally contrary to all my observation". He also questioned the truth of the statement that when workmen can earn as much in two days as in three, they would only work two days.

<sup>1</sup> Part i. 59, 61.

#### (2) Page 277, note 2A

The Spectator wrote (1711): "The poor, which are the bulk of a nation, work only that they may live"<sup>1</sup>. But J. Vanderlint believed that the workers would work harder if real wages were higher and there was 'plenty of everything '<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Spectator, No. 200 (1711).

\* Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 122, 124.

#### (3) Page 279, note I

A recent Essay <sup>1</sup> analyses some of the forces behind the introduction of the Acts for the enforcement of apprenticeship, and examines the prosecutions under the Acts.

<sup>1</sup> M. R. Gay, "Aspects of Elizabethan Apprenticeship", in Facts and Factors in Economic History.

#### (I) Page 279, note 2

The statement made by a recent historian; that the period of apprenticeship was often extended beyond "the legally prescribed seven years", overlooks the fact that the Act of 1563 laid down the term of seven years 'at the least ' as the *legal minimum*.

# (2) Page 279, note 3

The Witney Blanket Weavers limited their members to one apprentice at a time <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plummer, The Witney Blanket Industry, 127 (1711).

#### (3) Page 280, note I

- An Act of 1777 required hatters to employ one journeyman for every apprentice <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Statutes at Large, viii. 550.

#### (4) Page 281, note 5

The indictment of a shoemaker in a Nottinghamshire village in 1737—who was charged with exercising the trade of a shoemaker, without having served an apprenticeship to it—was quashed on the ground that the offence was "done in a country village", and that the Act of 1563 did not extend to trades carried on in such places <sup>1</sup>.

In 1763 "all the judges of England at a meeting lately resolved that if any man as a master had exercised and followed any trade as a master without interruption or impediment for the term of seven years, he was not liable to be sued or prosecuted upon the Statute of the 5th of Elizabeth"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nottinghamshire County Records (ed. Copnall), 13.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), xi. 420.

#### (5) Page 284, note 2

In a debate in Parliament in 1621 it was said: "The abuse and vexation of these men is very great, for when they come to a town they warn thirty or forty to come before them. If they sell anything, be it but a pound of

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candles besides the trade he was bound apprentice unto. they must come to London or else give £4 or £5 for a composition " 1.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), ii. 125.

# (1) Page 289, note 5

The register of Surrey apprenticeships states the premiums paid with apprentices. A 'merchant of London' received £500 (1722); a 'cloth-worker and merchant, free of trading to the Levant ' £800 (1713); a merchant of the Staple £90 with one apprentice (1717), fio with another (1717), and (10 with a third (1724); another merchant of the Staple was paid £118 : 5s. (1712) 1.

William Stout was apprenticed in 1681 at the age of sixteen to a grocer and ironmonger for seven years. His father agreed to pay £20 and to find clothes <sup>2</sup>. Stout received with his own apprentice £20, "I to find him maintenance and his mother clothes all the term "3. When his apprentice was ' loose'. Stout sold him his goods and shop equipment to be paid for by instalments 4.

<sup>1</sup> Surrey Apprenticeships, 1711-1731 (Surrey Record Society), 8, 11, 14, 107, 118, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 7-8. 4 Ibid. 45.

\* Ibid. 20.

#### (2) Page 290, note I

The Act of 1710, levying a duty on premiums, was the origin of a series of registers of apprentices-now in the Public Record Office 1.

<sup>1</sup> Some are printed in Surrey Apprenticeships, 1711-1731 (Surrey Record Society).

# (3) Page 296, note IA

It was observed in The Spectator that " if the profit and loss by wars could be justly balanced, it would be rarely found that the Conquest is sufficient to repay the Cost "1. I. Vanderlint (1734) described war as "one of the greatest calamities . . , the end of which none can well foresee, and the burthens of which [public debts and taxes] are seldom discharged in one generation". He pointed out that it

"commonly ruins . . . such nations as are vanquished, as we know the late war did France, and what we who conquered got by it the taxes . . . will amply testify". He concluded that "ordinary causes, *viz.* extending dominion or trade, will not justify it "<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Speciator, No. 200 (1711).

<sup>a</sup> Vanderlin', Money answers all Things (1734), 57, 125-126. For Thomas Paine's eloquent indictment, see The Rights of Man.

# (I) Page 302, note 6

Though the Yearly Bond-by which miners bound themselves to give a year's service 1-doubtless contributed to making employment less irregular, the volume of employment was seriously affected by the fact that coal-mining -was a seasonal occupation. Sea-borne trade was largely suspended in the winter months, and there were also interruptions due to wars and privateers<sup>2</sup>. The prevalence of unemployment is shown by the institution of a provident fund for distressed keelmen<sup>3</sup>; and in 1666 the coalowners set up a temporary unemployment fund for colliery workers 4. Though some miners combined their occupation with farming pursuits<sup>5</sup>, this was only occasional. Hence, unless their families had by-occupations (e.g. spinning), irregularity of employment must have greatly diminished the income enjoyed by the mining population. In any event the daily wage of a miner affords a very imperfect guide to the actual amount of his annual earnings.

<sup>1</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 124.	<sup>2</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 154.
* Supra, vol. ii. 127.	<sup>4</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 133.
Supra, vol. ii. 127.	

### (2) Page 309, note 2

In the course of a debate on trade in 1621 a member of the House of Commons observed: "I doubt you meet not with the right causes of the decay of clothing, which I conceive to be two—(I) that unhappy project of dyeing and dressing; (2) the peace of other nations that hath set them awork"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons' Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), iv. 150-151.

# (I) Page 317, note 5

In 1662 the Venetian resident reported that "many are firmly of the opinion" that the friction between England and Holland would end in a rupture. "The merchants desire this beyond expression, and not without cause, seeing that the Dutch are cleverly drawing to themselves a great part of the trade of this country"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Venetian, 1661-1664, pp. 137-138.

# (2) Page 329, note 4

Parliament was informed in 1621 that "the overseers in the county, who are trusted by the statute to measure and size the cloths in the water and to note the faults upon the seals, made a common matter of it to set their seals to cloth which they never measured, yea to sell their seals to the clothier and suffer him to put them on his cloth, being never visited "<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 235. For the abuses of searchers and measurers of cloth, see also Smith, An Essay for Recovery of Trade (1661), 7 seq.

# (3) Page 331, note 1

A by-law of the Witney Blanket Weavers laid down that , no one other than those admitted to the Company might exercise the mistery of a blanket weaver in Witney or within twenty miles thereof <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plummer, The Witney Blanket Industry, 128 (1719).

# (4) Page 331, note 4

The London Dyers' Company had sought further powers for preventing false and deceitful work in 1703<sup>1</sup>. In 1783 it was 'empowered and required ' by an Act of Parliament to appoint searchers to inspect shops, warehouses, workhouses, etc., while outside London searchers were to be appointed by the justices of the peace<sup>1</sup>.

> <sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, 1703–1704, p. 358. <sup>2</sup> Statutes at Large, ix. 290-291.

# (I) Page 335, note 6

In 1702 a royal warrant was issued to prepare a bill for incorporating the Tanners of London as a company "for the better regulation of the trade"<sup>1</sup>. The Witney Blanket Weavers were incorporated in 1711 to remedy the "many frauds and abuses of late practised in the deceitful working up of blankets... which for want of some established government amongst them they are not able to prevent"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, 1702-1703, pp. 444, 608.

\* The charter, oaths, by-laws, court books and accounts are printed in Plummer, The Witney Blanket Industry, 114 seq.

# (2) Page 336, note I

In 1727 an Act for "the better regulation of the woollen manufacture" expressly reserved the "powers formerly given by charter or Act of Parliament to the corporation of clothiers in the city of Worcester"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Statutes at Large, v. 450.

# (3) Page 336, note 5

After the Restoration a proposal was made that "the whole body of clothing throughout England and Ireland may be brought under one uniform regulation and government by incorporating the same . . . and that halls may be established " for the inspection of cloth <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, An Essay for Recovery of Trade (1661), 19.

# (4) Page 337, note 5

Colchester had both an English and a Dutch Company engaged in making bays and says, and there was conflict between them 1.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1623-1625, p. 179.

# (5) Page 338, note 5

Bradford's reputation for fraudulent work may be gauged from a verse in a Methodist hymn:

"On Bradford likewise look Thou down

Where Satan keeps his seat ".

# And a verse of the Beggars' Litany ran: "From Hell, Hull and Halifax, Good Lord, deliver us ! "1

<sup>a</sup> Defoe, Tour of Great Britain (ed. 1727), iii. 111; Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, 273, 394.

# (1) Page 340, note 4

A petition of the London Grocers' Company laid before Parliament in 1621 represented that "there is a special custom in London confirmed by sundry Parliaments that all freemen of the City may use any trade whatsoever (not being a manual trade)". From this it followed that "none of the chief companies in London stand by professing that art or mistery whereof they bear a name, but is mixed of men of several arts and families"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 84.

# (2) Page 341, note 1A

Another example of the support given by the Government to 'handicraft' companies, in their efforts to make membership compulsory on all who practised their trades, is shown by the order of the Privy Council requiring "all artisan cloth-workers, of what company soever they be free", to be subject to the control of the Company of Clothworkers "for so much as concerneth their trade only"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1619–1621, p. 39 (1619).

#### (3) Page 343, note 1A

The London Pewterers' Company was confirmed in 1702 in its powers of supervision "for correcting all false and deceitful workers and sellers of defective pewter"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, 1702-1703, p. 238.

# (4) Page 346, note IA

Quakers at first were apparently unable to become freemen because of their inability to take an oath. At Lancaster a grocer and ironmonger "although a freeman's son and had also served an apprenticeship to a freeman, yet could

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not be admitted a freeman without an oath which he would not in conscience make "<sup>1</sup>.

When the Witney Blanket Weavers were incorporated in 1711, two members were "admitted into this Company. But being both Quakers they made the solemn affirmation or declaration pursuant to the Act of Parliament in that behalf". So runs an entry in the Company's court books<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 7, 27 (temp. Charles II.). <sup>2</sup> Plummer, The Witney Blanket Industry, 132.

#### (1) Page 350, note 3

This action was taken by the city of Winchester against the defendant for exercising a trade without being brought up an apprentice to it within the city. Chief -Justice Holt, who tried the case, observed: "All people are at liberty to live in Winchester, and how can they be restrained from using the lawful means of living there? . . . Such a custom is an injury to the party and a prejudice to the public"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A Report of all the Cases determined by Sir John Holt (1738), 187-188.

#### (2) Page 353, note 7

In 1620 a patent granted for the making of steel stipulated that only coal should be used—" he will waste no wood "—and there was no bar on importation. Thus it sought to encourage a new process which would dispense with wood, while avoiding the creation of a monopoly <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, 1619–1621, p. 319.

# (3) Page 354, note 2A

In a project laid before James I. for raising money by the sale of pardons for breaches of penal laws, twenty-eight economic practices were not to be pardoned, *e.g.* forestalling, regrating and engrossing, enclosures, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, 62.

#### (4) Page 363, note 2A

Bristol soapmakers were rationed on the basis of 600 tons annually, which were allocated among them <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Company of Soapmakers, 1562–1642 (ed. Matthews), 6, 199 (1634). VOL. III 34

# (1) Page 372, note 1

Mention is made in 1346 of 'alym de Wyght', presumably alum from the Isle of Wight <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Salzman, English Industries of the Middle Ages (ed. 1923), 208.

#### (2) Page 372, note 3

It has been recently pointed out that "it is uncertain whether the Exchequer gained or lost by acquiring the alum rights from the first patentees. . . The estimates of loss were . . . unreliable. . . . For many years the Crown was decidedly out of pocket, but from 1617 onward a steady flow into the Exchequer resulted, which must have almost, if not quite, wiped out the debit balance "1.

<sup>1</sup> Turton, The Alum Farm, 194.

### (3) Page 373, note 1

In spite of the misfortunes of the early patentees, the alum industry survived. The port books show that production was carried on in the alum works on the northeast coast during the seventeenth century <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, i. 185.

#### (4) Page 381, note 3

It was stated in Parliament in 1621 that the Merchant Adventurers paid £60,000 for the renewal of their charter <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), iv. 59; v. 457.

# (5) Page 382, note 7

The Merchant Adventurers in 1621 stated that their trade had "fallen to be scarcely half so much in the quantity of cloth as formerly it was". The first reason which they assigned was "the great increase of cloth made in the Netherlands caused by the provocation of the late project of dyeing and dressing". But they also alluded to "the wars in Germany" and "the daily falsification of the coins in those parts"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Debates, 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf, and Simpson), vii. 233. See also supra, p. 308.

#### (I) Page 392, note 3

The miners of Alston Moor had a friendly society. Their rules are dated 1755<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Raistrick, Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare, 42 seq.

# (2) Page 392, note 4

For Sir W. Holdsworth's comment on the view expressed in the text, see A History of English Law <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> (Ed. 1938), xi. 492-494.

#### (3) Page 396, note 3A

Combinations among masters were made illegal in 1800<sup>1</sup>.

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# <sup>1</sup> Statutes at Large, xiv. 468.

#### (4) Page 403, note 5

Budgets of agricultural labourers are noticed above<sup>1</sup>. J. Vanderlint (1734) gives "an estimate of the necessary charge of a labouring man and his family in London, consisting of a man and his wife and four children, which I take to be a middling family". The 'yearly expense' amounted to £54, 10s. 4d. The weekly items include "rent of two rooms, which is as little as such a family can or ought to shift with" (IS. 6d.); "schooling for the children" (9d.); bread (2s.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.); butter ( $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.); milk ( $5\frac{1}{4}$ d.); coal (IS. 2d.); candles ( $5\frac{1}{4}$ d.). He declared that "whatever wage a working man may sometimes earn, 10s. or 12s. per week", when deductions are made for loss of time due to want of work or illness, his yearly income amounted only to £26 or £30—half of what he considered the minimum expenditure.

He also gives an estimated budget for a family (man, wife, four children and a maidservant) "in the middling station of life". The annual total, £390, includes £75 put by for his wife and children after his death, and also business expenses. Among other items are the following—" schooling for four children" £8; clothes £16 (man), £16 (wife), £28 (children); maid's wages 'may be' £4, 10s.; coal (between 4 and 5 London chaldrons a year) 2s. 6d. weekly; tea and

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sugar 4s. 1d. weekly. One item is 'Christmas-box-money', of which the amount is not specified <sup>2</sup>.

#### <sup>1</sup> Supra, vol. ii. 392.

Vanderlint, Money answers all Things (1734), 75, 77, 141-142.

# (I) Page 420, note 8

The practice of making gifts in kind lent itself to abuse. In 1702 the Derbyshire justices issued an order putting an end to the system by which "the overseers of the poor of divers parishes . . . do instead of giving weekly allowances in money to the poor people of such parishes . . . force them to take weekly the same in bread, meal, corn and other victuals, and thereby make a gain to themselves by selling such commodities to them at much dearer rates". Accordingly they ordered that relief to the poor should be given "in ready money in specie" only <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals, ii. 167. A long list of weekly payments made to the poor in 1683 is printed in *ibid.* ii. 165.

# (2) Page 423, note 5

Legislation relating to vagrants was also enacted in the eighteenth century <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), x. 178-179.

# (3) Page 435, note 5

In 1706 William Stout, a Quaker shopkeeper at Lancaster, "had a parish apprentice put upon me, about ten years of age. I sent him to the free school for at least four years, and he learned well to the entering into Greek, and could write well. I bound him an apprentice to a worsted weaver; gave  $\pounds 4$  with him and found him clothes. . . . He cost me at least  $\pounds 40$  "1.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (ed. 1851), 75.

#### (4) Page 435, note 6

In 1718 the justices of Middlesex discharged a boy apprenticed by St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to a chimneysweep at the age of five and a half<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dowdell, A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions, 57, note 2.

#### (I) Page 437, note 5

The difficulties experienced in administering the system of parish apprenticeship are illustrated by the following example. In 1675 a parish complained that the leader in refusing to take a parish apprentice was the rector. Encouraged by his example eleven parishioners had declined to accept the child placed with them <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Furley, Quarter Sessions Government in Hampshire in the Seventeenth Century, 28.

# (2) Page 459, note 4A

A shorter period of domicile was specified in the case of vagrants by the Acts of 1598 and 1604. The former required them to be sent to their birthplace, and if unknown to the place where they last dwelt for 'one whole year'. The latter ordered 'incorrigible rogues' to be sent to the place where they last dwelt 'by the space of a year', and if not known then to the place of birth <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Statutes, iv. part ii. 899, 1025.

# (3) Page 460, note 3

Other examples of the removal of persons prior to the Act of Settlement may be noticed. In Northamptonshire, in 1630. " a settled inhabitant with his family for the space of two years last past and upwards" was sent to another village " upon pretence that he was there born ". The court of quarter sessions, however, adjudged this " to be altogether unlawful, he being no rogue. It is thereupon ordered that he be forthwith sent back again "1. In 1657 complaint was made of a man and his wife residing in a village where they had not gained a legal settlement, " and in respect of their poverty are like to bring a sudden charge if they should there abide". In this case it was ordered that they should be removed <sup>3</sup>. In Derbyshire, in 1649, the justices ordered the removal of a man and his family to another parish<sup>3</sup>. In Surrey, in 1659, certain persons "are lately come into the parish and are likely to prove a charge and burthen", and

they were therefore to be "immediately removed" to another parish 4.

<sup>1</sup> Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton (ed. Wake), 94. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 189. <sup>3</sup> Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals, ii. 146.

Ibid. 189.
 Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals, ii. 146.
 Surrey Quarter Sessions Records, 1659–1661 (Surrey Record Society), 14.

#### (I) Page 462, note 2

In connexion with the earlier usage regarding settlement, see a review by the present writer of *Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions held for the Parts of Kesteven* in the County of Lincoln<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Economic History Review, iv. No. 4, 504.

### (2) Page 463, note IA

A table has been compiled showing the methods of acquiring a settlement—birth, parentage, marriage, service, apprenticeship, etc.—and the origin (whether by statute or interpretation)  $^{1}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), x. 259.

# (3) Page 465, note 2

The intricacies of the Law of Settlement are illustrated in the following catch, in which a case (1723) affecting a settlement acquired by marriage was reported <sup>1</sup>:

> "A woman having a settlement Married a man with none: The question was, he being dead, If that she had, was gone? Quoth Sir John Pratt—Her settlement Suspended did remain, Living the husband; But, him dead, It doth revive again.

Chorus of Puisne Judges Living the husband; But, him dead, It doth revive again ".

Another case in 1815 was held to determine whether a pauper was " settled in parish A or B. The house he occu-

pied was in both parishes, and models of both of the house and of the bed in which the pauper slept were laid before the court that it might ascertain how much of his body lay in each parish. The court held the pauper to be settled where his head (being the nobler part) lay, though one of his legs at least, and great part of his body, lay out of that parish "<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Holdsworth, A History of English Law (ed. 1938), x. 261, note.

<sup>a</sup> Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary*, cited Webb, *English Poor Law* History, i. 347, note 2.

# (I) Page 469, note 4

There is other evidence to show that the practice of providing a parish stock for employment of the poor did not completely lapse. The overseers of the poor in Surrey were instructed in 1663 to give in "their accounts of their receipts and payments as well of stock as money for the poor"<sup>1</sup>; and in many Nottinghamshire parishes the custom of finding employment survived during the greater part of the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

Surrey Quarter Sessions Records, 1663–1666 (Surrey Record Society), 4.
 Chambers, Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century, 233-234.

### (2) Page 474, note 2A

Although the first modern workhouse is associated with Bristol, a public workhouse was established at Preston in 1675. A contemporary account (*circa* 1686) states that there "is lately raised a public workhouse to employ the poorer sort of people, especially women and children, in a worsted trade of yarn, thereby better to maintain their family from begging". The workhouse was set up by the corporation, and the overseers of the poor were instructed to present the names of all the poor people in the town "that thereout may be choice made who of them shall be set on work", and "not suffered to beg or wander abroad". In particular "all young children and other persons who are not mothers of families" were "to go and work at the said workhouse" in carding and spinning wool. They were remunerated for their work, since it was laid down that

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"the wages of such as shall be employed in the workhouse [shall] be weekly paid unto every person working or unto their parents"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hardwick, History of Preston, 212, 281-282; Hewitson, Preston Court Leet Records, 187-188.

# (1) Page 474, note 3

Two proposals at Bristol prior to 1696 may be noticed. One (1653), for "setting the poor on work", included a proviso that "all such parish poor which cannot . . . come to work at the workhouses, they shall have work delivered them to their particular dwellings", namely, spinning of yarn, knitting of stockings "and other manufactures"; and their services were to be remunerated. Another (1679) contemplated erecting "a linen manufactory" in a workhouse <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Corporation of the Poor: Selected Records, 1696-1834 (ed. Butcher), 2, 39-40.

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