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THE

## S U B S TANCE

 OF THEEVIDENCE,
Delivered to a Committee of the

Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.




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## S U B S TA N C E

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Delivered to a Committee of the
Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS
BY THE
Merchants and Traders of London, Concerned in the
TRADE to GERMANY and HOLLAND,
AND of tha
Dealers in Foreign Linens,
As Summed up
By Mr. G L O V E R.
To which is Annexed,
H I S S P E E C H, Introductory to the
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}P & R & O & P & O & S & A & L & S\end{array}$
Laid before the Annuitants of
Meff. DOUGLAS, HERON and Co.
At the King's-Arms Tavern, Cornhill, on the Ninth of February, 1774.
LONDON:

Printed for J. Wilkie, St. Paul's Church-Yard. m dCc lexiv.
[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

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## S UBSTANCE

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## EVIDENCE, $\mathscr{O}^{2} c$

WHEN I firt had the honour of admiffion at this Bar, I prefaced the Examination under my particular care with an affertion, that no queftion of higher national import could come before you; that the very bafis of this kingdom's ftability and power was concerned in your inveftigation, and the future decifion of Parliament upon your report. It refts upon me to make the affertion good. With all due attention to the evidence I have examined, I fhall take my principal ftand upon the report of laft year, made public by the authority of this Houfe. I fhall not to my knowledge quote any controvertible fact; deductions and conclufions

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rank under another predicament." The Report fets forth a decline in the Britifh and Irifh manufacture of Linen, and the numerous emigrations of your people; facts which I admit: but that they are imputable to an increafed import of foreign Linens, or to any abufe in thofe imports, is a conclufion I to. tally difpute. Having therefore admitted the evil, and rejected the caufe affigned, I feel it incumbent upon me to fearch for the real one, upon whofe difcovery the main of this queftion in the firft inftance abfolutely depends. Briefly, Sir, the method I fhall purfue is to fhew, what has been the genuine caufe of the evil, what has not, and what is not the remedy. I will then difclofe the nature, depth and extent of the malady, not hitherto fully reprefented to you ; the quarter, where it ftill continues confuming the vitals there, and threatning more mifchief to the whole; and I will conclude with fuggefting under your permiffion the only radical cure.

The caufe, Sir, unparralleled fince the firft intercourfe between Nation and Nation, of a calamity fo feverely felt by three kingdoms,

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and the quarter, whence it took its rife, and made its progrefs over all, will require a narrative, founded on that material part of Mr . Payne's Evidence relative to the general ftagnation of credit; a narrative neceffary for your Information, concife I could wifh, accurate I truft, undeniably true I know; and fuch, that if the manner could equal the matter, would lift your attention to aftonifhment. In all commercial nations, whenever moderation and frugality have yielded to extravagance and ambition, wants have been created, which common profits could not fupply; thofe wants have been the parents of projects, and a rafh, afpiring fpirit of enterprife has overborne the fober temper of regular trade. This reflefs and intemperate fpirit has been predominant among one people, diftinguifhed by a feries and variety of recent projects concerted without knowledge, without forecaft, without fyftem, executed by rafhnefs, terminating in ruin, almoft total to themfelves, and detriment almoft general among their fuffering neighbours. It is from this quarter, we have feen flupendous underB 2

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takings in buildings, in the cultivation of remote inlands, in manufactures upon no other certainty, than an enormous and infupportable expence. It is from this quarter, we have feen projects of avarice, of rapacity, productive of mifery and depopulation under the miftaken name of improvements. It is from this quarter, that the great markets of trade have been glutted by wild commercial adventurers under the delufion of a temporary but falle capital ; but above all, the banking adventure is filled moft with the marvellous. That part I hall not detail merely to avoid an imputation readily thrown upon me, an imputation of amufing the committee with poetic fiction; but thus much I muft fay, in one period, that if a certain celebrated Spanifh author could revive to exhibit his hero under the new character of a banker, he might fpare his invention every kind of labour, as recent and indubitable facts in our own inland could furnifh incidents, every one at leaft upon a par with his windmills : yet, Sir , could that moft fagacious perfon travel over that land of projects and converfe with its inhabitants, he would find

## 384 $\left[\begin{array}{ll}5\end{array}\right]$

find amongtt them, erudition and fcience, jurifprudence, theology, hiflory, oratory---in fhort, Sir, every fenfe but that common fort, upon which all worldly welfare both public and private depends, by a juft appllication of the elements of trade, manufactures, money and credit to rational and practical Improvements, a fyftem yet to be learned by that fcientific, lettered and eloquent nation. Sir, I wiil now effay to excite your aftonifiment; thefe numerous undertakings, I think juftly termed ftupendous, were attempted, nearly at once in the fame period, were carried on at an expence of fums incredible, and yet the projectors had no capital of their own. They had, Sir, I prefume, a fecond fight of immenfe acquifitions, and one would think purfued their plan by fome fupernatural aid. Sir, what they did will not be credible to pofterity; the univerfe never furnifhed a people that ever made fuch a gigantic attempt at the attribute of Omnipotence in creation; abfolutely they created millions of money out of nothing; by a certain alchymy, which they poffeffed, they extracted millions of hard money

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out of the pliant purfe of their neighbours, and at the fame time ruined themfelves. This operation, Sir, is called Paper Circulation.

My honourable hearers are above the want or ufe of fuch an operation; to fuppofe them therefore unacquainted with it, I mean a compliment to them and an apology for myfelf in giving fome brief explanation of it.

A knot of projectors at one end of the inland fend up immeafurable quantities of this enchanted paper to their brethren, their countrymen, projectors like themfelves, fettled at the other end. Thefe, Sir, by their magical tip of the pen, called acceptance and indorfement, inftantly converted this paper into money to any amount by what is called difcount ; the firft produce was inftantly abforbed by the projects in hand, a fecond muft be provided equal to the firft, to difcharge the firt fet of bills when due; elfe the feell would be immediately broken : A fecond fet was fent up and converted into money in the fame way, and applied to difcharge the firft. A third, the fecond, a fourth the third, and fo on.

Children in fport can make a circulation
upon water by the caft of a ftone, and by that repetition can keep it up for a while; but the child knows, he cannot make it everlafting: this was not known to the man of the North, whofe infatuation adopted the chimera of the South-fea year, that credit was infinite. For example; Sir, one fociety only in the midft of all this defolation, which remains to be defcribed, had drained a certain capital of fix hundred thoufand pounds in hard money, in exchange for a nominal value in paper; it coft them about nine per cent. to raife that fum in order to be lent out at five : and there were among their managers, who looked upon this, Sir, as profit (nobody will difpute what I fay upon this head) and that the more this paper was extended the better, a bubble, fcarce to be matched in the 1720 , of one country, and in defpite of all experience then, or fince, referved to diftinguifh the other in 1772. In fhort, Sir , fuch was the inexplicable coincidence of circumftances, that what with the intrepid perfeverance of one kingdom, in borrowing, and what with the torpid facility of the other in lending, a chain of circulation was eftablifhed,

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lifhed, which comprehended both the capitals and moft of the interanediate places ; a chain growing in fize weekly and daily, induring for the two whole Years 1770 and 1771 down to June 1772 , when one link gave way---the charm was inftantly diffolved, leaving behind it confternation in the place of confidence, and imaginary affluence changed to real want and diftrefs; a torrent of ruin from the North, forced a paffage into your capital, into the moft fecret depofitories of treafure; a run was felt by your bankers, fucceffive falls of houfes in trade, eminent at leaft for the wildnefs and immenfity of their tranfactions, became the daily, the hourly news; an univerfal diffidence enfued ; credit feemed withering to the root; a general ftagnation prevailed in every branch of trade and manufacture; the commercial genius of your ifland languifhed in every part. For a fingle manufacture in that part, whence the evil took its rife, to have efcaped would have been a wonder bordering upon prodigy, none to have thared the common lot of all from a grievous and popular diftemper, arifing from that quarter the moit reftlefs of all, when

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## [ 9 ]

when its unfatisfied and intemperate ambition gave wing to that black fwarm of projects, which at once overfpread three kingdoms, like one of the ten plagues. Sir, I have pointed out a fact of public notoriety, the quarter whence the evil came ; but as a farther confirmation, among the millions ftagnated, or loft, in confequence of failures in that fatal period, four fifths in value are directly chargeable upon the natives of that quarter; and of the remaining fifth, the greateft part fell among thofe unfortunate men of this kingdom, who had connections with the other.

Sir, there is no exaggeration in this defcription. I fhould have reafon to boaft of my own powers, could I give a perfect picture of the diftrefs at that time ; might I refer to the teftimony of one, who by his fituation that year mult have been better informed, than any other perfon, he beft knew the terror which oppreffed all men, when he produced the palladium of public credit, depofited by the ftate, in the cuftody of that moft illuftrious corporation, the Bank of England; he there diftinguifhed himfelf. I hope no man

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ever will have an occafion to do more. It was he, he and his brethren, though they could not prevent the mifchief already done, ufed their utmoft endeavours, looking ftill to that country, whence the evil took its rife. I was myfelf, a fubaltern upon the occafion, ufing my feeble endeavours to refcue that country from its own fuicide hand. Sir, he confeffedly at that time faved the principal commercial town of that country; that eye of Scotland, by ftrainingat a view too extenfive, had beenextinguifhed without the affifance of that witnefs, who when firt introduced at your Bar appeared fo hurt, as a gentleman and as a merchant, at certain Infinuations thrown out upon the whole trade. Sir, neither Mr. Payne, nor myfelf, the fecond oftenfible perfon upon this occafion, could jook upon ourfelves but as above any fuch imputation; but it is not in our power to fhut the mouth of national prejudice; there may be thoufands, whom we cannot controul, who may eharge thefe and many more afperfions thrown out during this proceeding, with the imputation of containing in them an illiberal

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and ferocious tincture, verging on barbarifm. I have now undeniably afcertained the genuine caufe of the calamity, which is known to be general, and the quarter whence it folely took its rife.

Next, Sir, there is another calamity, which is, I cannot help faying, undauntedly afcribed to the increafed import of foreigh Linen, the emigration from one kingdom at leaft, confifting of hufbandmen and peafants, men altogether unconnected with manufactures. Sir, I hope I have not tired you with narrative. I am very unfortunate if I do; for above halt my difcourfe will be hiftorical. I muft give you a fhort narrative now by way of interrogation. I afk, whether not more than twenty hufbandmen of fome property in one of the weftern iflands, in the northernmoft part of this country, did not make the firft emigration to avoid an increafe of rents, which appeared to them exorbitant; and drew after them many hundreds of inferior perfons, never to return more? Did not fome hundreds in another of the weftern fifands fly from the oppreffion of factors and doers, that is agents C 2

## 391 <br> $12]$

and ftewards, of a much injured and noble proprietor, himfelf excelling in merit and accomplifhments? Did not fome hundreds in Sutherland fly from a new oppreffion under an Hebrew Tribe, called Tackmen, Leffees, as is the cafe in Ireland, of large Tracts of land, who find a profit in grinding the hard labouring man? They, Sir, had the audacity to revive perfonal fervice in imitation of the Corvees in France, where days work are exacted from the vaffal to the lord. Sir, I had all this in the country itfelf. I will afk them, whether a Farmer by the name of James Hogg of Borlum, near Thurfoe in Caithnefs, did not laft November embark with two hundred more and winter in the Orkneys, remaining there for a frefh Hip from Leith to profecute their voyage to North Carolina, never to revifit their old habitations, though feparated from them at no greater diftance than Pentland Firth. After this a phrenfy of emigration became epidemical in Invernefs and Murray fhire; many embarked for America, who had no caufe of complaint againft their fupefiors. As I was told, they went upon a principle

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ciple of pride to North America, expecting to become Lairds themfelves in that fuppofed paradife: I almort repeat the words I heard at Edinburgh, and feveral other places. Sir, the fame phrenfy penetrated to Rofsfire, upon a vaft tract of land poffeffed by a gentleman illuftrious for his gallant and meritorious fervices in the military line, not lefs meritorious now in his retirement, devoted to civilize and cultivate his country: his difcretion equal to his humanity by condefcending to reafon with his infefiors in their own mode, reconciled them to the comfortable fituation of tenants under him: but if his example is not followed, emigration will take place and augment year after year; and, I hope, without offence I may recommend the fame example to Ireland. Sir, I will likewife recommend nfy honourable hearers to an Highland difcourfe upon this fubject tranfmitted to me from Scotland, which more forcibly and more pathetically afcribes this emigration to the fame caufes I do, fuperadding one of his own infinitely beyond my reach, that this Ipirit is infufed by Divine vengeance to chaf-

## $\left[\begin{array}{c}393 \\ {[44}\end{array}\right.$

tife avarice and cruelty. And thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to fhew, what has been the caufe of this evil.

But now, Sir, the authors of all thefe evils, with no other fenfation, than of their local diftrefs, concealing, that their wounds were given by their own fuicide hands, without compunction for the mifery brought on two fifter kingdoms by fo many unwarrantable and pernicious projects, have taken the field a fecond time upon a new adventure, which I will prove hurtful to themelves and the public: but let them not think, that their march has been in difguife by placing an Englifh manufacture in their van. Sit, I honour the individual induftry of that manufacture, as much as in the greateft; but I am fatisfied, no Englifh Gentleman can be difpleafed, when I tell him, that the utmoft annual value of that manufacture, to the higheft amount of their own ftating in the printed report, is not a five hundredth part of the woollen; nor can they conceal under the name of another kingdom, quiet and contented in itfelf from the en couragement already received, no ways ad-

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dicted to projects, knowing, experienced and regular in their trade, I fay that under that name they muft not think to conceal that impetuofity, which has brought them forward again, and has fixed them upon a ground of allegation and calculation diametrically repugnant to the truth of figures. I believe I muft now trouble you with a little calculation.

Mr. Payne, Sir, delivered to the committee moft accurate calculations of foreign imports at feveral periods---a paper ( $\mathrm{N}^{0} 12$ ) in the printed report will fufficiently fhew the fluctuation of trade. I, when afked as a Hamburgh merchant, what the quantity of yards might be at a medium, have always anfwered, that for many years they have amounted to twentyfive millions of yards a year, not meaning, that every year was alike : and one, who judges of trade by the higheit year, and another by the loweft, would be both equally miftaken, and ever remain in the dark. Accidents common or uncominon, occafion thefe variations. This paper ( $\mathrm{N}^{\circ} 1_{2}$ ) a paper of their own, Sir, (I hope, I fhall not be guilty of any thing clandeftine in making ufe

## 395 16

of any thing from their own papers againft them) this paper exhibits the imports for twenty years, from Chriftmas 175 r $^{\text {to }}$ to Chrittmas 1771; to form a comparative judgment of trade, you fhould always take large periods. In the firft ten years the imports amounted to three hundred millions of yards, or $30,000,000$ at an annual medium. The laft period of ten years amounted to two hundred and fifty millions of yards, or twenty-five millions at an annual medium. Now, Sir, it feems to me, that this is a decreafe of five millions of yards; and that twenty-five, is lefs than thirty by five. They call this an increafe; it is not the firt time they and I have differed about the meaning of words. The quantity of Irihh linen in the firft period is a hundred and thirty millions of yards, in the laft period one hundred and eighty millions. This I call an increafe, in the laft period of fifty millions, or five millions a year. The quantity of Scotth linen ftampt for fale in the firt period is ninety-nine milliohs of yards; in the laft one hundred and and twenty-feven millions. An increafe of twenty-eight millions, or two millions eight hundred

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}396 \\ 17\end{array}\right]$

hundred thoufand yards a year. I, Sir, who have been intimately converfant with a certain new race of calculators upon a former occafion, do furpect, that upon the prefent occafion, they have lent fome of their fkill to the Irifh; nor am I in the leaft furprized at my differing with them in the meaning of decreafe and increafe; we never could agree upon the fenfe of the words profit and lofs: for, Sir, no warning, no advice, no argument could perfuade thefe calculators, that lending out at Five per cent. money, which ftood them in Nine, was an Operation directly the reverfe of profit; nor till they were wholly undone did they difcover, and then by the perception of feeling only, that Five was lefs than Nine.

Gentlemen will obferve, that this calculation in their paper goes no farther than Chriftmas, 1771. The two fubfequent years 1772 and 1773 will afford fome peculiar obfervations, which I hope may throw fome commercial lights into the Committee; liglits I hope intelligible without commercial practice. Will gentlemen pleafe to look over the

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}397_{3} \\ 18\end{array}\right.$

paper (No. 12) they will find in the years 1770 and 1771, the increafe of Linen imported was very confiderable; fo they will find the cafe of Linen and all other articles, either home-made or imported, that could fupply the North American markets. The expectation of an immenfe export to that country upon their cancelling their non-importation contract, naturally produced this increafe of ftock in all kinds of goods, foreign or homemade, for that market. Unfortunately, Sir, at this very crifis, the pernicious paper circulation was in full action, and by the creation of falfe capitals encouraged fo many adventurers to engage in this export, that the American markets became over ftocked; and what was in itfelf an advantage became a difafter. Thus, Sir, I do not allow, that even the over-ftocking the American markets was a caufe even in concurrence of the calamities I began with defcribing; it was itfelf an effect of the original, primary caufe, the paper circulation : but the difafter was not known in time to prevent more mifchief in $177^{2}$; for,

## $\left[\begin{array}{c}398 \\ 19\end{array}\right]$

Sir, the Irifh in that fatal year furnifhed a very full quantity, twenty millions and a half of yards, the Scotch above thitteen millions, a trifle lefs than in 1771 ; the foreign merchants twenty-feven millions, about a million lefs than the year before; a quantity upon the whole too large for any ufual demand. In this ftate intelligence was received, that goods fold to lofs in North America. Upon this, $\mathrm{Sir}_{2}$ the grand northern apparatus of the phi-- lofopher's ftone was overfet; and all that ftagnation, all thefe evils enfued: the merchant and manufacturer were found loaded with goods, which they could not fell. This, Sir , is a natural effect of the original caufe. Then, Sir, a monitor more powerful than King, Lords and Commons, or all the powers upon earth, the irrefiftible monitor, necefity, took place of prudence. What was the confequence in 1773 ? The Irifh in 1773 reduced their quantity only about two millions of yards, one tenth part: the Scotch, pro bac vice wifer than the Irifh, reduced theirs from thirteen millions to ten millions feven hundred thou-

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## 399 <br> [ 20 ]

fand yards. The merchant, rather more enlightened, and endued with more forecaft than the manufacturer, reduced his from twentyfeven millions to feventeen and a half, the loweft import that ever was known : and in that very year, the authors of all the mifchief accufed the merchants of having brought over fuch a quantity of Linen, as occafioned all their diftrefs, This is the fate of the cale. Thus, Sir, I have fhewn, what was the real caufe of the evil in the firft inftance, and in this laft what was not, if there is any truth in figures. Here I muft obferve, low as the import of foreign Linen was in the year 1773, when it was accufed of an increafe, it will ftill be lower this year. I do not fpeak merely from the opinion, either of Mr. Milloway or my own, or the Hamburgh merchants put together; 1 have really enquired, and find by the Ship Brokers, that the Hamburgh merchants this fpring have brought one third lefs than they brought at this time laft year; a fortunate event to one kingdom, an innocent partaker of the mifchiefs refulting from

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}400 \\ 21\end{array}\right]$

the projects of the other; fortunate too for that laft, if at length, warned by their own felf-created fufferings, they will learn to controul that inordinate and intemperate ambition, which, defpifing advantages flow but fure, and forcing births premature, hath produced fo many ruinous abortions. They are mott of them fcholars; they will find that fentiment better expreffed in the original, the wifett of Roman hiftorians, under the head of Brutidius Niger, in thefe words deferibing Men, 2ui, fpretis, que tarda cum fecuritate, prematura vel cum exitio properant*. I would likewife recommend the whole paffage to their ferious attention, as a preparation for their only remedy, far different from any they have yet fuggefted for themfelves. This brings me to that part, where I am to confider, what are not the remedies. And here, $\mathrm{Sir}, \mathrm{I}$ take the moft open ground of an advocate, the friendlieft of advocates of our home manufacture of linen, in particular the Scotch; as a partiality is due to a country the deepeft in diftrefs : but, Sir, fevere fincerity is a part of friendfhip,
*Tacit. Ann. 3, C. 6 , 6.

## 401 $22]$

friendfhip, nay force to hold back the hand of error from diftempered lips, eager to fwallow poifon for a medicine. I think, Sir, now, whatever may have been the projects at firft intended, or now meditated, or even wifhed for on this fubject, I fay, after having ftudied it for forty years, and courting fuch an occafion as this, I am determined, if you will condefcend to hear me, that the whole and every part of this important queftion fhall be fifted to the bottom once for all. Sir, the firft idea, but I call it project-I will prove all to be pro-ject-the firtt project is an impofition (we talk from public notoriety, not from matter of fuppofition) of ten per cent. upon all foreign linen imported. I aver, that upon the ten fpecies of narrow German linen, the duty for many' years paft is about 27 per cent. upon the prime coft, computed to the time the goods are put on board the Thips for London; but minute calculators may add forty hillings more for the freight and infurance to London, which will make twenty-feven upon one hundred and two. As for my own imports, I folemnly

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}1102 \\ 23 .]\end{array}\right.$

folemnly declare upon the niceft calculation for years back, I pay more than thirty per cent. I pay thirty per cent. but there is a reafon ; I deal more in the lower fort. I ftated abour twenty-feven as the medium price upon all German linen imported. 'I have proved by that moft candid and weighty witnefs Mr. Pearfon, that under the old duties foreign linens, and fome of the bulkieft, are run into feveral parts of England. When I mention my own imports paying thirty per cent. thefe new calculators tell me I pay but fifteen, according to their mode of computing duties in their country. If they were to tell me they did not pay a fhilling, I would not difpute their veracity. I beg they would not difpute mine. I did allude to an afperfion thrown out, ( $I$, it is true have proved a clandeftine import into England) but as to the afperfions, which have been thrown out, thateven the merchants themfelves are guilty of abufes in the entries, I fhall only remind the calculators for the prefent of an old Spanifh proverb,---He whofe houfe is made of glafs, fhould not be the firft to throw ftones.

## LO3 <br> [ 24 ]

ftones. I have defcribed a certain national propenfity in one region to projects; there is another propenfity, which the very fight, air and fmell of the fea ftimulates immediately to action. Sir, that propenfity is fo frong and fo prevalent, that the greateft public undertaking there was abufed to the encouragement of that propenfity, under the fpecious title of promoting agriculture, trade and manufactures. The firft and nobleft in dignity and fortune, diftinguifhed more for their honour and probity, than for their rank and titles, were deluded and deceived*. And numbers of
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* And grofsly injured, might be added. Every Man of common fenfibility and rectitude, muft have felt the ftrongeft indignation to have feen fo much virtue made the property of clandeftine artifice. A bill of pains and penalties was applied in 1720. With equal juftice the fame rigid meafure is applicable to 1772 , an æra more fatal than the former, to the trade and manufactures of thefe kingdoms. Let it be obferved, however, that the general flagnation was owing to a numerous train of other defeated projectors, who fhall be namelefs, and was more apprehended, than derived from Meffrs. Douglas, Heron and Co . The higheft acknowledgments and veneration are due from the whole community, to the illuftrious and worthy


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men have felt to their coft, that that fociety, the greateft ever formed without a charter, which at one time could iffue eight hundred thoufand pounds in paper, and drain the city of London of fix hundred thoufand pounds in hard money, was originally, who can difpute it, the device of fmugolers; and by their influence in the direction, capitals were furnifhed to noted fmuggling focieties to the amount of twenty-eight thoufand pounds in one inftance the moft notorious of all. I do not mention this by way of retaliation; but I mention it as argument. This inference may be drawn from the practice of both kingdoms, that at any time, from any quatter, where this propenfity prevalls the mof, any propofition for an increafe of duty, already heavy, fhould be received by the Legiflature with a jealous ear. Here I ftep forth again in behalf of the honeft Scotch manufacturer. He, Sir, not feculating beyond his loom, taking E all
worthy part of that unfortunate fociety, who at fo exorbitant an expence to themfelves, did not leave a fingle bill of theirs unpaid.

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}405 \\ 26\end{array}\right]$

all for encouragement which comes from Parliament, particularly this addition of Ten per cent. upon twenty feven, will double his Induftry, will over-ftock himfelf, and find himfelf after all his labour fupplanted by the fmuggler. I do not deal in affertion : I reft upon a fact, proved at your Bar. When the cambricks were put under a prohibition, two manufactures were foon eftablifhed; one in the South, which loft all their capital, I fancy more; the other in the North: they, Sir, were great fufferers; becaufe the fmugglers fupplied all the markets in England.

The next project is to retain the new duty upon export to the Colonies. Two confequences may be clearly forefeen; the poor induftrious Scotchman will exert himfelf again under the double delufion of a fuppofed encouragement, and at firt the fudden vent of his goods; for I know, Sir, that in cafe it were poffible this could pafs, there are adventurers in that country, who would immediately have another fecond fight of great acquifitions from the American markets; would thip large cargoes of linen, taken up upon

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credit; they would get thither, and find the market poffeffed by the clandeftine import of foreign Linen. Sir, I repeat again, it is forty years I have been ferioufly confidering the merits of this affair, and frequently in conjunction with my brethren have oppofed, particularly, the difallowance of drawback upon exportation. The whole body of Plantation merchants always joined in the oppofition upon a fact, from time immemorial, that foreign Linens were run into thofe parts. It is true, Sir , that there have been well-difpofed Colonifts, who ured confiderable quantities of linen through the channel of the Mothercountry, though they could have had them Twenty per cent. at leaft cheaper directly from the foreigner; and now, Sir, when there is fcarce a well-difpofed Colonift left, when they have been exerting the moft contumacious and ferocious difobedience on account of one tax, it is fuggefted to impofe another; as if linen could not be run into America with the fame facility as tea, or as a pipe of wine into GreatBritain. By this means you are really raifing an encouragement to their fmugglers from E Twenty

## $\begin{array}{r}40 \% \\ {[28} \\ \hline 20\end{array}$

Twenty to Thirty per cent; twenty per cent. it cofts already to go through the Mothercountry to America; and on the head of emigration, admitting all are weavers, you would be virtually giving a bounty to the diligence and fkill of thofe new fettlers, to rival you: there in the Linen manufacture of this country. In the mean time, what becomes of your, adventurer ? His goods will remain unfold, I mean the adventurer who fent out Scotch linẹn upon credit: no return will come home; he will become infolvent, and the poor, injured, deluded manufacturer may make frefh application for relief to you, to you forever molefted with applications to atchieve impoffibili,s ties: as if an Act of Parliament could regulate the conduct of a projector, in defpite of his folly, or allot to every acre of land a fpecific produce in defiance of the feafon. But the other ill confequence of a more formidable nature, my honourable hearers may find in the printed report, $\left(\mathrm{N}^{\circ} \cdot 17\right)$ the gradual increafe of the linens exported from the Scotch and Irifh manufacturers to North America, under the head of what bounties have been received; add to this the linens, which

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}408 \\ 29\end{array}\right]$

which are exported without bounty. I will yenture to call the whole together at above four hundred thoufand pounds a year, of which the better half falls to the fhare of Scotland. I am almoft difpofed to quote Tacitus again; would thefe people leave fuch a value at the mercy of American fnugglers; if they do, I believe it will be loft; and then I do not want to be affured, that nothing more is wanting to compleat the mifery and defolation of their country : and thus by the impofition of new duties at home, and the retention of them, upon exportation, Parliament will run the rifk of ftrangling the manufacture, the fmuggler of America holding one end of the cord, and the fmuggler of Great Britain the other.

I am now come to that part of the fubject, which with fubmiffion I believe, you will deem of moft confequence. I addrefs you in your mixt capacity of fenators and ftatefmen. I name the revolution; an æra which all muft hear with reverence; an æra, which not only eftablifhed your civil and religious rights at home, but provided for them an impregnable bulwark

## $\left[\begin{array}{lll}30\end{array}\right]$

bulwark againft foreign attacks by eftablifhing your fyttem of foreign trade. Throw back your reflection upon the glorious annals of your country from your deliverers firft war with France down to the laft. What fortunate means have enabled this inand to endure a drain of more than one hundred millions during a period of about feventy years? The fupreme guardian of all, among the multitude of his bleffings on this ifland, has rendered its foil unfruitful in precious metals; he hath given you materials to exercife the faculties imparted to your people, endurance of labour, induftry and fkill. Parliament, as far as human perfection can extend, have adopted and purfued this great and original plan. By their prudent interpofition, new materials have been borrowed from foreigners, diverfity of new produce, raifed in diftant fettlements for the further exertion of your national activity, invention and toil; which applied by the merchant, have formed that vaft and multifarious machine, that fublime fyitem of foreign trade, whence your arts and induftry have derived fuch an influx of wealth, as hath fupported a fucceffion

## $\left[\begin{array}{lll}31\end{array}\right]$

fucceffion of expenfive wars, unmat-hed in hiftory, and leaves you fill in rank, among the firft of nations. Would the finger of policy touch the fmalleft part of fuch a fyftem but with a trembling delicacy ? Yet now the boitterous hand of project is ftretched forth to fhatter the whole frame.

Sir, I muft now trouble you with a little more calculation. Upon this head, I muft begin by removing fome fmall obftructions thrown in my Way. You have a paper, Sir, I think in the report, which ftates the exports to Germany and the exports to Ireland: I may add that the exports to Scotland, the export from the city of London to every feaport, market town and village in England, would have made the value a great deal higher, and would have furnifhed matter for my new calculators to exercife their faculties uponAre not the Englifh, Scotch and Irifh all fellow fubjects under the fame head; and were they altogether unconnected with the reft of the globe, would there not be a great traffic carried on amongft themfelves, and the community not one failling richer or poorer? I

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}409 \\ {\left[3^{2}\right]}\end{array}\right.$

wifh the other two kingdoms took lefs from Efgrand, and fpent lefs in it, upon the principle, that no great members can decay without prefudice to the whole, as England has found to her coft. Traffic therefore between fubject and fubject cannot be productive of any national wealth. Sir, there can be no propofition more felf-evident, than that, fo far as every part of a great community throws produce and manufactures into the foreigner's markets, fo far as he takes from you more, than you take from him, in that proportion, and by thefe means only can you teceive wealth. It is by thefe means you have increafed to fuch a degree, as to render you fecure at home, and formidable to your enemies. Sir, it is certain that you muft fupply your wants from other places, not merely, Sir, for your manufaetures; there is a material you want for your prefervation and your very being; or you would not have a flip of war, or a merchantman. Firft let us change the laws of nature, and then tell foreign nations, you will raife every article within your-
felves for your own ufe, and they fhall take every article from us for their ufe.

Sir, I have fhewn, that by retaining drawbacks you hazard a lofs of four hundred thoufand pounds a year in linen vended to America. Suppofe, Sir, that by the impofition of new duties at home, you fhould fucceed, that you fhould at once annihilate the ufe and confumption of all German and Dutch linens, and by a miracle, your home manufacture fhould inftantly fupply the confumers wants in cheapnefs, quantity and quality; what wili be your object? You have a paper upon your table which gives you the medium value for ten years of Dutch and German linen imported, about four hundred and feventy thoufand pounds a year. I cannot allow all that as gain ; I muft deduct one hundred and feventy thoufand pounds for the foreign yarn, which is notorioully ufed in the Britifh fabrick, for which I refer gentlemen to the Paper ( $\mathrm{N}^{e}{ }_{14}$ ) which thews the great increafe of foreign yarn imported : therefore all the poffible object of advantage may be fet at three hundred thoufand pounds upon an hypothefis in itfelf F impoffible.

## 411 <br> $34]$

impoffible. Now let us confider on the other hand what you put in hazard. Mr. Payne has given you a ftate of your exports in two periods of five years each, in one from 1762 to 1766 , the annual medium is about $4,000,000$; in the fecond period from 1767 to 1771 , the annual medium is reduced to $3,000,000$. It is ftill an immenfe object. I muft now remove another objection: I may be told the cuftomhoufe ftate of thefe exports is vague ; granted, Sir ; I will allow $500,000 l$. for errors; this leaves a remainder of $2,000,000$ and a half; ftill an immenfe object. But, Sir, I certainly of all men muft grant, that thefe cuf-tom-houre accounts are vague. When I had the honour of a feat within the bar, I was the firft for many years, who called for thofe accounts. I had many conferences with the officers. I know their mode is vague, I know they go upon the fame plan, as fince the firft inftitution of the infpector's office by the advice of Dr. Davenant. What is the inference? To carry their point, your new calculators, never looking upon both fides of a queftion, fay, the infpector has over-valued your ex-

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## [ 35 ]

ports; when I reply, they are under-valued, I do not mean to fet one affertion againft the other. I will fupport mine, at leaft by probable conjecture. I take the reduced ftate of the exports at $3,000,000$. I deduet $1,100,000 \%$. the total import from Germany and Holland, there remains a balance of $1,900,000$ l. If there is no more, we are in a deplorable ftate. Now I beg you will honour me with fome attention. I believe, Sir, every one of my honourable hearers will allow, if we owe any debt to Holland and Germany on any other account, part of our balance in trade will be applied to difcharge that debt. I don't know whether any gentleman remembers, that I did ftate it in 1763 , when within the bar. Sir, you pay to thofe countries, particularly Holland, to a day about $900,000 \%$. for the dividend on their fhare in your funds; that muit be paid by part of the balance they owe to you on trade. Another thing will be allowed to be very obvious too; if we owe a balance of trade to thofe countries, which border upon Holland and Germany, where this balance is due to us, it will naturally centre in Ham-

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## $\left[\begin{array}{l}413 \\ 36 \\ 36\end{array}\right]$

burgh, but in Amfterdam chiefly, whence by negociation of exchange it will be applied to difcharge that balance. I don't pretend to be accurate, Valeat quantum valere poteff. We certainly do pay to Sweden, Norway, Ruffia, and the Eaft country above a million a year for materials, without which you could not fubfift. There are other incidents, many things I have not mentioned. I have taken up toe much of your time already. I have a great deal more to fay. Now, Sir, I will give another conjecture. In 177 I the export of Britifh produce and manufactures together to Germany is fet down at three hundred and eightyfix thoufand pounds, and for the five years of that laft period, at a medium, the whole value of Britif produce and manufactures comes to about half a million a year, I have a paper, I believe, more accurate; it is a paper authentic, and being right in one article out of four, gives credit to the other three. It gives a ftate of the export of Saxon linen to England, and of three only of our manufactures into that country. They give you the value of their linen at one hundred
and fixty-fix thoufand pounds, which we will adinit to be a very juft valuation. Sir, the value of our hardware, furriery, and woollen goods is three hundred and forty thoufand pounds. Gentlemen, remember Mr. Rafch's evidence: if Saxony in three articles only takes off three hundred and forty thoufand pounds, and under this head produce is not to be reckoned, I fubmit, whether one hundred and fixty thoufand pounds a year is not too little for the fupply direct of all Germany befides. The Cuftom-Houfe accounts put them in only at half a million. I think it is impoffible, but that they do undervalue the manufactures of this country : I could fay, our own manufacturers and exporters are of the fame opinion; however, I will take no advantage of thefe conjectures : I will revert to the reduced ftate of the exports at three millions; only obferving that four fifths of thofe to Holland go from thence to Germany. Now, Sir, Shall that be expofed to any degree of refentment from foreign Princes? For what? For procuring an opportunity for your manufacturers to try an experiment, which may not fucceed perhaps

## 405 <br> 381

perhaps in half a century, and certainly hath hitherto made fo little progrefs in the linens confumed by our poor againft the German under the prefent. duty of 27 per cent. To gain what? Why, no more than three hundred thoufand pounds a year. In the mean time all the poor of England, the labourer, mechanic, and manufacturer, muft be taxed Ten per cent. for all they ufe: they cannot bear that tax: they muft be paid more for their labour, and the tax muft be diffufed all over England. Hence you are expofing your own manufactures to gain yearly three hundred thoufand pounds only; whilft in the mean time you tax the country in this cruel manner. I always make a referve: the fmuggler is always very ready to give relief: he may relieve. Now, Sir, having confidered the projects of the upper clafs, I will defcend to thofe of the loweft, which I muft beg leave to call the fediment of the crucible. I do flatter myfelf the great apparatus will be over= fet; there may be fome hopes the rate of Si lefia linens may be raifed, being that fort which certainly exceeds eight-pence an ell;
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> $[39]$
there may be fome expectation that at leaft we may raife the rate upon that, notwithftanding the rate now at a medium of all the narrow German linen is as much as can be, being rather more than prime coft. Upon this head I fhall be very fhort: You have heard Mr. Rafch. I beg leave to recommend every one of my honorable hearers to look over any common map of Germany, and if he can find any one Potentate, who commands the channels of communication in Germany, thro, which three or four millions a year muft go; if he can find out who is mafter of the Viftula; who is mafter of the Oder, by Stetin; who is mafter of the Elbe where Hamburgh lies; and through whofe dominions that river runs; who is mafter of the Wefer by Minden, where Bremen ftands; who is mafter of the Embs by Embden, and of the Rhine by Wefel; you will find that your whole export which goes through Germany, (the greateft part I allow for the confumption there) but which actually reaches Poland, Alface, and Loraine, 8 c . (there is likewife a very great value goes to France through Germany) I

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fay you will expofe all this to the mercy of that Potentate, who commands the whole, and who would be left offended at your laying a general impofition upon all linens, than fating a ftigma upon his in particular. It is fo evident in point of policy, I will not trouble the Committee with any thing more upon that head. However, Sir, there is another very minute-project indeed, and of all others the molt inconfiftent with English generofity and juftice, the putting the Silefia damafks and tabling upon the footing of the Holland bleach, which has been proved to you will amount to a prohibition. It has been proved to you that there linens are made in Saxony, a friendly power. The fate of your trade in his country I have already produced: your goods pay but a tranfit of about Two per cent. add to this the excife paid by his fubjects for thole consumed at home; they amount together but to a trifle more than half of what his linens pay here. What we pay him for there articles does not exceed 20,000 l. a Year. Is it poffible, a Britifh Parliament can treat a friend fo. I mut now make ufe of my main argument.

## 418 <br> [ 41 ]

Argument. I am ferious, when I talk in the manner I am going to do. I am a friend of the Scotch manufacturer. I have in my eye again that deluded man, who would go to work to make damafks and diapers; he will find himfelf fupplanted by the fmugglers again. I fay every lady has as good a right to cover her table with fmuggled damafks, as her hufband has to fet on his fmuggled wine. Will the opulent be reftrained in their luxury? I have drank fmuggled wine at the table of a Firft Commiffioner of the Treafury: I have told him fo; had not his wife a right to cover it with fmuggled damark? Why, Sir, if every mafter of a family were as rigid as Cato the Cenfor, he could only anfwer for himfelf ; he could not reftrain the female part of his family in their dear delight of purchafing pennyworths from fmugglers. Sir, the laft remains of our broken crucible is the difallowance of the drawbacks upon foreign Linen printed here. I believe the evidence of Mr . Walker cannot be well forgot. The export is very confiderable; his alone $50,000 \mathrm{l}$. a year : the value of the labour, induitry, and fkill, ex-
ceeds the value of the naterial. We give -no offence to Germany by this; fhe will thank us for it, being an encouragement for her numerous manufactures in printed linen, to expel you from every market in Europe and its Colonies, I fhall clofe this head with a reference once more to Mr. Payne's fate of exports for the two periods, and fhall add a diffection and corollary of my own, which fills me with very:alarming ideas. Sir, of the five millions (gentlemen, I believe, remember, the firft period produced four millions a year, and the laft three) of the five millions loft in the lart period, four millions fall on your manufactures. Firft I muft premife; in the Cuftomhoufe accounts you fee two heads of exports; one under foreign goods and merchandife, the other under Britifh manufactures and produce. The decreafe on the foreign part is but eight bundred and fifty tboufand pounds, the remainIng four millions, one bundred and fixty thoufand confit of Britifh manufactures and produce*. Sir,

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Sir, the produce cannot amount to more ${ }^{3}$ than the odd money; the produce being lead, fat, coal, tin and other trifling articles; therefore the remaining decreafe of four millions. falls upon your manufacture at the rate of eight hundred thousand pounds a year. Now, Sir, I have got to compare with this decreafe a fate to flew, whether in the fame period the Linen manufacture has decreased in properton. Sir, upon their own paper, and upon their own value I find, while your exports decreafed int that proportion, which fell upon your manufactures, principally the woollen, that the linen manufacture has increafed above three hundred thoufand pounds a year ; what are we to underftand by all there complaints? I defire to know, what check have they met with? Sir, it appears by tho fe papers, that many, are here fubjoined, for four periods of five Years each, instead of the two above?


1772 and 1773, at a medium, 1,031,000.

## $\left[\begin{array}{ll}421 \\ {[45} \\ 4\end{array}\right]$

they have increafed above threce hundred thoufand pounds a year, while your manufacturers decreafed eight hundred thoufand pounds a year. Here, Sir, I defire to hear no more of the vague accounts of the Cuffom-houre, but inffead of $4,000,000$ call the firft, four parts; inftead of $3,000,000$ call the daft, three parts: then I tell thofe, who did not upan one occafion know, that Five was lefs than Nine, and on another that Twenty-five was lefs than Thirty, I do infift uppon it that Three is lefs than Four; in that proportion have your exports decreafed. No doubt, there are errors in the Cuftom-houfe accounts; but as thofe errors are common to all periods, the proportion of increafe and decreafe is true. If four be more than three, which is my way of calculating, there is a decreare of one faurth part; of that, four fifths fall upon your manufactures. I will rell another moft extraordinary thing : of that decreare in your manufactures near three fourths is in the export to Germany, and but little more than one fourth to Holland, though Holland for twenty years together hath taken confiderably

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confiderably more of your exports than Germany; but the exports direct to Germany chiefly go to that part where their linen fabricks are carried on. I muft mention an era that appears very fingular to me, others may call it ominous. The year I look back to is 1767 , when I had the honour of a feat among you, I did with others oppofe a new duty upon German linen, upon the fame principles and arguments I ufed this day; a predominant intereft over-powered us : but it is ftrange, that the decline in your woollen manufacture juft coincided with that year, in which you laid the new duties particularly upon Silefia lawns. This beng the cafe, your linens increafed, as your woollens decreafed; and this all proved from their own papers. I have in the beginning of my difcourfe, Sir, admitted a decline; fo $I$ did. What is the nature of that decline and the extent of it, I will explain to you. There was no other check, but what came from the paper circulation; I know of no other. Your exports plainly have been cheçked. What is the nature of that check upon
upon the linens? They made the full quantity in 1772; in 1773 freland made a tenth part lefs than they did the year before; which, Sir, is a fluctuation, that may be the effect of any common cafualty in any great manufacture ; and to fay becaufe in 1773 they made two millions two hundred thoufand yards lefs than in 1772 , that, that has occafioned an emigration of 30,000 people. -Sir, it is an affront to your undertanding to come and alledge fuch an argument as this. Such an accident might have happened without any man's being able to affign any caufe at all. Whim, fancy, mode will make an alteration of a tenth part one year with another. Add the Scotch and Irih together, it is but a feventh or eighth part diminution in both, between $177^{2}$ and 1773 ; it is all the check they have met with from that paper circulation, which fook the credit of England to its bafis. Why now, Sir, let us add, that in 1773 foreign linen was reduced a third; in 17741 pledge myfelf it will be reduced lower. As thefe people have the markets here before them, and their

## 424 <br> [ 47 ]

their ancient competitor in this crippled ftate, with what propriety, with what decorum is any favour of any fort due to them, who have been proved to be increafing, when your great ftaple was decreafing, and is fill from no other caufe, but from the dreadful northern projects; while the linens are now in a fituation to be envied by every other manufacture, even by that great flaple itfelf. Sir, afking a favour under thefe circumftances for a manufacture, is over-looking your own great ftaple. Sir, fuch a preference would be an infult upon the firft intereft of this country, the landed intereft; it would be an infult upon the fecond, the commercial and manufacturing intereft ; is would be an infult upon the common fenfe of every rank and order in this country. And why? Sir, is it becaufe your own manufacturers have not vexed Parliament with applications, have not applied to you, Sir, as the grand phyfician of the ftate, and treated you, as an empiric to undertake diftempers incurable, but by time and neceflity? Is it becaufe their complaints have been only whifpered,

> 425 48 j
whifpered and murmured within their own neighbourhood? Have you not feen the ftreets of the capital filled with mendicant cries of miferable fwarms from the filk manufactory ? Were not thefe people content to render themfelves the objects of private charity? Did they come to your door? Who is it that has molefted Parliament and exhaufted your time? Did other manufacturers, particularly the poor Weavers, under all the horrors of northern paper circulation, which even diminifhed the traffick and confumption among yourfelves? Did they not fubmit in quiet, did they ank your aid? No, Sir, they never wearied and troubled Parliament ? Is Parliament, are committees to fit, is the whole Houfe to be taken up under all thefe circumftances, which I do fay, I have proved ? Is it for one manufacture, in a ftate to be envied at this time by your woollen manufactures? As if the firlt in that envied ftate are the only objects of parliamentary attention; and muft you overlook all others, becaufe they have been flent, becaure they have been patient, while thore others,

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others, Sir , the authors of all the evils (I fay again) desperate in undertakings, even of credulity and hope, defperate alike under difappointments, whether imaginary or real, are now come not intentionally, but eventually to widen the wound already given to your own great ftaple, to empty your populous towns by unravelling, with obtuse and impolitic violence, a texture woven with fo much attenton by the wifdom of your fathers, and maintaine by your own; that texture, which the guardian power of your inland extends over the whole empire, to diftribute thole copious faculties, which constitute your national fecurity and greatness, I mean your fyftem of foreign trade : And upon what allegations, upon what calculations, what arguments and de_ ductions I need not repeat. And what time has this unfortunate people chosen to raife a flame among all the great interests of this country? At a time, I tell them, when the falvation of their country depends upon the faculties of England, and her liberal and immediate application of them to preferve a reft-

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}427 \\ 50\end{array}\right]$

lefs, ambitious and improvident fifter. Sir, this leads me now to the laft head of my fubject. I have fhewn you not only the caufe of the diftemper, but where it lies: Sir, it lies there ftill ; that firter is as much diftempered as ever, and fie muft be faved; for it is inpofible that Scotland can fall, but London muft totter: and yet, Sir, her diftemper is of fo peculiar a fort, that it is not curable by time and neceffity; but it may by Parlianment. Now, Sir, I will fhew to you what the diforder is. In confequence of fo many unfuccefsful projects (I fhall not be contradicted, Sir,) fhe has contracted a capital of debt to England, a recent debt, all within four years, which the can't pay; it would be injurious and indecent for me to hint at any thing more than one fociety, about which I profeffed never to keep a fecret; it now owes 600,000 l. Pay-day muft come; I hint at nothing elfe. Payments is the fhape of intereft and annuities have crear ted an annual drain upon that country it cannot bear. There is another new annual drain created by their own credulity, which taking their increafed paper currency for an addition

## 428 [ $5^{1}$. ]

of folid wealth, increafed their expence of living in proportion: The imaginary wealth is vanifhed, and the habit of expence remains. I do take upon me to fay, I defy all Scotland to fay, they underftand their affairs, as well as I do ; no, Sir, not all Scotland together. I don't fpeak with vanity, I pay myfelf no compliment, when I fay fo. Then Sir, what muft be done? Nothing, but an immediate influx of money. England I believe is awakened from her ftupefaction, and will no longer be fafcinated at the fight of Scotch acceptances and indorfements. Money they have not. Now I come with my remedy. You have already paffed one bill to ratify the agreements made with the annuitants of Douglas, Heron and Co. Sir, I make no doubt, you pafied that bill upon thofe principles correfponding with your dignity, which are publick principles; if that.propoful had not taken place, you would have feen the fame feene of defolation in 1774 as in 1772, therefore it was from publick principles. The authors of that bill acted upon thofe principles, to protect publick credit from $\mathrm{H}_{2}$ fuch

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fuch another ftunning blow, which it received in 1772 . All is due to the noble perfonages in that affair, whom I not only love and efteem, but admire; they by the fevereft loffes purchafed an opportunity of fhewing to God and man, how much the chafte light of honour and probity exceeded the glare of pomp and title. But their own in this affair was but a fecondary confideration. I have taken up too much of your time already, or I could demonitrate from facts, taken upon my own knowledge, that you would have feen a return of the fame defolation before the expiration of 1774. This is only, a part of a plan to fave Scotland. I believe, we fhall not lend them money on their bills and notes; but are willing to lend them money upon land, an indubitable fecurity incapable of fallacy. I cannot mifs this opportunity of recommending another Bill, which is under the confideration of the learned Gentlemen of both kingdoms. I am fo convinced of the neceffity of it; I eannot omit this opportunity of recommending what I mean by a radical cure. There are objections to Scotch mortgages, which
will deter Englifh lenders. In the firf place money lent upon a Scotch mortgage is not perfonal property, nor devifeable by will: John Bull will not lend upon fuch pranciples; and if you want the principal, it is not recoverable as in England. Sir, there muft be a bill, which is under confideration, to put Scotch mortgages upon the footing of Englifh ones. Now, Sir, it will be an advantage to the South-Briton to lend out his money, fo perfectly fecure upon fo high an Intereft. It will be in the power of the North-Briton to pay that intereft, from the profitable ufe he will make of the money; for by that means, in a few years, he may be enabled to pay his debts, and to be at eafe, like the other parts of the kingdom : and this, Sir, will tend to extract the very root of all their diftemper, which is pride and ambition, upon this axiom, that in all communities which are molt at their eafe, the fipirit of project prevails the leaft. I want to put Scotland into that ftate of eafe : they then would find, how much more comfortable it is to enjoy advantages

## $\left[\begin{array}{l}431 \\ 54\end{array}\right]$

now and fure, from moderate, temperate trade, and look back with horror upon thofe paroxyfms of mind in that dreadful interval between the birth of a project, and its laft fatal diffolution. They have room for improvements; they can make ten, fifteen, twenty per cent. and afford to pay you five : you by thefe means make a fifter kingdom happy, and cure her both in mind and body.

Now, Sir, my peroration fhall confift in a fingle requeft, that you, Sir , and the Committee will be pleafed to accept fuch expreffions, my gratitude may furnifh, of fenfibility for fo much indulgence, fo much of your time and patience; and if, Sir, I have performed what I undertook; if I have afcertained the genuine caufe of the diforder ; if I have fhewn what are not the remedies, what is the nature of the diftemper, and what is the cure: if, Sir, I have ufed no language illiberal, no argument fallacious, no allegation untrue; if, Sir , befides the accuftomed grace and humanity within thefe walls to all, who appear open and undifguifed at the Bar ; if befides the complacency

## 432 <br> [ 55 ]

complacency of thofe among my honourable hearers, who may not know me, or the partiality of thofe who do, I may, Sir, be difmiffed from this place, under the humble hope of having obtained the fmalleft fhare of your folid approbation, in confequence of having thrown the flighteft fpark of light upon a fubject fo copious and national, this laborious exertion of mine, full late in life, and I truft the laft, will be deemed by me as aufpicious and honourable for the remainder of my days.


## APPENDIX.

## 433 <br> [ 56 ]

## A P P E N D I X.

## N UMBER XII.

Total Quantities of Foreign Linæns imported into England from Chritmas 1756 to Chrifomas 1771.

rards.

$\begin{array}{lll}1752 & 27,856,122 \frac{3}{4} \\ 1553 & 35,372,907 \\ 1754 & 30,871,973 \frac{1}{4} \\ 1755 & 31,947,427 \\ 1756 & 31,759,34 \frac{3}{2} \\ 1757 & 28,429,072 \\ 1758 & 29,770,104 \frac{1}{2} \\ 1759 & 25,057,533 \frac{1}{2} \\ 1760 & 27,988,972 \frac{2}{4} \\ 1761 & 30,488,424 \\ & \frac{299,481,791 \frac{1}{4}}{} \text { Tot. which is } 290948,179 \text { per } A n .\end{array}$
$1762 \quad 18,827,853^{\frac{1}{4}}$
1763 26,634,851
1764 28,092,215 $\frac{3}{4}$
$1765 \quad 25,497,795^{\frac{3}{4}}$
1766 25,624,107 $\frac{1}{2}$
1767 21,054,411
1768 23,112,349
1769 25,431,162 $\frac{\text { T }}{4}$
1770 27,101,343 $\frac{1}{4}$
$177128,243,121 \frac{3}{4}$
rards.
$249,619,210 \frac{1}{2}$ Tot. which is $24,961,921$ per Ano

1772
27,338,88!
1773

17,725,443

## $\left[\begin{array}{c}434 \\ 57\end{array}\right]$

Total Quantities of Foreign Linens exported from England from Chriftmas 1751 to Chriftmas 1773.

| rards. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1752 | 7,187,110 ${ }^{\frac{5}{4}}$ |  |
| 1753 | 7,448,672 ${ }^{\frac{1}{4}}$ | 0 ! |
| 1754 | 6,981,5283 | , 0 |
| 1755 | 7,542,694 ${ }^{\frac{3}{4}}$ |  |
| 1756 | 8,461,726 |  |
| 1757 | 8,461,031 $\frac{1}{2}$ |  |
| 1758 | 7,989,160 |  |
| 1759 | 10,482,730 ${ }^{\frac{3}{4}}$ |  |
| 1760 | 10,079,85 1 年 |  |
| 1761 | 6,740,960 $\frac{1}{2}$ |  |
|  | $81,375,466 \frac{1}{4}$ Total ; which is $8,137,546$ per An. |  |
| 1762 | 5,990,706 ${ }^{\frac{3}{2}}$ |  |
| 1763 | 8,046,855 ${ }^{\frac{3}{4}}$ |  |
| 1764 | 7,889,265 ${ }^{\text {尔 }}$ | 10, dt |
| 1765 | 6,394,147 | 1.21 |
| 1766 | 7,171,891 | 6.-1 |
| 1767 | 7,174,784 | ए0¢ |
| 1768 | 8,046,980 $\frac{1}{4}$ | t.8+1.08 |
| 1769 | 7,102,527 ${ }^{\frac{5}{4}}$ | 0,0es, 81 |
| 1770 | 8,461,546 ${ }^{\frac{3}{4}}$ | T.81 |
| 1771 | 10,470,129 ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ |  |
|  | $76,748,833 \frac{3}{4}$ Total ; which is $7,674,883$ per ind |  |
| 1772 |  | 8,721,791 |
| ${ }^{3} 773$ |  | 7,058,921 |

## 435 <br> [ $5^{8}$ ]

Total Quantities of Irifh LINENS exported from Ireland from March 25, 1751, to March 25, 1773, as delivered by Mr . Henry Betty.

> rards.

1752 10,656,003
1753 10,493,858
1754 12,092,487
1755 13,379,733 $\frac{1}{2}$
1756 13,272,884 $\frac{1}{2}$
1757 15,508,709
$175814,982,557$
1759 14,093,431
$1760 \quad 13,375,456 \frac{1}{4}$
1761 12,048,881 $\frac{1}{2}$
rards.
129,904,001 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tot. which is 12,990,400 per Ano

$$
1762 \quad 15,559,676
$$

1763 16,013,105 $\frac{1}{4}$
1764 15,101,081 $\frac{3}{4}$
1765 14,355,205
1766 17,892,102
1767 20,148,170 $\frac{1}{4}$
1768 18,490,019 $\frac{1}{2}$
$1769 \quad 17,790,705$
1770 20,560,754
1771 25,376,808
181,287,627 Tot. which is $18,128,762 \frac{1}{2}$ per $A n$.

1772
1773

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 20,599,178 \frac{1}{2} \\
& 18,450,700 \frac{1}{2}
\end{aligned}
$$

> 436
> $[59]$

Total Quantities of Scotch Linens, tamped for Sale in Scotland from the ut of Nov. 1751 to the if t of Nov. 1773, as delivered by Mr. George Goldie.
Yards.
1752
1753
1754
1755
1756
1757
1758
1759
1760
1761
11,995,494
Yards. $98,729,306 \frac{1}{8}$ Tot. which is $9,872,930 \frac{4}{8}$ per An.
1762
11,303,237
1763
1764
1765
$12,39,65{ }^{\frac{3}{3}}$
$12,823,048 \frac{3}{8}$
$12,746,659 \frac{4}{8}$
13,224,557
$1767 \quad 12,783,043$
1768
1769
11,795,437
$1770 \quad 13,049,535$
1771 13,466,274 $\frac{4}{8}$
$126,997,572 \frac{7}{8}$ Tot. which is $12,699,757 \frac{2}{8}$ per Ant

## 1772

1773

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 13,089,006 \frac{1}{2} \\
& 10,748,110 \frac{1}{2}
\end{aligned}
$$

Total Quantities of Irifh Linensi imported into England from Chritmas 1756 to Chriltmas 177.3.
rards.
1757 11,925,290
1758 14,383,248
1759 12,793,412
$1760 \quad 13,311,674$
$1761 \quad 13,354,448$
rards.
65,768,072 Tot; which is $13,153,614$ per Ano.
1762 13,476,366
1763 13,110,858
1764 13,187,109
1765 14,757,353
1766. 17,941,229

72,472,915 Tot, which is $14,494,5^{8} 3$ per An.
1767 16,500,755
1768 15,249,248
$1769 \quad 16,496,27 \ddagger$
\$770 18,195,087
1771 20,622,217
$87,063,57^{8}$ Tot. which is $17,612,715$ per An.
7772
$\$ 773$

$$
19,171,771
$$

$$
17,896,994
$$

## 438 [ 61 ]

Total Quantities of Britifh and Trio LINENS exported from England and Scotland from Jan. 1757 to Jan. 1774 with the Bounties paid each Year thereon.


The above Account of Britifh and Irifh Linens exported includes only foch as are entitled to the Bounty, a very conficerable Quantity is exported above 18 d . a Yard, of which noaccount is furnished from the Cuftom-Houfe.

## Sundry States and Observations thereupon.

Exports from England to Holland from 1762 to 1766 inclufive, Foreign, viz. all the Eat, Weft-India and Norch-American Commodities to
Holland,
Ditto to Germany,
ny,
Total from 1762 to 1766 ,
To Holland, fo. $4,854,331 \quad 9 \quad 3$
Ditto to Germany, 4,393,547 310
Total from 1767 to $1771, \quad 9,247,87813 \quad 1$
Decrease in the Foreign,
f. $849,291 \quad 18 \quad 1$

All in the Export to Germany, with $£ .33,91951$ more, the Export to Holland having increased to that Amount.
British Manufacture and Produce, the latter Lead, Tin, Coals, Salt, \&c. of trifling Value to the whole, exported from 1762 to 1766 inclusive,

> To Holland,

Germany,

$$
\begin{array}{r}
\begin{array}{r}
6.4,868,221 \\
5,375,659 \\
\text { f. } \\
\hline 10,243,881
\end{array} \\
\hline
\end{array}
$$

From 1767 to 1771

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { From } 1717 \text { to } 1771 \\
\text { To Holland, } & \text { \&. } 3,540,631 & 13 & 8 \\
\text { Germany, } & 2,540,405 & 18 & 9 \\
\hline
\end{array}
$$

Total from 1767 to $1771, \quad 6,081,03712 \quad 5$
Decrease in the Britifh, Ditto Foreign as on Page one,

$$
\begin{array}{r}
6,4,162,84312 \\
849,291
\end{array}
$$

Total of both,
$f_{0} \cdot 5,012,135108$
At a Medium of there lat five Years
f. 1,002,427 22 per Ann.
$N . B$.

## [ 63 ]

A.B. Dec: in the Brit. to Germany, £. $2,835,254$ O 10 Ditto, Foreign to ditto, 883,211 Total Decreafe to Holland, 1,293,670 $\quad 6 \quad 8$
\&. $5,012,13510$
Nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ to Germany direct,
But $\frac{{ }^{\frac{7}{4}}}{}$ to Holland direct.
Although upon a Medium for 20 Years the Exports to Holland have exceeded the Exports to Germany.
N. B. The Total of Exports to Germany and Holland from 1762 to 1766 is about,
f. $20,340,000$

Or, £. $4,068,000$ at a Medium per Ann.
Ditto from 1767 to 1771 about,
15,330,000
Or, $£ 3,066,000$, per Ann. which makes above £. $1,000,000$ per Ann. Lofs, yet in this State of decline ftill exhibits an Export of the laft mentioned Sum, viz. $£ \cdot 3,066,000$
The Imports from thefe Countries for ten Years back are given in at about 1,090,000 per Ann.
Balance in favour of Great Britain, $\quad £, 1,976,000$ State of the Linen exported from Ireland, and of Linen ftampt for Sale in Scotland in the above Periods, viz.
From 1762 to $1766,141,418,328 \mathrm{rds}$. Val. $£ \cdot 8,347,043$ At a Medium of thefe Five Years, 28,283,665 Tards.
From ${ }_{17} 67$ to ${ }_{771}, 166,866,870$ Tds. Val. $10,855,528$ At a Medium of thefe five Years, 33,373,374 Yards.
Annual Increafe of Linens at a Medium
in the laft Period about 5,000,000 Yd s. Val. £. 325,276
Annual Decreafe in the Exports to Holland and Germany to the Value of £.1,000,000 N. B. Of the faid decreafe in the Exports $£ .800,000$ falls on Manufacture.
N. B. Since thefe Calculations were produced, an Account hath been laid before Parliament, diftinguifhing the different heads of export ; whereby it appears, that Britifh Produce, particularly Coal, is eftimated higher thens.

## 441 <br> [ 64 ]

than is conjectured here; to agree therefore with that $\mathrm{Pa}-$ per, the total decreafe may be diftributed as follows,
In Foreign Goods and Merchandize about 6. 850,000 Britith Produce, - Do. Manufacture,

3,500,000

## Total,

A SPEECH

## 442

## 

## A S P E E C H

Introductory to the

## P R O P O S A L S

Laid before the Annuitants of
Meff. Douglas, Heron and Co.
ATTTHE

King's-Arms Tavern, Cornhill, on the Ninth of February, 1774.

## 443


$\qquad$



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 (1)
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a c
 simati

## 444 <br> [ 67 ]

## Ladies and Gentlemen,

YOU are called together by virtue of an advertifement, inviting the Annuitants of Meff. Douglas, Heron and Co. to meet at this place, and receive Propofals for the Redemption of their Annuities.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
You have conferred upon me the honour of prefiding among you in this chair, where I appear before you in a double capacity: Firft, as an Annuitant myfelf; fecondly, as one defirous to contribute my part, however inconfiderable to prevent any frefh wound to Public Crredit, fo effentially hurt from June, 1772, and requiring a whole twelvemonth after to revive.

Every one muft remember that fatal month of June, when the firf link of that chain of unnatural and forced circulation gave way, the number of bankruptcies which enfued, and the almoft total ftagnation of trade and ma-

## $445^{2}$ <br> 68 ]

nufacture in every branch. In the midst of this calamity the unadvifed and rah conduct of the Air bank had out in London bills to be provided for, amounting to fix hundred thoufand pounds.

Had their managers known the extent of their own circulation, and the fpecific periods of its coming due, common forecaft would have made the neceflary provifion in time, and enabled them to have fold their annuities with more facility at ten and eleven years purchafe, than at fever and eight, and consequently have produced a faving of more than one hundred eighty thoufand pounds to that unfortunate company. But the want of all forecaff brought upon them immediate preffures, infurmountable by common means, and compelted them to the recourfe of tendring uncommon advantages to lenders, that thole who had money might be tempted to part with it at a notice fometimes not exceeding sight-and-forty hours.

By this defperate meafure they railed at different periods, in about three months, four hundred and fixty thoufand pounds, burdened

## 446

## [ 69 ]

with an annual charge of fixty thoufand pounds; an increafe of drain beyond the faculties of Scotland to bear. To this four hundred and fixty thoufand pounds they added from their own cafh about fixty thoufand pounds more, all they could poffibly mufter; and accordingly difcharged five hundred and twenty thoufand pounds value of their bills in London, but leaving fill a circulation of fourfcore thoufand pounds to be ftruggled with. Their daily declining credit could endure this laft conflict no longer than April 1773, when they were faved from bankruptcy, and Public Credit from another fatal blow by the interpofition of Mr. Banks of Lincoln's-Inn, and of myfelf under him, who fupplied that fourfore thoufand pounds upon the fecurity of landed eftates in Scotland affigned to Sir William Henry Afhurft, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the SolicitorGeneral of England, the Solicitor-General of Scotland, Mr. Banks, Mr. M‘Konochie and myfelf, as truftees in behalf of the lenders, but with this exprefs condition previouny agreed, that Meffrs. Douglas, Heron and

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1447 \\
& t 001
\end{aligned}
$$

partners fhould be diffolved as a banking company. By this laft ftipulation the public indeed was ferved, being no longer expofed to a paper circulation of fo pernicious a nature. However, the book and bond creditors, the annuitants, and every partner of this unhappy company, were left in a precarious fituation from a weight of annual payment, to which their monied faculties were unequal.

Many of the annuitants have been alarmed at a fuggeftion that their annuities would be made void in law, as ufurious bargains. True it is, that infinuations of that fort have been thrown out; but it is as true that they were heard with the higheft indignation by all the worthy members of this fociety, and by thofe noble perfonages in particular, who have now ftept forth and taken upon themfelves the manly part of winding up this unfortunate bufinefs, the unadvifed, the blameable project of others : and were they convinced that thefe contracts were actuially voidable in Jaw, yet confcious of a tranfaction fo public, open and fair, the noble perfonages reject the very thought of fo mean a fubterfuge, and pledge themfelves
themfelves and their eftates to the ftrict pesformance of their engagements. Heavy indeed will be the lofs fuftained by thefe noble Dukes; but probity can deduce good out of evil. Without this fevere trial they never could have found fo ftriking an occafion of evincing to mankind, how much the dignity and luftre derived from honour and rectitude are fuperior to rank, title and fortune. The one begins life with the early acquifition of glory, refulting from honefty, that fupreme gift of God. The other will clofe his term with a laft and greateft exertion of his long approved integrity, which hath ever obtained univerfal love and efteem, and will accompany his venerable head to the grave.

It was jointly with them only and directly on the fingle principle of fupporting Public Credit, and relieving fo many diftreffed and alarmed individuals, that I have lent my beft affiftance. Solicited and authorized by them, I now appear in their behalf before this refpectable Affembly with propofals, which, whether accepted or rejected by you, will demonftrate the upright intentions of thefe deferving,

## 449 72

ferving and virtuous Noblemen; whom, as an independent man, I do not court ; but to whofe merit, as an honeft man, I muft do common juftice : and I have done no more.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
The fubject before you is of a public nature; I have no fecrets about it : put to me what queftions you pleale; I will anfwer to the beft of my knowledge and information.
N. B. The propofals, which have been fince fo well undertood by the public, were unanimoufly agreed to by a very numerous meeting of annuitants; and the two original propofals, which were figned at the meeting, are left, one at Mr. Glover's in Martin's-lane, Cannon-ftreet, the other at Mr. Mayne's in Jermyn-ftreet, for fuch annuitants as pleafe to fubicribe.

$$
F I N I S \text {. }
$$


[^0]:    * To fatisfy the curious, the annual mediums of Britifh manufacture and prochuce, exported to HoHand and Ger2635

