

THE
LIFE OF JOHN LOCKE.

BY
H. R. FOX BOURNE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.



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such schemes were produced and read. "That brought in by Mr. Locke was pitched upon," it is recorded in the minutes of the board. Two whole days were spent in considering this document, paragraph by paragraph, there being an evening sitting on the second day to complete the work. Only a few unimportant alterations were made, however, and the following report to the lords justices, finally agreed upon on the 30th of August, signed on the next day, and sent on on the 2nd of September, was substantially altogether Locke's work.¹ It is hardly necessary to point out the economical fallacies of the protective policy as regards the English woollen manufacture, which Locke adopted as a matter of course, or as regards the Irish linen manufacture, in which he proposed to introduce new and very curious institutions; but whatever errors in principle he may have fallen into, the remarkable shrewdness with which he worked out his details and the generous patriotism, according to his lights, pervading the whole document must not be lost sight of.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIES,—In obedience to his majesty's commands, signified to us by Mr. Secretary Trumbull, that we should take into consideration the trade of England and Ireland, how they stand in relation to one another, and how they may be improved to the advantage of both nations, we humbly represent to your excellencies that the woollen manufacture of Ireland cannot be carried on and continued to be improved there at the rate it hath been of late years without very ill consequence to this kingdom. The care of our parliament in all times in preserving this manufacture entirely to England, and the sensible damage we have suffered

¹ *Board of Trade Papers*, Journal B, pp. 224—226, 232. I have not been able to find Locke's original draft among the Board of Trade Papers. It was, probably, after the corrections had been made upon it, handed to the clerk who made the fair copy, from which the following is printed, and then thrown aside as waste paper.

when any part of it hath been lost from us to any other country, makes this so evident that we think we need use no other reasons to show of what necessity it is not to let in any new sharers.

“To hinder, therefore, the growth of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, so wholly incompatible with the fundamental trade of England, on which the prosperity of this nation so much depends, we are humbly of opinion that the exportation of all sorts of woollen manufactures out of Ireland to any parts whatsoever (except only that of their frieze, as is wont, to England) be restrained and discouraged with impositions, penalties and all other ways which together may be sufficient to hinder it.

“But since the private exportation of wool in England, acknowledged by everybody to be directly against the interest of this kingdom, is too public an instance how little bare prohibitions of exportation, though under the severest penalties, are to be depended upon where the temptation of great profit may encourage private men to bribe officers and run other risks, it is much less to be expected that the bare stopping of the exportation of woollen manufactures, when made by a guard only at the ports, will be sufficient to keep them from being sent out of Ireland, where not only the gain of private exporters, but the general sense of the people that it is the interest of the country to export them, concur to break through all obstacles of this kind.

“We, therefore, crave leave humbly to offer to your excellencies’ consideration, whether it will not be convenient to add the following remedies as a more natural and effectual way to take off the people there from their application to that sort of trade, so that the cheapness of victuals and, consequently, of labour may not enable them to transport the woollen manufactures to foreign markets to the prejudice of our English trade—

“That a sufficient duty be laid upon the importation of oil, upon teasles whether imported or growing there, and upon all the utensils employed in the making of woollen manufactures, such as cards for wool of all sorts, fulling mills, racks, presses, etc., as also upon the utensils of woollen combers, and particularly a duty by the yard upon all cloth and woollen stuffs (except friezes) before they are taken off the loom.

“But because we can by no means think it advisable that men should be all on a sudden stopped in their way of livelihood till other ways of employment be opened to them, since such changes cannot possibly be effected all at once, but must be introduced by degrees, we are humbly of opinion that, though it be requisite that the remedies above propounded be enacted all at once, yet that they should not all or any of them be in force and put in execution but only by such degrees and in such proportions as by procla-

mation from the lord lieutenant or lords justices, by advice of the privy council there, shall from time to time be directed and required, so that the gradual increase of these duties may warn and give people time to turn themselves to some other employments, provided that, whatever part of the said act shall by such proclamation be once put in force, the same shall remain so and stand good, and whatever proportion of the said duties shall in this manner be required it shall no more be diminished, but may at any time, if it be found requisite, in the same manner be augmented, so far as the said act allows.

“ Nevertheless, that the owners of wool may be hindered in the vent thereof by the diverting of labouring hands to other manufactures, we humbly offer that unwrought wool have free exportation from Ireland into England, without any duty from and to the ports now appointed by act of parliament, but that the exportation of it any whither else be effectually hindered by all ways and means possible to be used.

“ And since it generally proves ineffectual, and we conceive it hard to endeavour, to drive men from the trade they are employed in by bare prohibition, without offering them at the same time some other trade which, if they please, may turn to account, we humbly propose that the linen manufacture be set on foot and so encouraged in Ireland as may make it the general trade of that country as effectually as the woollen manufacture is and must be of England. To which purpose we humbly conceive it of great importance that it be intimated and insinuated from hence to all such persons there, and in such ways and manner as shall be thought most convenient, that they seriously bethink themselves of setting up and carrying on the linen manufactures in that country, it being not to be supposed that England either can or ever will suffer that the woollen manufacture should grow up in Ireland so as to come any way in competition with, or so much as threaten, that trade so necessary to the subsistence of England.

“ For the encouragement, therefore, and setting up of the linen manufacture in Ireland, we humbly propose—

“ That the proportion¹ of hemp seed and linseed into Ireland be free from all duties for three years or longer, if the directors, whose office and employment is hereafter to be explained, shall think it requisite.

“ That flax and hemp growing in Ireland shall be tithe and tax free for twenty-one years, and after twenty-one years shall pay for tithes only two shillings and sixpence per annum.

¹ Importation ?

“ That the present customs and other duties on hemp, flax and all manufactures made thereof, imported into Ireland, be increased one-fourth part every year, till they come to be quadrupled to what they are at present, and that the like graduate increase of duties be laid on calicoes and all other sorts of cloth made of cotton that may supply the place and use of linen.

“ That the exportation of linen cloth and all other manufactures made of flax or hemp, without any mixture of wool, shall be free to all places and without any custom.

“ That all dressers of hemp or flax, linen weavers, rope-makers, and all other workers in hemp or flax, and using no other trades, shall be free, during the time that they follow those vocations, from serving of juries or bearing any offices which they themselves shall not be willing to undergo.

“ And, because the poorest earning in the several parts of the linen manufacture is at present in the work of the spinners, who therefore need the greatest encouragement, and ought to be increased as much as possible, that therefore spinning schools be set up in such places and at such distances as the directors shall appoint, where whoever will come to learn to spin shall be taught gratis, and to which all persons that have not forty shillings a year estate shall be obliged to send all their children, both male and female, that they have at home with them, from six to fourteen years of age, and may have liberty to send those also between four and six if they please, to be employed there in spinning ten hours in the day when the days are so long, or as long as it is light when they are shorter; provided always that no child shall be obliged to go above two miles to any such school.

“ That all children who are thus obliged to come to these schools shall be paid for what they earn there in spinning, according to the ordinary rate paid to others, first deducting from each of them what they have spoilt in tow or flax in their beginning to learn.

“ That all in general who come there to learn shall have wheels provided for them, and that they who are able to spin in Mr. Firmin's double wheel shall, at their going away, have one of those wheels given them.

“ That no wheel shall be used in any of those spinning schools but what shall be turned with the foot and have the distaff placed in the middle, so that, both the hands being at liberty, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, may be used to draw the flax, the only way to fit them for the double wheel, which they can never use unless each hand can draw the flax with an equal facility.

“The use of this double wheel is of that great consequence to the linen manufacture that nothing can contribute more to the advancement of it than the bringing this wheel in fashion, they that can use it being enabled thereby to earn very near double with the same labour, and it deserving therefore by all ways possible to be encouraged. In order thereto we humbly propose—

“That the husbands of such wives as can spin upon the double wheel, and do follow that employment, either in teaching or working, shall have all the same immunities and privileges that are hereafter proposed to be granted to linen weavers and other workers in hemp or flax, though their said husbands are of other trades and employments.

“That at every summer assizes it may be lawful for any female inhabitant of each county respectively to come there and show her skill in spinning on the double wheel, and that she that shall there in one hour spin the most and best thread, to be judged of by the grand jury, shall have 10*l.* paid her upon the place by an officer to be appointed thereto by the directors, and moreover be recorded in court a mistress spinner and thereof have a certificate delivered to her in parchment, without fees, under the hands of the judge, the sheriff, the foreman of the jury, and such of the justices of the peace as will sign it, which shall entitle her and her husband, whenever she shall be married, to a freedom in any city, town, borough, or corporation in Ireland, to set up there what trade he or she shall think fit, with an exemption to the said husband during his life from serving on all juries and bearing any manner of office which he himself shall not be willing to undergo.

“And, to the end that no person by reason of poverty or distance from the place where the assizes are held may be hindered from showing her skill upon the double wheel and may be somewhat considered for the charge in coming and bringing her wheel and flax, every one that comes and can spin so well on the double wheel as to be capable of a trial to be a mistress spinner shall be allowed twopence per mile from the place of her habitation to the place of the assizes, to be paid by the same officer to be appointed thereunto by the directors as aforesaid.

“That if any double-wheel spinner, during her following that way of living, shall by sickness or other calamity be disabled from getting a livelihood by spinning as she used to do, and be thereby reduced to the public relief, she shall have double the allowance that any other person in her circumstances hath or is wont to have.

“That it shall also be lawful for any weaver to bring any piece of linen cloth of his own weaving to the summer assizes of the county whereof he is an inhabitant, as a sample of his workmanship, and that the foreman of

the grand jury, together with some person skilled in linen cloth to be appointed by the court and an officer appointed thereto by the directors shall, upon oath, give their judgments which piece of cloth amongst all that are so produced is best and most workman-like woven ; whereupon the piece of cloth that shall be thus judged best woven shall be cut into two equal pieces to prevent its being again produced, and the weaver who wove it shall have 10*l.* paid him upon the place by the aforesaid officer, shall be recorded in the same a master weaver, and shall there receive a certificate as before expressed in the case of a mistress spinner, which shall entitle him to a freedom in any city, town, borough or corporation in Ireland, there to set up and practise the said trade of linen weaving, with an exemption from serving on juries and bearing any manner of office that he is not willing to undergo, so long as he continues the said trade.

“ That the like reward and privileges in each county be also granted to him who shall at the summer assizes produce the best piece of sail-cloth made the same year within the same county, and that the said piece of sail-cloth be thereupon cut in two equal pieces to prevent its being again produced.

“ That all the money that shall be so paid at each assizes by the officers appointed thereunto by the directors shall be set down in a bill, which shall be signed by a judge of the assizes and the sheriff, to vouch that article of the said officer's account.

“ Provided always that none of the foregoing rewards of 10*l.* upon any of the aforesaid trials be allowed to any person more than once.

“ But, because no such public manufacture can, at its first setting up, subsist on itself in a new place, and hold up against, much less gain upon, the same trade already settled and established elsewhere, therefore for the defraying the charge of bringing into Ireland persons skilled in the sowing, dressing or any ways improving of hemp, flax or any manufactures made thereof, or in spinning in the double wheel, together with the several other charges in schools, bleacheries, magazines, and rewards before or hereafter mentioned, with others also that may be necessary, and likewise for sustaining the losses that may be made in the infancy of this undertaking by taking of any parcels of linen cloth from the makers at such reasonable rates as may enable them to live by their trade, we humbly further propose—

“ That every female above fourteen years old (excepting those of such families as by reason of poverty are exempt from taxes) shall every year deliver unto such persons as shall be appointed in each parish twelve lays of good, sound, merchandable and unbleached linen yarn or thread, each

lay containing in length two hundred yards, and the whole twelve lays not weighing above eight ounces avoirdupois, or, if they do, then for each ounce they weigh more the party so bringing them shall deliver two ounces of the like merchandable yarn or thread, over and above the twelve lays before mentioned.

“That every male above fourteen years of age (not in holy orders) shall every year deliver as aforesaid one pound of merchandable raw flax, and one pound of like merchandable hemp.

“But all parents also who neglect to send their children to the spinning schools, as before proposed, shall deliver as aforesaid the like quantity of twelve lays or more of linen yarn or thread for every child, male and female, not sent accordingly to the said schools.

“That, in order to this collection of linen yarn, hemp and flax, to be yearly made in each county, as early as may be in the spring, the ministers and churchwardens in each parish shall every year, before the 25th day of March, make and sign a true and perfect list of all persons in their respective parishes liable to the said contributions; in conformity unto which list the said churchwardens shall forthwith make the whole collection of the said contributions of thread, hemp and flax, within their said respective parishes, and deliver it, together with the said list, to the linen collector who is to be appointed by the directors for that purpose when he demands it.

“That whosoever shall fail to deliver to the churchwardens upon demand his or her respective contribution of linen yarn, flax, or hemp, as before proposed shall forfeit one shilling, to be levied by distress, which distress the churchwardens shall be empowered and required to make and account for to the said linen collector.

“That all the linen yarn thus collected shall be bleached the same summer and afterwards sold or made into cloth, as shall be thought best by the directors.

“That all the flax also and hemp thus collected shall be either sold or further manufactured as the said directors shall think fit.

“But, lest the profit arising from the several aforesaid contributions should not be sufficient to give the encouragement and bear the losses and expenses necessary to the support of the said manufacture, especially in the first beginning of it, we are humbly of opinion that it may be requisite a fund should be raised by an imposition of twopence per pound upon tobacco imported into Ireland, which imposition so laid will but raise the duties upon that commodity in Ireland to an equality with what is now paid upon tobacco spent in England.

“That what money is raised upon the said duty of twopence per pound shall be monthly paid in to the treasurer of the said linen manufacture, who is to be appointed by the directors, and to whom the linen collectors of each county and other officers concerned in any receipts or payments, by order of the said directors, shall be accountable from time to time.

“That the said treasurer shall once every year give in a clear account and perfect state of the public revenue and contributions given for the carrying on of the said linen manufacture unto the lord lieutenant or lords justices of Ireland, or to such person or persons as shall be authorised and appointed by them, to examine and audit the said account to the end that, upon the stating thereof, so much as shall be found remaining an overplus, not expended or lost in the management of the said manufactures, may be deducted out of the next year’s tax upon tobacco, and paid into his majesty’s treasury for public uses.

“That the said treasurer shall give such security for his faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him as the lord lieutenant or lords justices and council in Ireland shall think fit, and that for a reward of his pains he shall have—per pound upon all receipts and disbursements of money that shall pass through his hands, or what other reward or salary the said directors shall think fit.

“That all other officers employed in the management of this manufacture under the directors shall have such salaries and give such securities as the said directors shall think fit.

“That the said directors shall have the full and sole power and authority to nominate and appoint not only the officers already mentioned, but so many and such others also as they shall think necessary and proper for the good and orderly management of this whole undertaking, and to turn out any of the said officers and put others in their places at their pleasure; provided always that no person so near of kin to any of the said directors as a cousin-german shall be capable of any place or employment under them; and that whoever gives or takes any reward for any employment in this manufacture more than the salary allowed and appointed by the said directors, shall absolutely and without remission forfeit his respective place and employment.

“That the said directors shall likewise have full power and authority in all things whatsoever relating to the conduct and management of this whole affair, as particularly (where it shall be necessary for the improvement and carrying on of the linen manufacture) to provide bleacheries, to erect magazines, workhouses, and other public buildings; to order the buying and

selling of anything in such manner as they judge expedient, to direct the levying of the several contributions before mentioned, to order all receipts, and payments of money, to regulate and appoint the breadth, length, and other qualities of the several sorts of linen cloth to be made by their direction, to give what names to each sort they think fit, to appoint an uniform length of reels whereupon to wind the linen yarn (which length it is supposed may most conveniently be such as to contain two yards in circumference), and to do whatever other thing and make whatever other regulations they conceive necessary and proper for the improvement of hemp and flax in Ireland, and manufactures made out of them, and more particularly for the carrying on the linen manufacture there to due perfection ; all which regulations by them made, they are to take care to see duly observed, and that the transgressor thereof in any point be prosecuted and brought to such condign punishment as is or shall by law be provided. That all justices of the peace and other officers be aiding and assisting the said directors and those employed by them in the execution of the trust committed to them.

“ And—forasmuch as the whole success of this undertaking seems unavoidably to depend upon the fidelity, skill and diligence of the said directors in the management of it, we having observed, on the one side, how great salaries are apt to tempt men to undertake things they are neither skilled in nor careful of, by which means those undertakings fall and come to nothing, to the great detriment of the public, and, on the other side, when, to avoid this inconvenience, any manufacture is put into the management of a company, how the greediness of present gain occasions stock-jobbing or contests among themselves about sharing the profit, whilst the improvement thereof is neglected, whereof we have in this kingdom but too many instances—to prevent therefore the foresaid mischief on both sides, we humbly propose that the said directors be rewarded for employing their time and care in the management of this business in such a method and manner as may lay upon them the highest obligation imaginable to fidelity and diligence therein, by the increase of their own private advantage in proportion to the improvements they shall make in the business committed to their charge.

“ To which purpose we are humbly of opinion that there be five directors, honest and able men, lovers of their country, and such as, being willing to take the employment upon them, shall be nominated and authorised thereunto by parliament.

“ That they shall each of them have 100*l.* per annum salary, to begin

from the time that by their management there shall be double the number of looms employed in the weaving of linen in Ireland as were employed in it at the passing of the act that shall be thought expedient to be made for the establishment of that manufacture, of which looms so employed at the passing of that act an exact account is therefore to be taken.

“That from the time the looms there shall be three times as many as they were at the passing of the said act, the said directors shall have each of them 300*l.* per annum.

“That from the time the looms shall be four times as many as they were at the passing of the said act, the said directors shall have each of them 500*l.* per annum.

“That from the time the said linen manufacture shall be there able to subsist of itself, by its own gains, without any allowance or contribution from the public for its support and encouragement, each of the said directors shall have 1000*l.* per annum.

“That, if the said manufacture shall so subsist and go on of itself as to be able to supply the whole kingdom of England with linen, the said directors shall have each of them 1000*l.* per annum for their lives.

“And, if this proposed undertaking shall by them be brought to that perfection as that Ireland shall send forth yearly to foreign markets to the value of 100,000*l.* in their native hemp, flax, or manufactures of any kind made out of them, the said directors shall then have each of them 1000*l.* per annum settled upon them and their heirs for ever.

“That upon the death of any one of the said directors, the survivors shall, from time to time, choose another to keep the number full.

“That this act shall be in force for twenty-one years, but that all the personal privileges which shall be granted to any one by virtue thereof, remain good to him during his or her life, though they should outlive the said one-and-twenty years.

“All which, nevertheless, is most humbly submitted to your excellencies' great wisdom.

“ J. BRIDGEWATER,

“ PHIL. MEADOWS,

“ JOHN POLLEXPEN,

“ JOHN LOCKE,

“ ABR. HILL.

“ Whitehall, August the 31st, 1697.”¹

¹ *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum, no. 1824.