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A
V I E W
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE,
MORE ESPECIALLY
S C O T L A N D;
WITH SOME PROPOSALS
FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT OF THAT COUNTRY,
THE
EXTENSION OF ITS FISHERIES,
AND THE
RELIEF OF THE PEOPLE.

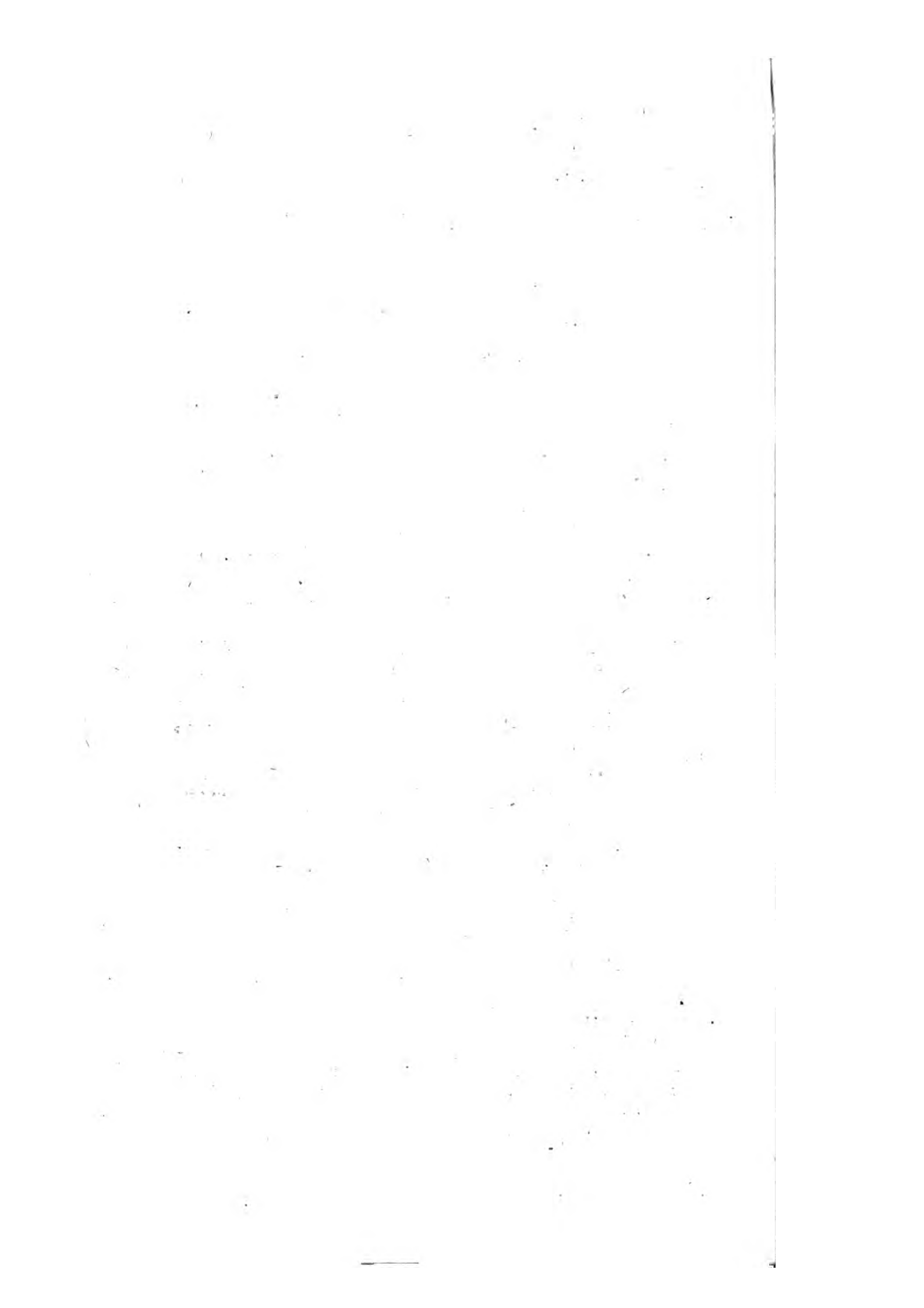
By JOHN KNOX.

V O L. I.



The Third Edition, greatly enlarged.

L O N D O N;
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MDCCLXXXV.



P R E F A C E.

HAVING in 1764, been led through curiosity, to view the rude magnificence of the Highlands of Scotland, my attention was soon attracted by the less pleasing scenes of human misery in all its shapes; unalleviated by the cheering rays of hope, or any of the comforts which the lower ranks of mankind inhabiting richer soils, enjoy in a certain degree. Succeeding journies over the various districts of those mountainous wilds, served only to disclose similar distresses; and curiosity, the primary impulse, gave way to serious investigation. By hearing the complaints of those unhappy people; by comparing their various relations with each other, and with my own observations, I was enabled to ascertain those facts which form the ground-work of the following narrative.

A tract of land, that composes a fifth part of Great Britain, appeared, with some few exceptions, to be in a state of nature; a great body of people, and these the most virtuous of our island, dragging out a wretched existence, perishing through want, or forced through wild despair to abandon their country, their kindred, and friends, and to embark, moneyless and unknown, the indented slaves to unremitting toil and drudgery, in boundless deserts, at the distance of 3000 miles.

The result of these observations, was an enquiry whether the improvement of the country, and the relief of the people, were practicable; to what extent

these objects could be carried; whether merely to soften local distress; or in doing this humane duty, whether a permanent and valuable colony might not, at the same time, be established in those outskirts of Britain, to the great benefit, and security, of the centre. But such was the disposition of the times, that it seemed a useless labour and expence to introduce the subject on either side of the Tweed*. Some few lines, however, found their way to public observation, between the years 1770 and 1776, wherein the fidelity and bravery of the Highlanders were applauded, and the utility of permitting them to resume their favourite dress was warmly recommended.

Thus stood matters, when a train of events, the most unexpected and humiliating, contributed, in their operation and consequences, to exhibit, more than ever, the value of the Highlanders, and the importance of the country which gave them birth.

Emboldened by these considerations, and seeing no regular plan of policy proposed, relative to that country, I arranged the various memorandums and papers which I had been collecting on these subjects, during a series of years; stated the distresses of the people, and the causes of these distresses; attempted the outlines of a plan whereby some inconveniencies would be removed, others mitigated, the country improved, the fisheries, and nursery for seamen greatly extended; and resolved, in humble deference, to lay the same before the public.

I have, throughout the whole, avoided all chimerical theories, and tiresome conjectures, founded merely upon report, or collected from the very erroneous representations of old writers. It was my wish to

* Neither was it expedient to bring these matters forward during the subsequent war, but the love of solitude and obscurity proved a stronger impediment than both of these considerations, till in 1782, being affected with a slight complaint, I resolved upon publishing, or at least upon circulating printed copies, without further delay.

propose a plan, adapted, in all its parts, to the natural state of the country, the genius, qualifications, and relative situation of the inhabitants; practicable, expedient, and within the abilities of government.

These observations were printed in the Spring 1783; and some sheets privately circulated in both kingdoms, in the hope that gentlemen of rank or influence would lay the same before administration, as a stimulus to objects of greater importance to the strength and opulence of this island than is generally imagined. During a journey through part of Scotland in the summer ensuing, I was fully convinced that the calamitous situation of the Highlands had not been misrepresented in the narrative, and it was from the affecting relations of the people, that I drew up and annexed some particulars respecting the famine, which had not then fully subsided.

Many of the arguments which had occurred in treating of the Highlands, seemed applicable to Scotland in general. This opened a new, and more extensive field of enquiry. If the revolt of some colonies, the conquest of others, and the then apparent danger of losing the remainder, gave those neglected wilds additional consequence, the improvement of the kingdom at large appeared equally expedient. The same idea admitted of being extended even to England itself, a country more indebted to nature, and the industry of individuals, than the attention or assistance of its government, as will evidently appear to any person who shall take the trouble of considering the matter in a general view.

Thus the whole island seems to have been, in a greater or lesser degree, neglected, and its real interests sacrificed to expensive schemes of conquest and empire, which, without effecting any valuable purpose, brought it to the verge of ruin and bankruptcy.

There are, however, many persons, who, notwithstanding that the events, and consequences, of the late war, have disarranged the old delusive system of politics, and shewn its inefficacy, still adhere to opi-

nions, which cannot be defended on any principle of justice, humanity, or national expediency.

To such persons particularly I have, with greater zeal than abilities, addressed the following sketches relative to the antient and present state of Great Britain; being fully convinced, that the objects of the greatest value to society, may be obtained at less expence of treasure, and without involving the innocent multitude in the complicated, undescribable distresses of war.

Some of the tables, calculations, and estimates, are inserted from authentic documents; others, upon miscellaneous authorities; and some upon probable conjecture. Any errors that may have escaped notice, amidst so many figures, will be corrected; the same attention will be given to any mistakes in opinion, as soon as they shall be discovered, or pointed out.

The writer must disclaim any pretensions to literary embellishments, grounding his hope of approbation, merely on the application, fatigues, and expence, which have been unavoidable through every stage and department of the business; and if any of the grievances, stated in these pages shall be redressed or mitigated, he also will derive additional satisfaction, in the feelings of his own breast.

RICHMOND, SURRY,

April, 1784.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

T O T H E

T H I R D E D I T I O N .

THE very favourable reception of the former imperfect sketches, * suggested the idea of a more complete work, by extending some of the subjects, and introducing others, so as to form a systematic compendium or view of these kingdoms, brought down to the present time. The department which appeared to require the most circumstantial detail, relates to North Britain, a country whose history and importance is little known to Englishmen, and hath therefore been the constant object of ill-humour, jealousy and mistrust, instead of liberality, confidence and regard for the prosperity of the north, as well as the south part of the island. The generality of Englishmen imagine, that by the union of the two kingdoms, Scotland rose into consequence, at the expence, and through the generosity of England, and that unless this event had taken place, Scotland must have remained a poor contemptible province, incapable of national or individual exertion in agriculture, science, arts, and commerce. That the inhabitants have been a pusillanimous, abject race of slaves, from the earliest ages of their history, till they were incorporated with England, and, generally, to the present period. That their slavish disposition renders them unqualified for filling the higher departments of the state, and that England must therefore be in danger, proportionably to the number and importance of those stations occupied by Scotsmen.

To mistaken ideas of great advantages conferred on Scotland in virtue of the union, is most probably

* One writer seemed however to be displeas'd with some remarks on the national debt; another, or the same writer, hath adopted the signature *Knox* to some letters upon select vestries. It is to be wish'd that this gentlemen will also favour the public with his lucubrations on the practice of *monopoly*.

owing that extreme œconomy in the expenditure of public money upon that kingdom, and that rigid adherence to those articles of the treaty which relate to excise, duties, and customs, without attending to the ability of the people, or to particular cases, where a specific sum is levied equally on any given article of the like denomination in England, however unequal, or inferior in quality, to those of the latter kingdom.

Many other cases might be enumerated, which have their origin in misconception respecting these aborigines of the island. With a view, therefore, to elucidate this matter, I have drawn up a brief epitome of the Scottish annals to the treaty of union in 1707, and from thence have stated the account current between both nations, to the present time; by which the advantage seems greatly in favour of England, who absorbs the balance of the Scottish commerce with foreign nations, the hard-earned gains of its manufacturers, traders, and fishers, besides half a million sterling of the landed property in specie or bills. These annual drains compose the balance derived by the greater, from the lesser kingdom, amounting nearly to one million annually; besides the supplies of cattle, sheep, salmon, linen, and other valuable articles, for which Scotland takes the produce or manufactures of England; besides, also, the powerful assistance England receives from Scotland in seamen and soldiers, whereby she hath been enabled to combat, and generally to vanquish, the greatest maritime force of Europe.

Thus, the importance of the latter kingdom will appear evident to every person who is capable of judging with candour; and, consequently, the interest of Scotland will be the interest of England, so long as both nations shall form one united kingdom.

Upon this ground of *National Policy*, I had proposed a more liberal system with regard to improvements, fisheries, and unproductive taxes, in Scotland; but being convinced, from some recent circumstances, and the

the impotent measures recommended and proposed to be brought forward, as the most effectual means of extending and establishing these fisheries, as well as the relief of the Highlands, that little is to be expected on the principle of *Utility to England*, I shall therefore take up the subject on another ground, which, for obvious reasons, I had hitherto evaded, viz. *National Justice*, towards the lesser country, whose case hath at no time been fairly stated, and whose murmurings, though unknown to the English nation, are become truly serious.

It is necessary on this head, to take a retrospective view of the British history, from the æra which gave rise to the famous struggle for conquest on one side, and for freedom on the other, towards the close of the 13th century.

Alexander III. king of Scotland, who, as Mr. Hume observes, probably inherited, after a period of 800 years, and through a succession of males, the sceptre of all the Scottish princes who had governed the nation since the departure of the Romans, lost his life in 1285, while hunting, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendants except Margaret his granddaughter, who, though an infant and a female, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognized successor, by the states of Scotland. Edward I. of England, one of the most ambitious, politic, and accomplished monarchs of the age, and whose whole reign was spent in schemes of conquest, seeing Scotland without a head, immediately laid hold of the favourable opportunity, of annexing that kingdom to his already extensive dominions, by marriage, or more rough means, as circumstances might require. He began this great design with a proposal of marriage between his son Edward, and the young heiress of the Scottish throne, which, notwithstanding any suspicions from this alliance on the part of Scotland, received the sanction of the regency, but on such terms, and with such precaution, respecting

x PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

respecting the independency of the kingdom, as reflects honour on their memory, and to which Edward readily assented in every particular that might serve to quiet their jealousy, if any did exist; when, unfortunately, the death of the young princess put an end to the amicable alliance, and laid the foundation of a war, which, in duration and bloodshed, is scarcely exceeded in the annals of mankind.

Edward had been trained up in the rudiments of war, during the civil commotions between his father, Henry III. and his rebellious barons. The latter being subdued, and peace restored to the kingdom, Edward, emulous of military fame, embarked for the Holy Land, agreeable to the custom of those days, where he distinguished himself against the Saracens, above all the princes of Christendom, and returned, soon after the death of his father, a complete warrior.

His next enterprize was against the Welch, whom, after a faint struggle, he completely reduced, put their prince to death, and annexed their country to the English crown.

Thus, in the zenith of glory, sovereign of England, Wales, the greatest part of Ireland, and some extensive provinces in France, he took off the mask, and made vigorous preparations for the grand object of his reign, the conquest of Scotland, which, had he effected, would have united the whole island under one head; but that desirable event was reserved for a period at the distance of 3 centuries.

The English at this time, had become famous in the art of war, particularly archery, in which they exceeded all Europe, and being also powerfully reinforced with Welch, Irish and French auxiliaries, the whole under the command of the mighty Edward, they seemed more than sufficient for the conquest of a people, now devoted to destruction, or subjection to a foreign yoke. There is the olive branch, and there is the sword, was the alternative proposed

proposed by Edward. Many of the Scottish barons, foreseeing the calamities which would inevitably befall their country, by attempting to oppose a prince of Edward's disposition, at the head of the greatest force in Europe, yielded reluctantly, that independence which their ancestors had so long and so ably defended, while others of greater temerity, resolved not to outlive the freedom of their country.

Thus a small kingdom became divided against itself, nearly into two equal parts; those in the English interest, who afterwards did incredible mischief to the kingdom, and those who had resolved to sacrifice their lives against that interest.

This acquisition to the English force rendering the contest still more unequal, it seemed madness in the extreme to hold out a single day, and still more so, as the Scottish patriots, as they termed themselves, embarked in the desperate cause, without a head or general of any experience. The nation had also enjoyed a long series of peace, during the mild reigns of Alexander and his immediate predecessors; they were not even provided in arms till they received supplies from the trading cities of Italy, at the moment when Edward was at their gates. They soon, however, became expert warriors, under Sir William Wallace, a person of extraordinary strength of body and mind, whom neither promises nor threats could shake from the duty he owed his country, and who, had he been a Greek or Roman, would have been celebrated as a hero of the first renown. The independent Scots, thus brought up in the school of adversity, and inured to incredible hardships, seemed to gain strength from every defeat, and frequently retaliated the severities of the English and the Anglo-Scots; but Edward was not of a disposition easily to relinquish his purpose, and being enraged through shame and disappointment, he seemed inflexibly determined on a permanent conquest,

conquest, or the extirpation from sea to sea, as he expressed himself, of all those who opposed his arms. Fresh armies were poured into that unhappy kingdom on every side, supplied by sea with provisions and whatever was necessary for carrying the war to the furthest extremities of the island, while the Scots now reduced by endless encounters, and still more through fatigue and famine, lost their brave commander, who was taken prisoner, carried in chains to London, tried, hanged and quartered, without flinching from his principles, to the last moment.

The loss of this great man struck a damp on the minds of the independent Scots, who being at the same time sacrificed by the French, they were taking leave of their liberties with a parting sigh, when Robert Bruce, of the royal blood of Scotland, stepped forth in the worst of times, collected the dispersed remains of these brave men, partook of all their hardships and hair-breadth escapes, baffled the efforts of Edward I. II. and III. carried the war into England, and firmly established the independency of Scotland, whose throne hath continued in his family to the present time.

But though the Scots thus bravely regained their freedom, Edward III. the heroic conqueror of France, renewed the fatal contest, for the superiority of Scotland, after the death of Robert Bruce, and proved a severe scourge on that kingdom during the greatest part of his long reign. At length, all those mighty expeditions, so ruinous to Scotland, and so expensive and ineffectual to England, ended in a definitive treaty, whereby the independency of Scotland, both in church and state, was acknowledged and ratified by Edward, at Windsor, in 1365; and thus after a struggle, with some intermissions, of 70 years, the independent Scots withstood the efforts of 3 successive monarchs, who personally invaded the devoted kingdom 16 different times, besides many armies and detachments under the command of the nobles;

nobles; besides also, the Anglo-Scots, who residing chiefly in that kingdom, and knowing all the manœuvres of their opponents, proved a most desolating enemy to their country, scarcely giving or taking quarter.

But treaties were then, as they are at present, only made to be broke; and it appears from the most authentic records of both kingdoms, and the general tenor of the subsequent transactions, that the English monarchs never lost sight of the conquest of Scotland by marriage or arms, insomuch that the latter found it necessary to cultivate the friendship of France, to whom the Scots proved a faithful and important ally while the two British kingdoms were governed by separate monarchs.

The civil wars, which proved so hurtful to England from the death of Edward III. in 1377, to the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, enabled the Scots to repair the misfortunes of their country, and to resume the arts of peace, with such vigour, that their history, from this period till the open renewal of the English claims by Henry VIII. and the subsequent regency, displays one continued exertion of kings, barons, dignified clergy, and the royal boroughs, for the extension of commerce, fisheries, and navigation; the improvement of lands, promoting literature, science, arts, and whatever tends to the civilization, opulence, and splendour of kingdoms, till the succession of James VI. to the crown of England in 1602, after which event Scotland became a poor neglected province, subservient in all cases, to the interest of the greater kingdom, as will appear from the sequel of their history.

Passing over the secret intrigues of queen Elizabeth, to divide and embroil that country, and the open robberies of Oliver Cromwell and his followers, we come to the æra of the revolution in 1688, a period which united the majority of both kingdoms in political sentiments, and seemed a prelude to a
closer

closer connection. * King William having confirmed the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland, and restored peace to a bleeding, impoverished country, the genius of the nation again broke forth, the people began to contemplate the benefits of trade, and to resume the commercial spirit of their ancestors. The parliament, now principally composed of the whigs, having, in the abundance of their gratitude, voted liberal supplies (their then reduced circumstances considered) of men and money, towards enabling king William to prosecute his foreign wars, that prince, highly sensible of the obligation, ordered the lord commissioner of Scotland to declare in parliament, " That if the members found it would tend to the advancement of trade, that an act should be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where plantations might be lawfully acquired; that his majesty was willing to declare, he would grant to the subjects of this kingdom, in favour of these plantations, such rights and privileges as he granted, in like cases, to the subjects of his other dominions." Many other flattering promises were added, and the lord president confirmed and enforced all that had been said by the commissioner.

Relying on these promises, the Scottish nobility and gentry advanced 400,000*l.* towards the establishment of a company for carrying on an East and West India trade, and 1200 veterans, who had served in king William's wars, were sent to effect a settlement on the peninsula of Darien, which lies between the northern and the southern oceans, and was equally adapted for trading with both the Indies.

The new colony were well received by the natives, and matters began to wear a promising aspect,

* It is necessary, for the purpose of connecting the thread of the narrative, to repeat some passages inserted in the work, under the head of *Annals of Scotland*.

when the king, on the earnest solicitations of the English and Dutch East India companies, resolved to gratify the latter at the expence of his Scottish subjects; and, knowing that the new colony must want supplies of provisions, he sent orders to the governor of Jamaica, and the English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provisions; thus the king's heart was hardened against these new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, though many of them had been covered with wounds in fighting his battles.

Thus vanished all the hopes of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible alacrity, and with the most sanguine expectations that the misfortunes of their country would, by this new channel of commerce, be completely healed.

The distressed of the people, upon receiving authentic accounts of the fortune of their colony, scarcely admit of any description. They were not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and a renewal of their commerce, but hundreds, who had ventured their all, were absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design.

The whole nation seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against their sovereign. They taxed him with double dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition; and had their power been equal to their acrimony, in all probability, the island would have been involved in civil war.

The Scots, after such a series of disasters, during the course of a whole century, had now nothing left but their parliament, their nominal independence, their frugality, temperance, and industry.

Internal

Internal peace and security being established, it was still in their power, by means of these advantages, to restore their country to its former vigour and importance. Their predecessors had, in great wisdom, marked out the line of action, which seems to be best suited to the state of the country and the genius of the people. The lands admitted of great improvement; the surrounding ocean afforded an inexhaustible source of wealth, of which the ungrateful Dutch still reaped the benefit; * they had a parliament and revenue, to extend and to regulate commercial intercourse with foreign states; patronize manufactures, science, and useful arts; to form public roads, and to bring the numerous detached members of the kingdom nearer to each other, and to the centre, by opening canals where nature seemed to invite their particular attention. Excise officers, tide-waiters, supernumeraries, comptrollers, collectors, supervisors, commissioners of the customs, commissioners of excise, and other impediments to the wealth of nations, were barely tolerated, and little known to the bulk of the people.

As the kingdom lived in strict friendship with all its neighbours, neither encroaching, nor being encroached upon; as it had no subsidies to pay, nor colonies to protect, there was little occasion for fleets, armies, or extraordinary supplies, previous to the revolution and the expensive wars carried on by king William and queen Anne, wherein the Scots, though they had no concern in these distant campaigns, contributed a part of the burden. Till that æra, the Scottish revenue consisted chiefly of a trifling cess or land-tax, and an inconsiderable impost on a few luxuries, which, being farmed, cost government nothing in collecting.

* While the Scots were throwing away near half a million sterling, on a settlement in a burning climate, at the distance of 4000 miles, their native shores gave successful employment to 700 Dutch buxses, besides those of other nations.

The

The articles subject to duties on importation, were chiefly French and Spanish wines, which paid 2l. 10s. per ton; French brandy, tobacco, raisins, currants, figs, sugar, soap, silks, embroidery, fringes, laces and points; stockings, woollen cloth, stuffs, flannels, singings, linen cloth, thread, &c.

Under these very favourable circumstances, the Scots had all Europe for a market, and their exports had generally exceeded their imports. The nation was, upon the whole, so well adapted both for inland and foreign trade, that, with moderate industry, a sufficient competency might have reached the inhabitants of every denomination of the people, whether on the main land, or amongst the islands.

Such were the prospects still in reserve for that exhausted nation, when king William endeavoured to soften their resentment by resuming, with assiduity, the desirable project of uniting the two kingdoms in one common interest, a work which had often been attempted by the English monarchs, and as often frustrated, through the jealousy of the Scots, and their unshaken attachment to their ancient royal line.

In all the former proposals offered on that head, by England, both nations were to remain free and independent of one another; each kingdom having its own parliament, and subject only to such taxes, duties, and commercial regulations, as those parliaments should judge expedient for the benefit of their respective states. These were the terms held out by Edward I. and III. and most of their successors; and it was under this idea, of a fœderal union, that the Scots, though now reduced to the lowest abyss of national depression, were prevailed upon to send twenty commissioners to London, who, with twenty-three on the part of England, met at Whitehall, on this great design, in October, 1702.

Queen Anne, who had succeeded to the crown, honoured them with a visit, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours, but when the Scottish commissioners proposed that the rights and privileges of their company, trading to Africa and the Indies, should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made in this commission.

In 1706, the business was resumed, and the commissioners met, on the 16th day of April, in the council chamber at Whitehall. The Scots were still inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces, but the English commissioners, or rather the ministry, were bent upon an incorporation, so as that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. They declared themselves fully convinced, that nothing but an entire union would settle perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots commissioners made a vigorous resistance to the article which subjected their country to the same customs, excises, prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of commerce, as England; but the earl of Godolphin, uneasy at any demur, and impatient of delay, persuaded the queen to pay two visits in person to the board of commissioners, where she exerted herself with unusual eagerness, for their putting the last hand to a treaty which she represented as essentially necessary to the peace, security, and general welfare of both kingdoms.

These persuasions, co-operating with the indefatigable exertions of the duke of Queensberry, at length gained over a majority of the Scots commissioners, and the remainder reluctantly followed, excepting Lockart of Carnwath, who never could be persuaded either to sign or seal the treaty.

At length the articles were finished, arranged,
and

and mutually signed, on the 22d of July, and next day presented to her majesty, by the lord keeper, in the name of the English commissioners; while at the same time, a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland; and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the queen returned a most gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whosoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law.

Still, however, the most difficult part of the business remained, namely, to obtain a ratification of those articles by the parliament of Scotland. The promoters of the union had concealed, with the greatest care, the terms agreed on by the commissioners; and nothing had transpired till the whole treaty was at once laid before the parliament. No sooner were the articles generally known, than the whole kingdom was in the utmost fermentation. All ranks of people, however divided in civil or religious sentiments, now united in one general murmur. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence. The barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated at a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption: They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long at London, in their attendance on the British parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. The trading part of the nation lamented the dissolution of their India company; and beheld with deep concern, the taxes which this treaty laid upon the necessities of life; the infinity of duties, customs, and
b 2
restrictions

restrictions, which it laid upon their hitherto open trade with the Levant, France, Spain, Portugal, the Baltic, Holland, and the Dutch plantations. They could not conceive how the commerce of Scotland would possibly be advanced by such measures, unless it could be proved that commerce, like the camomile, the more it is oppressed, the more luxuriant it grows. They considered the privileges of trading to the English plantations in America, as a precarious, and at best a nugatory equivalent for the concessions, both private and national, which they had made*. Almost every article of the treaty produced a protest, and the most inflammatory disputes in the Scottish parliament. “What! said the Duke of Hamilton, shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders? Where are the Douglasses and

* At this time, and long after, the English trade with the American and West India colonies bore no proportion to the expence of keeping and defending them.

In 1706, the amount of the exports was thus :

To Hudson's Bay	-	-	-	£.	958
New England	-	-	-		57,050
New York	-	-	-		31,588
Pensylvania	-	-	-		11,037
Virginia and Maryland	-	-	-		58,015
Carolina	-	-	-		4,001
					<hr/>
Exports to America					162,649
To Jamaica	-	-	-		165,999
Barbadoes	-	-	-		60,629
Antigua	-	-	-		18,895
Nevis	-	-	-		9,471
Montserrat	-	-	-		6,135
St. Christopher's	-	-	-		5,509
					<hr/>
Exports to the West-Indies					266,638
					<hr/>
Sum total to America and the West-Indies					429,287

Campbells? Where are the peers, and the barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independence of our country, when we are commanded, by those we represent, to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us?"

The Lord Belhaven enumerated the miseries which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by many of the Scottish nation.

Addresses against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention of the royal boroughs, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, without distinction of whig or tory, episcopalian or presbyterian.

While the opposition raged within doors, the resentments of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The more rigid presbyterians reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers; they chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, burnt the articles of union, justified their conduct in a public declaration, and resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament.

During this combustion, the privy council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire on those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. Notwithstanding these precautions of government, the duke of Queensberry, though guarded by double lines of horse and foot, was obliged to pass through the streets at full gallop, amidst the curses and imprecations of the people,

who pelted his guards, and even wounded some of his friends who attended him in the coach.

Against all this national fury, the duke of Queensberry, and other noblemen, attached to the union and the protestant succession, acted with equal address and resolution. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the union, and argued strenuously against all the objections that were started to the measure. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the treaty, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the cavaliers, by demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition. They soothed the India company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent*; and finally they brought over the *Squadron Volante*, a party in the Scots parliament so denominated from their fluctuating between the ministry and opposition, through the whole progress of the treaty,

* It was stipulated in the treaty, that £. 398,085, should be paid to the Scots, as an equivalent for the customs, taxes, and excises, to be levied upon that kingdom in consequence of the English debt, which then amounted to more than £. 20,000,000, though estimated at 17,000,000.

This equivalent, if it may be so called, was applied in the following manner:

First, to pay off the capital of the Scottish India company, which was to be abolished in favour of the English company, trading to the East Indies.

Secondly, to indemnify private persons for any losses they might sustain, by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the coin of England; and as generally, reported,

Thirdly, in bribing a majority of the Scottish parliament, when matters came to the last push.

Of

treaty, without attaching themselves to either side, till the critical moment, which was to unite both kingdoms in a bond of mutual friendship, or to involve them in all the calamities of a civil and religious war*.

The *Squadron Volante*, by an almost unexpected movement, gave the Scottish ministers a decided victory, and all opposition was now in vain.

The articles of the treaty being ratified in parliament, with some trifling variations, the duke of Queensberry, on the 25th of March, 1707, finally dissolved that antient assembly, and Scotland ceased to be a separate independent kingdom. Its monarchy was now blended with that of England, and its parliament agreed to a representation of sixty-one members, forming a thirteenth part of the grand legislative body, and which then comprehended 772 members. The duke of Queensberry, having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, set out for England, where he was met, near London, by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and four hundred gentlemen on horseback.

The parliament being met, the queen in person told both houses, that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish parliament: That she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She observed, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two

Of the whole equivalent, therefore, only £. 40,000 was left for national purposes; and so lost to public spirit, and to all sense of honour, were the representatives of Scotland, three or four noblemen excepted, that this balance was suffered to lie useless in the English treasury, till the year 1727, when the royal boroughs began to awake out of their stupor, and to apply the interest of the £. 40,000 towards raising a little fund for improving the manufactures and fisheries of their country.

* The English troops abroad, and in Ireland, were ordered to be in readiness to march when called upon.

kingdoms: and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles, and the Scottish act of ratification, the tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start objections, particularly from the opposition made by the Scottish nation to the treaty.

Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors: by force and violence without: That the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution; and he would leave it to the judgment of the house, to consider, whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their house of representatives.

Soon after, the debates concerning the union began in the house of lords, the queen being present, when lord Haversham, in a premeditated harangue, said the question was, whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church government, and order, should be united into one kingdom. He supposed it an union made up of so many mismatched pieces; of such jarring incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder, and breaking in pieces every moment. He took notice, that above a hundred Scottish peers, and as many commoners, were excluded from sitting and voting in parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as any English peer had of sitting in the parliament of England. He affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation: That the murmurs of the people had

had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold, as to reach to even the doors of the parliament: That the parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people: That the government had issued a proclamation, pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded, that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating union, which he looked upon as one of the most dangerous experiments to both kingdoms.

These, and similar arguments and objections, were ably answered by a great majority in both houses, among whom were, the lords Godolphin, Sunderland, Wharton, Townshend, Hallifax, and Somers; the bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum: and the two independent nations of England and Scotland, were, on the 1st day of May, 1707, unalterably united, under the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain*.

The whigs promoted the treaty with such zeal, that it made its way through both houses with the greatest dispatch: and when it received the royal assent, the queen expressed the highest satisfaction. She said, "she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should, from henceforward, behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people."

The 1st of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England, excepting the university of Oxford. The Scots were wholly silent on the occasion.

Thus, the apprehensions of a popish succession, operating

operating upon the minds of the whigs in both kingdoms, united them in sentiments, and contributed essentially to that great, desirable, and necessary event, of a political union between two nations formed by nature, and various concurrent circumstances, to be one people.

The majority of both kingdoms were, however, of opinion, that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or at best prove ineffectual; but the experience of seventy-seven years hath shewn the contrary: in many respects the union hath been productive of the most happy consequences, and a common blessing to the whole island.

It secured the constitution, religion, and laws, on the most permanent foundation; and it gave a vigour to the British arms by sea and land, which attracts the admiration of mankind in every quarter of the world:

The insurmountable obstacles to an effectual permanent union, which in the opinion of some members, would arise from the different ecclesiastical establishments and forms of law, confirmed to both countries by the treaty, have vanished in the experiment. No inconveniency hath been felt, or injury sustained therefrom. On the contrary, the constitution and laws of Scotland seem to be approximating gradually to those of England.

Vassallage, that disgrace to humanity, hath been partly abolished at the desire of the best patriots of Scotland; and many beneficial amendments have been made in the mercantile and bankrupt laws, at the joint request of the traders in both kingdoms.

Though no conformity is likely to take place between the ecclesiastical establishments of England and Scotland, the religious controversies, which formerly agitated both nations, have quietly subsided. When the revolution put an end to compulsory measures, and pretended superiority, all acrimony ceased; the phrenzy of religious intolerance gradually

dually disappeared, and hath been happily succeeded by that liberal spirit which is the characteristic of genuine Christianity. The fruits of these dispositions are visible in the harmony, the epistolary correspondence, and the mutual good offices between the clergy of both countries.

Thus far the good effects of the union have disappointed the enemies to that measure, and exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its friends. But to give permanency to treaties, it is necessary that they should be constructed on the solid basis of reciprocal benefit, in all possible cases. It cannot, however, be imagined, that a compact, which was to consolidate two independent nations in one common interest, could at once be adjusted with such admirable fitness, as to preclude the expediency, or even the necessity of amendment, in some of its constituent parts.

That period of time which hath so happily established the many benefits flowing to both nations since the ratification of the treaty, serves also to point out the defective parts, the causes, and the remedy.

The project of an union had been a capital object in the politics of queen Anne's ministry, which was composed of the ablest statesmen, without exception, that ever managed the affairs of England. These ministers, therefore, as an introductory step to this important work, procured, after some opposition, an act of the Scottish parliament, authorising the queen *to nominate* (instead of the parliament) the commissioners for Scotland, who were to settle the terms of the union with those for England, consisting of the ministry and their friends, named also by the queen.

This point gained, the English commissioners found less difficulty in bringing the treaty to a final conclusion, in the most essential parts, upon their their own terms.

They were not only able statesmen, but, for the most part, well skilled in the science of trade, which
gave

gave them a manifest advantage over the Scottish commissioners, who consisted of lords and gentlemen of no commercial knowledge.

The latter were careful, however, to preserve all their heritable offices, superiorities, jurisdictions, and other privileges and trappings of the feudal aristocracy. But on the grand objects, which were to give the turn or cast to national prosperity, they were greatly over-matched.

Had the English commissioners, seeing the smaller kingdom thus circumstanced, and its cause in the hands of men less qualified for the task, made a liberal use of those advantages, their country would have reaped tenfold benefits therefrom; but it was reserved for a later period, to make that important discovery —“ Enrich your customers, and they will enrich you.”

The English commissioners, in negotiating with a ruined kingdom, were influenced by the then narrow, short-sighted principle of commercial monopoly; and the consequences were such as might, with a small degree of reflection, have been foreseen.

Instead of a solid compact, affording, upon the whole, reciprocal advantages, and which it would have been the inclination as well as interest of both nations to preserve inviolate, the concessions on the part of Scotland, and the restrictions to their trade, were so quickly, and so severely felt, that about the sixth year after the ratification of the treaty, the sixteen peers, who first represented Scotland in the upper house, though most of them had been the supporters of administration in promoting the union, unanimously moved for its dissolution. A warm debate followed upon this motion, in which John duke of Argyle bore a considerable share, but the motion was over-ruled by the English peers, and from thenceforward the Scots submitted, reluctantly, to their fate.

Of the nobility, a considerable number sacrificed
their

their dignity, and their independency, to the nod of a minister who boasted that every man had his price; others, in fullen despondency, betook themselves to the comforts of the bottle; and a small number enjoyed the hope of great matters to be brought forth at St. Germain's, in favour of the proscribed family.

The metropolis, having no manufactures, now beheld itself deprived of its only support, by the translation of the parliament to London. The trading towns pined under the duties and restrictions laid upon their commerce. The whole kingdom, after so many fatal disasters, seemed completely ruined beyond recovery, and all degrees of men sunk under the weight of these complicated misfortunes. Had any of the Malcolms, the Alexanders, or the James's, arose at this time from the dead, they would have imagined that some enemy, more barbarous than the Danes, had over-run their antient kingdom, demolished its churches, and castles; enslaved its nobility, checked its fisheries, and transferred its commerce.

The first fruits of the treaty, in Scotland, was a board of customs, and another of excise, with the appointment of commissioners, collectors, surveyors, supervisors, waiters, gaugers, and all other necessary officers, who were immediately distributed over the several sea-ports, and districts of the nation.

In many parts they were roughly used, particularly the excise officers; and in the Orkneys, the officers were so frightened by the country people, that for some time, the business was obliged to be postponed.

In 1708, there was a warm debate in the grand committee of the house of lords, occasioned by a bill passed by the commons, and sent to their lordships, *for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete*, whereby it was enacted, "That, from the 1st of May, 1708, there should be

be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great-Britain," which being carried by fifty against forty, the privy council of Scotland was abolished, and the nation being deprived of this last fragment of their antient government, the opposers of the union, raised the animosities of the people to a dangerous height, but the ferment abated after an ineffectual attempt of the jacobites in favour of the pretender.

In 1713, the Scottish peers and commons proposed to dissolve the union, but when the motion was put to the vote, in the house of peers, it was overruled.

During the debates on this subject, the earl of Peterborough endeavoured to prove the impossibility of dissolving the union, which he compared to a marriage that, being once contracted, could not be dissolved by any power on earth. He observed, "That though England, who in the national marriage must be supposed to be the husband, might in some instances have been unkind to the lady, yet she ought not presently to sue for a divorce." The earl of Hly replied, "That marriage was an ordinance of God; and the union, no more than a political expedient." To which the earl of Peterborough again answered, That "the contract could not have been made more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven."

The duke of Argyle "owned that he had a great share in making the union, with a view to secure the protestant succession, but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England."

Some other peers of Scotland seconded his grace, saying, "That the union was intended to cultivate amity and friendship between the two nations, but was so far from having that effect, that they were sure the animosities between the two countries were

were then much greater than before the union; and therefore they were of opinion, that if the union was dissolved, the two nations would be better friends."

Addressees were now prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, and the people were proceeding to extremities, when a second attempt of the pretender on these kingdoms, in 1715, divided the people so effectually as to save this obnoxious treaty once more from impending dissolution; and from this time, we hear of no further commotions excited by the union, though it was generally considered as a national grievance.

In 1718, The merchants of Glasgow, who had hitherto carried on some trade with Virginia and Maryland, by means of chartered ships from Whitehaven, now fitted out the first vessel of Glasgow property, that had crossed the Atlantic.

In 1720, the Scots attempted to establish a fishery company, and some subscriptions were made for that purpose; but as such company must have clashed with the interest of the Dutch, who were then in high favour at court, the project fell to the ground.

Some faint essays were made for establishing woollen and linen manufactures, but they were so poorly supported, that they miscarried.

In 1725, the people thought themselves totally abandoned, and none were more discontented than the presbyterians in the west. They had expected great things from their steady attachment to revolution principles, but found themselves involved in the general poverty and discredit into which the nation had fallen. Their want of trade and manufactures disabled them from paying the taxes then existing; and their discontents being heightened by the report of an additional malt tax, the populace of Glasgow, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Mr. Campbell, their representative in parlia-

parliament, who had voted for the bill, and about 20 persons were killed or wounded by the military.

The severity shewn to the people of Glasgow, where the strength of the government interest chiefly lay, gave a check to the disorders which the malt tax had excited in other parts of the kingdom. It was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the royal boroughs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burden which their country could not bear; and petitions to the same effect, were delivered to the representatives in the house of commons, from different shires of that kingdom; but neither the petitions, nor the remonstrances, of an impoverished country, could procure the smallest deviation from the rigorous conditions of the union, however expedient, just, or humane. It was in vain for the people to urge the general decay of trade, the want of manufactures, the universal poverty and wretchedness of their once happy country. The ministry, resting on their influence over the Scottish peers and commoners, heard with indifference, the complaints of indigence, and the calls of hunger. Not one generous or liberal sentiment had ever been extended to the great body of the people. Such was the condition of the northern part of this island, at a period when the commerce, manufactures, and wealth of the southern part had increased, and were increasing with astonishing rapidity.

The revenue of England had increased in a proportionable degree. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, it amounted to £.188,197; in the reign of George II. it rose to £.10,000,000, while the taxes which were imposed on Scotland, at the latter period, with such rigour, and raised with such difficulty, scarcely defrayed the salaries of the commissioners, clerks, and subordinate officers, on the revenue establishment. Since, therefore, the public derived no benefit from a pitiful revenue, thus squeezed from the vitals of a people who

who could with difficulty procure the necessaries of life, some relaxation in this particular, and a diminution of the expences, would have been sensibly felt, and warmly acknowledged by a grateful nation. And further, had the ministry, instead of lavishing the public money among the Scottish members, applied these sums to purposes of national improvement; commerce and fisheries would again have flourished, nor would it have been necessary to apply to government, at a distant period of near eighty years, for the means of cutting a passage through so small a tract as five miles, or of deepening a few miles of water. This scrupulous adherence in the ministry to the spirit of a treaty which evidently contributed to enrich one part of the island at the expence of the other part, did not proceed merely from a parsimonious system relative to Scotland, but also from a total neglect of that country, and a settled indifference to the interests thereof. Some trifling funds, the exclusive property of that kingdom, and which had been set apart for its improvement, were suffered, as hath been mentioned, to lie useless in the exchequer for a number of years. At length, the convention of the royal boroughs, perceiving the miserable situation into which their country had fallen, and the inattention of government to its relief, held several conferences on the subject; and, in February 1725-6, unanimously resolved to address the king and parliament, that the monies settled by law for encouraging manufactures might be solely applied to that purpose, in such manner as should appear to them most effectual.

An act of parliament now directed the application of the funds to the several purposes for which they were designed, and appointed *Twenty-one Commissioners*, who were entrusted with the management of the same, and other matters relative thereto.

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Here we perceive some glimmerings of public spirit, and national exertion, but the funds were so extremely inadequate to the great purposes of improvement, that no general solid benefit could be expected from this institution, however judicious in its proceedings. It was a name without a substance; or, at best, afforded only a faint ray of hope. Three or 4000l. may embellish and improve a country town or borough, but if circulated amongst 1,300,000 indigent people, it loses its effect; deceives the industrious part of the community, whom it ought to comfort; affords no stimulus for ingenuity, or assistance in any plans of general or local utility.

In 1736, The importation duties and customs levied in Scotland, by virtue of the union, with the accumulating fees to officers, had drawn the attention of the decayed ports and creeks of the kingdom, to the practice of smuggling. This illicit trade having increased to an alarming degree, it was resolved, that all the rigours of the law should be enforced against a smuggler, then under sentence of death, in the metropolis, when a dangerous commotion happened amongst the citizens, in which it is generally supposed, many persons of superior rank were secretly engaged.

In 1740, the whole shipping of Edinburgh and Leith, consisted of

1 Vessel of	—	—	180 tons.
2 ———	—	—	120
2 ———	—	—	110
2 ———	—	—	100
40 ——— from 100 to	—	—	16
<hr/>			
47 vessels carrying	—	—	2628

These vessels carried on a petty trade with London, Holland, and the Baltic; as did the other eastern ports, by means of a few barks and sloops.

Some

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE. XXXV

Some attempts had been made by Aberdeen, Dumfries, Air, and other towns, towards a plantation trade, but they proved abortive, through the poverty of the adventurers, and the nation. Glasgow, therefore, enjoyed this trade exclusively, in Scotland; and in 1735, the whole shipping of that city consisted of

15	vessels trading to Virginia
3	_____ Boston
4	_____ Jamaica
2	_____ Antigua
2	_____ St. Kitts
1	_____ Barbadoes
4	_____ The Streights
1	_____ Gibraltar
7	_____ Stockholm
2	_____ Holland
6	_____ London

—
47 foreign traders
20 small coasters
—

67 vessels carrying 5,600 tons

Tonnage of the whole Scottish commerce, previous to the war 1740, viz.

Edinburgh and Leith	_____	_____	2,628
Glasgow	_____	_____	5,600

The collective tonnage of all the other ports is estimated high in supposing it equal to one half of the tonnage employed in the above-mentioned towns

While the average tonnage of English shipping, in 1736, 7, 8, as appears by the ledger of the inspector general, amounted to	_____	_____	476,941
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Carried over 476,941

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	Brought forward	476,941
Tonnage of foreign ships loaded in	}	26,627
England		

Being in the proportion of 40 to 1 503,568

In 1745, some disaffected chieftains in the Highlands, encouraged by the poverty and discontents of the nation, entered heartily into the cause of the pretender, who in his manifestoes promised to dissolve the treaty of union, but the presbyterians, and the nation in general, remained firm to the present government.

This rebellion being quelled, and peace restored at home and abroad, the benefits of the American commerce began to raise the spirits of the nation, though that trade was still confined to Glasgow and its neighbourhood. These bright prospects were, however, of short duration: the American war not only deprived that city of the only commercial benefit which Scotland reaped from the union, but also its property due by the Americans, to a great amount; and three-fourths of the shipping, which fell into the hands of the enemy, many of them with valuable cargoes.

In 1776, America prohibited all intercourse with Great Britain; and, in 1783, their independency was acknowledged by the treaty of peace. In consequence of this event, the exclusive trade to those provinces, which the Scots had dearly purchased at the union, vanished; while other nations now enjoy greater privileges in that quarter, than the inhabitants of Britain.

In 1780, the English ministry admitted Ireland to a free trade with the West Indies, though the exclusive commerce to these islands had also been purchased by the Scots, in the same treaty.

Though the nation were thus deprived of their hereditary rights, for which they had abolished their parliament, their trading company, and taken upon themselves

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themselves their proportion of England's debts, then contracted; they were now burdened with extraordinary taxes, excises and duties, without any consideration being made for the loss of America, and the admitting Ireland to participate in the West India commerce, by which England made her peace with that kingdom, partly at the expence of Scotland, who loses proportionally to what Ireland gains, by this donation.

Under these depressing circumstances, the spirited inhabitants of the city of Glasgow, directed their remaining capital towards new channels, chiefly manufactures of cottons, linens, and other denominations; but while these were in their infancy, and before the traders had established a regular correspondence in this line, some enemies to government, and to the prosperity of both kingdoms, suggested the idea of heavy excises upon every species of those branches. Thus, while England was, with one hand, depriving the Scottish nation of the fruits of their purchase, she was taxing them, with the other hand, as if the same right had existed, in equity, so to do.

Commutations and murmurings have consequently pervaded the whole kingdom; every man complains of those burdens which lie heaviest, declaring his inability to support himself and family under such accumulated contributions. Manufactures, salt, candles, even the small half-starved horse, and the paltry cart, are subject to the same taxes, as those of greater magnitude, in use over England.

Almost equally distressing are the impositions of custom-house officers, which, under various names and pretences, they had carried to such a height, as must have nearly annihilated the river navigation, and greatly cramped the coasting trade, had not the royal boroughs awoke from their supineness, and put a check to this iniquitous business.

Having thus stated the account between both kingdoms for these last 500 years, the candid Eng-

lish reader will acknowledge the *Equity* of relaxing in the article of taxation in Scotland, being the only reparation which England can make for the loss of America, and the concession to Ireland; without taking into the account, the destructive wars of the Edwards and Henries, the intrigues of queen Elizabeth, the plunders by Cromwell's army, or the sacrifice of the Darien settlement: and it must afford a pleasing reflection to every friend of both kingdoms, when he considers that what shall be granted or remitted by England, on the principle of justice, will be repaid ten-fold, and through a thousand channels, by her industrious fellow subjects, so soon as the whole nation shall be put into action. In this view, therefore, *Justice* is only another word for *Utility*, or expediency, by which England may be greatly benefited. Nor will any indulgence respecting taxes in Scotland, be found so prejudicial to the public revenue, as may, on the first view, be imagined. Though immediately on signing the articles of union, the whole kingdom of Scotland was over-run with revenue officers, the gross produce of excises and duties did little more than defray the expence of collecting and management. The new boards of customs and excise alone absorbed a considerable part of what their inferiors were employed in collecting. In fact, there were no sources from which to draw a revenue; no manufactures, and scarcely any shipping beyond coasters and coal vessels. Even so late as the commencement of the last war, the neat revenue of Scotland was found, upon an average of 3 years, ending in 1773, to be only 163,598l. in the collecting and management of which, the people were burdened with 43,253l. The excises and customs have increased since that time; but, when we consider the nature of the articles which have been thus re-taxed, there will be no great reason to boast of an increasing revenue. They consist chiefly of duties or excises on salt, candles, infant manufactures, farmers horses, carts, and other articles,

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articles, which the people declare they cannot pay. But the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of the Scottish revenue is this; that though the Highland counties, viz. Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, the Orkney and Shetland islands, composing one half of the kingdom, have been saddled with collectors of revenue since the union; yet it appears, that instead of any public advantages therefrom, government have actually been losers by it.

In 1782, the gross produce of customs in these 6 counties was	}	2569	12	11
Expences	— —	3105	11	7
<hr/>				
Excess of payments made good from other ports, and loss to government	}	535	18	8
<hr/>				
And that the gross amount of excise in these counties in 1782, was	}	2696	1	7
And the expences	— —	1449	5	1
<hr/>				
	£.	1246	16	6
From which deduct the loss upon the customs, as above stated	}	535	18	8
<hr/>				
	£.	710	17	10

Net annual revenue of late years; but if we could state the whole gross revenue from 1707 to the present time, and the *per contra* expence in collecting and management, it would probably appear, that government have lost considerably by those counties since the union of the two kingdoms, the land-tax excepted; while the poor people have been laid under double contributions during this long period, merely to support a set of men in idleness.

Upon the whole, the revenue of Scotland is little more than a name; nor can it be otherwise for several island;

ral ages, without endangering the tranquillity of the island; neither do I perceive, in the whole circle of British politics, any measure that will contribute so essentially to the harmony, prosperity, and strength of these kingdoms, as the remission of revenue from Scotland, the land-tax, and such duties and excises as may be necessary for the regulation of trade with England, excepted.

Let the annual drain from Scotland, by its parliamentary representatives, &c. amounting to 600,000*l.* the balance of trade against that country, amounting to 300,000*l.* and the revenue arising from English goods consumed in Scotland, be placed to its credit account, and the idea of extorting further drains in the present state of the kingdom, saddled also with the expence and fees of officers, will appear impolitic to every man who shall investigate the subject, as a citizen of the world.

These matters are stated more fully in the course of the work, where it is also proposed that the neat revenue arising from the land-tax, regulating duties and excises, may be solely appropriated to the improvement of that long-neglected country, whereby it would, in this respect, be put on a footing with England, and with Ireland, where millions have been expended on works of national utility.

Should these thoughts meet the approbation of the public, the objects which seem to claim the first attention, are,

1. To open a communication from Lochfine to the West Sea, by Loch Crinan.
2. To raise, at least, one small market-town on the west-coast of the main land.
3. To erect lighthouses, beacons, and buoys.
4. To open carriage-roads in the North Highlands, between the two seas.
5. To cleanse, deepen, or repair decayed harbours, extend new ones; and,

Lastly, To grant such bounties on buffes and boats, as may enable the Scottish fishers to go to market on equal terms with Ireland, Sweden, and Norway.

C O N T E N T S

O F

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GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.

IMMODERATE ambition, the love of empire, or the thirst of wealth, have most generally influenced the councils of nations, whether civilized, or in a state of rude barbarianism. To such ignoble motives is owing that endless series of wars, devastations, and robberies, which, instead of giving stability to the conquering state, hath invariably hastened its fall. Of this truth the history of mankind abounds in examples. All those potent empires which successively governed the antient world, had their rise, their meridian, and their decline. By violence they acquired extensive dominion; the same means became necessary to maintain, or defend, that dominion; till at length, some neighbouring state, or combination of states, equally aspiring, subverted the whole fabric of power, which they transferred to themselves, which they for a while retained, and which they in their turn lost, together with their freedom and their name. So complete hath been the extinction of those states, that, were it not for the Sacred, and some remains of prophane writings, corroborated, were it necessary, by inscriptions, medals, statues, and ruins of stupendous architecture, which have reached our times, we could have no conception that such mighty empires ever existed.

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Our own island, though capable of supplying its inhabitants in all the real necessaries of life, besides a surplus wherewith to carry on a beneficial traffic with its neighbours, hath long been convulsed through the phrensy of conquest, both within itself, and beyond those limits which nature marked out as its proper boundary. As Britain is an epitome of the world, so are its annals, in all respects similar to those of the great theatre by which it is environed.

No sooner had the successors of the Norman hero established themselves firmly on the throne of England, than they began to contemplate new schemes of conquest, whereby their dominions might be enlarged, and their power raised above that of their contemporaries.

The object of those designs was nothing less than the sovereignty of France, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales: and it is scarcely in the power of language to convey a full idea of the calamities which those princes entailed upon mankind, through a succession of ages, in the prosecution of their ambitious schemes of aggrandisement. The burthen of those wars fell particularly on Scotland, and the northern counties of England, owing to the obstinate resistance of the Scots; who, during a period of sixty years, not only defended their freedom with singular bravery, but also carried the war into England itself, where they abundantly retaliated the violences which had desolated their country. The effects of those mutual inroads are still visible on the borders of both kingdoms; and it will require some ages before cultivation, manufactures, and population, can be brought to an equality with the interior parts.

In return for the continual drain of money, the waste of blood, and all the inconveniencies which a hostile nation must unavoidably sustain, both at home and abroad, England at the present period possesses nothing more than the sovereignty of the small
country

country of Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. Thus all the expensive armaments, and splendid victories of those warlike monarchs, whose names are mentioned with admiration by every Englishman, served only to impoverish their subjects, and desolate their country, which was so greatly reduced by those exertions, that, had not the sea proved a barrier of defence, it must have become a province to the kingdom which it had long struggled to subject.

But though the projects of the middle ages were barbarous in their object, calamitous in their operation, and delusive in the sequel; yet this nation, instead of reprobating the destructive measures of their ancestors, hath considerably improved upon them.

It was left to the æra of the Revolution * to devise an engine, by which we might not only destroy, and be destroyed, upon the European continent; but

* Nothing is hereby meant respecting the principles of the Revolution; and though the Whigs first set the example of borrowing money upon the public credit, with a view to strengthen the protestant interest, in the establishment of a new succession, we find them early disposed to redeem those debts, inasmuch that the reduction of them was one of the first objects of parliamentary attention, at the accession of the present royal family. This gave rise, in the year 1716, to a celebrated scheme, of which Sir Robert Walpole was the father. "All the taxes charged with the national debt were now made perpetual, and digested into *three* funds, called the *aggregate*, the *South Sea*, and the *general funds*. At the same time a considerable saving was obtained, by the reduction of interest from 6 to 5 per cent. and this saving, together with former savings, and all that should afterwards arise, were to be collected into a *fourth* fund, distinguished under the name of the SINKING FUND, the account of which was to be kept separate, and the whole produce appropriated inviolably to the payment of the national debt. About the year 1728, however, the same Sir Robert Walpole began the practice of alienating this fund; and in 1735 it was even anticipated and mortgaged. Thus then expired, after an existence of about eleven years, the *sinking fund*—that sacred blessing—once the nation's only hope—prematurely and cruelly destroyed by its own parent!"

* GENERAL VIEW OF

also enabled to extend the calamities of war to every quarter of the world. Of all the inventions for the destruction of the human species, this hath proved the most effectual; neither can the most fertile imagination propose a method, whereby a commercial nation may, with greater expedition and facility, transfer its trade and manufactures to its rivals in arts and arms. This device is called *Funding*; or in other words, anticipating the property of posterity, without conveying to that posterity any permanent equivalent, whereby it may discharge the burdens thus ungenerously entailed upon it, as will appear by the following retrospective view of events from the Revolution in 1688, to the present time.

Sketch of the British Politics and Wars from the Revolution to the Year 1784, including the Origin and Progress of the national Debt—Dismemberment, and rapid Fall of the Empire—Perulous Situation of Government, and the Nation in general—War the Cause of our own Distresses, and those which we have brought upon a considerable Part of Mankind.

When William prince of Orange ascended the throne of these kingdoms in 1688, his cotemporary, Lewis XIV, at the head of a gallant nation, panting after military fame, was meditating the establishment of the French monarchy over Europe; a project which gave rise to a general confederacy, who chose William as their generalissimo, or commander in chief, against the common enemy.

That war was carried on with various success during eight years, when a general peace was concluded at Ryswick, without any material benefit to either of the contending parties; and England, at the death of king William in 1701, found itself involved in *The first national debt*, which amounted to the then unheard-of sum of

£. 16,000,000
Queen

Queen Anne resumed the war with redoubled vigour, wherein the allies, under the command of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, gained many brilliant victories, but could not prevent Lewis from fixing his grandson upon the throne of Spain, which laid the foundation of the family alliance or compact, that still subsists, though faintly, between those kingdoms. On the other hand, the events of war put England in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean; and the French ceded Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay in North America; also the sole possession of the island of St. Christopher in the West Indies. The treaty of peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713. And the national debt, soon after the death of the queen in 1714, had increased, by the war, to the alarming sum of

55,000,000

Debt, at the commencement of the war in 1740, after a peace of twenty-seven years

46,000,000

At that time, England again embarked in a war with Spain, on account of America; and, soon after, with France, in support of the queen of Hungary. Many battles were fought by sea and land, with various success; and in 1748 a peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, the basis of which was the restitution of all places taken during the war, by either of the parties, but which increased the debt of England

32,000,000

6 GENERAL VIEW OF

Debt, at the end of the war in 1748	78,000,000
— Reduced in 1755, after a peace	} 3,000,000
of seven years	

Debt, at the commencement of the war	} 75,000,000
in 1755	
Before Great Britain had been able to reduce a tenth part of the debt occasioned by the preceding war, she was called upon, by her American colonies, to arm in their defence, against the encroachments of the French on the back settlements; and here we have the origin of the most extensive war, as Lord Chatham termed it, in which England had ever been engaged. It was also the most glorious to this country, both by land and sea, and put us in possession of Canada, and the two Floridas, in America; Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, in the West Indies; but involved us in a fresh debt of	} 71,000,000

Debt, at the end of the war in 1763	146,000,000
— Reduced in 1775, after a peace	} 10,000,000
of twelve years,	

Debt, at Midsummer 1775 - 136,000,000

While England was exhausting itself in establishing and protecting the American colonies, the idea of imposing a slight taxation, suitable to the abilities of those colonies, had been suggested during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole; but that sagacious statesman declared, that he would leave the colonies as he had found them, and that his successors might have the honour of first opening this new source of revenue. After the peace of 1763, the expediency of American taxation gained strength, in proportion

to

to the alarming increase of the debt contracted in the acquisition of Canada, when the French power was totally annihilated in that part of the continent, and when every impediment that tended to obstruct the growing wealth of the colonies had been removed. The experiment was made during the administration of George Grenville, by a slight tax on paper used in deeds, called *The Stamp Act*. It occasioned an universal ferment throughout America, and was repealed by the Marquis of Rockingham. A succeeding administration unfortunately resumed the measure of American taxation, by a duty upon tea, of no more than three pence per pound. This imposition the people of America also rejected, threw the tea overboard, and flew to arms; the event of which was, the entire separation of that country, now the *Thirteen States*, from Great Britain, which thereby lost, not only the sovereignty over its hereditary colonies, but the exclusive trade of those colonies, which is now laid open to all mankind. These unfavourable circumstances involved us also in a general war with the principal maritime powers of Europe, of whom we purchased peace, by acknowledging the American independence, and ceding to those states the richest part of Canada; to Spain, Minorca and the two Floridas; to France, the valuable island of Tobago in the West Indies; Goree, and Senegal, on the coast of Africa; besides the restitution to the latter kingdom, of St. Lucia, and all places which we had taken during the war, in the East Indies; circumstances extremely humiliating to the dignity of Britain, fatal to her reputation, and injurious to her commerce. This was not all. The national debt, which, at the commencement of the war in 1775, was 136,000,000*l.* had increased, at Midsummer 1784, to 280,000,000*l.* Consequently the losing of America hath more than doubled the national debt, and the burdens of the people.

GENERAL VIEW OF

Total amount of debt owing to the creditors of the public, at Midsummer 1784	} 280,000,000
The annual interest of ditto, including the expence of management, is supposed to be	} 10,000,000
— ditto per day £.27,397	
The peace establishment, including the civil list, above	} 5,000,000
<hr/>	
To be raised by the public annually	£. 15,000,000
— ditto per day £.41,095	
Net amount of the annual revenue, arising from customs, excise, and taxes, at Michaelmas 1783, as stated by Dr. Price, £.13,017,703.	} 14,507,703
Additional taxes June 1783, estimated at £.560,000. Ditto July and August 1784, £.930,000	}
<hr/>	
Surplus of the annual expence, above the annual revenue, for which additional taxes must be levied, or savings appropriated, besides the arrears not yet brought to account, the deficiencies in new taxes, and a million which must be raised, for a given number of years, to liquidate the national debt.	} 492,297

Peace with all the world, and that for a long continuance, is, therefore, our only hope, and ought to be the ardent wish of every friend of his country, and of humanity. For almost a century past,* England hath dazzled the eyes of mankind

* The years of peace since the Revolution	55
— of war —————	41
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	96

with

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 9

with the brilliancy of its campaigns in Flanders, and Germany ; in supporting the houses of Austria and Brandenburg, and securing the Dutch barrier. But though one hundred millions have been thus spent in continental wars and subsidies, neither the Dutch nor the Germans came forth in defence of their benefactors, whom they saw engaged in the unequal struggle that dismembered the British empire.

Beyond the Atlantic, we shall perceive a still greater drain of English treasure. The money granted by parliament in bounties, towards encouraging the growth of American produce; the sums expended in support of the civil establishments of those colonies during their infant state; in defending them against the French and Indians; erecting forts, harbours, and other public works; have been raised by the subjects of these kingdoms only, though other nations are now invited to reap the fruits thereof.

Upon the whole, we may fairly estimate our disbursements in establishing, protecting, and losing, the American colonies, at two hundred and sixty millions sterling. In this estimate is included the whole expence of the two late wars; for, though the operations of these wars extended to every quarter of the globe, yet the expence ought properly to be placed to the account of that country for which we engaged, or were involved, in both wars.

Gibraltar * and Minorca have been in our hands near eighty years, and we cannot value the peace establishment at less than half a million per annum.

In this estimate we include the military expence of six or seven thousand troops; stores; hire of transports; erecting new batteries, and otherwise

* See a pamphlet, entitled "The Propriety of retaining Gibraltar impartially considered,"

strengthening

strengthening the works. Consequently, the keeping and defending a barren rock, with an indifferent harbour; and a poor, unprofitable island, with a good harbour, have cost near forty millions, since the years 1704—8, when they were annexed to the British crown.

Recapitulation of money supposed to have been expended by Great Britain in foreign parts, or on account of foreign connections, since the Revolution.

On German affairs	-	100,000,000
— American ditto	- -	260,000,000
— Gibraltar and Minorca		40,000,000

£.400,000,000

Being above £.4,000,000 every year, and for which we possess no adequate consideration, no exclusive, permanent source of trade; but which, on the contrary, hath enhanced the price of manufactures, endangered our commercial intercourse with mankind, and deprived the nation of the comfortable, unmolested enjoyment of those gifts, which nature hath so liberally provided for all ranks and denominations of the inhabitants.

The sum total raised by Great Britain within the same period exceeds £.750,000,000; of which, above £.220,000,000 have actually been paid for the interest of public debts; and, of this, a considerable part, supposed to be at present £.1,000,000 annually, was drawn out of the kingdom by foreigners.

If, to the £.750,000,000 collected from the inhabitants by taxation and duties, we add the various inconveniences, interruptions, losses, and extra expences, sustained by the merchants, and the East-India Company; the manufacturers, and other individuals, during our late wars, the
 . . . aggregate

aggregate amount will not fall greatly short of £. 1,000,000,000, within the space of ninety-six years, or £. 10,416,670 per annum. Such were the astonishing resources drawn from the natural produce of the island, the ingenuity, industry, and commerce of the people; and such, also, have been the impolitic obstructions and burdens laid upon that commerce, and those people.

Still more painful in the recital, is, the dreadful estimate of lives lost in battle, by shipwreck, and other accidents of war. Unhappily for the human species, the conflicts in which we engage are not confined to France and England only. Whenever these rival kingdoms commence hostilities, they draw, into the destructive quarrel, a considerable portion of mankind, not only in Europe, but over a great part of the habitable world.

The savages of America, armed with their horrid instruments of death, march out with frantic rage, and frightful shrieks, eager, as their war songs express it, to drink the blood of Englishmen, or Frenchmen, against whom they happen to be respectively led on, by either of the contending parties.

In the West Indies, the sugar islands are kept in continual alarm, subduing and being subdued alternately. Property is continually fluctuating; and the man who reckoned upon thousands to day, sees himself a beggar on the morrow.

In Asia, the calamities occasioned by our national quarrels are still more complicated and distressing. Throughout the whole southern division of that immense country, every shore, every sea, and navigable river, becomes hostile. The princes of those regions, though they have no natural concern in European disputes, are not permitted to remain neuter. They are induced by threats, bribery, or intrigue, to act as auxiliaries in the armies of foreign

reign invaders, and as principals against each other. Thus, their unhappy subjects are involved in a double war; mutual retaliation of injuries lays whole provinces waste, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition. The lives, the property, and whatever is valuable to mankind, are sacrificed to the quarrels of nations who live at the distance of eight thousand miles.

The lives thus cut off, in various parts of the globe, since the Revolution, cannot be fewer than half a million of British subjects, and European allies, besides the Asiatic list, amounting to near four millions of industrious, inoffensive inhabitants, killed, or starved;* and, if to these accounts we add the losses on the part of France, and her allies, we may fairly estimate the whole to be from five to six millions of people, who have fallen sacrifices to war and famine, in all their horrible shapes, and for which these rival kingdoms are, in a great measure, responsible; for, it is a truth, which cannot be refuted, that to their unbounded thirst of power, dominion, and commercial establishments, hath been chiefly owing this waste of the human species; besides the calamities sustained by the survivors of those desolating scenes, abroad; while, at home, the train of distresses which war entails upon many individuals, and families, exceeds all conception; and, were their respective cases brought into view, it would fill the most obdurate heart with horror, Deprived of husbands, parents, sons, or brothers; reduced, at the same time, from ease and affluence, to indigence, and all the mortifications of dependence, is the lot of thousands; who, friendless,

* See an account of the famine in Bengal 1769, 70, as published throughout Europe by the Abbé Raynal. See also Dodley's Annual Register, vol. XIV. page 205. And, for a general view of the British transactions in Bengal, since it became a part of our empire, see Burke's Speech, Dec, 1, 1783.

unnoticed,

unnoticed, or despised, bewail in silence the loss of whatever was valuable, or endearing in the world.

Epidemical contagion, and the convulsions of nature, are calamities which we can neither foresee nor prevent; but the flames of war were kindled by ourselves; the ravages which they occasioned were our own act and deed; nor doth it appear that the events, even of the most fortunate wars, have reimbursed the nation, for a permanency, in any part of the expence and losses unavoidably sustained by those wars. Our consolation, on the contrary, generally consisted in the pitiful reflection, that our enemies were also maimed, exhausted, and almost reduced to bankruptcy. This hath been the winding up of all our wars; leaving us in the possession of no territory beyond our own island, which may not be wrested from us before the expiration of half a century.

Review of the Colonies and Settlements which still compose a part of the British Empire, with an Estimate of their Exports and Imports, to, and from, England. Also, our Exports and Imports, to, and from, the revolted Colonies.

America. The British America consisted of two great divisions, the south, and the north; the former, luxuriant in soil and climate, populous, commercial, and flourishing; its produce wheat, tobacco, rice, indigo, timber, hemp, flax, iron, pitch, tar, and lumber. This division contains 2,000,000 of inhabitants, who have formed themselves into Thirteen Republics, independent of Great Britain, and of one another, now called *The United States of America*. The latter division, a cold, inhospitable, and thinly inhabited country; its fields covered with deep snow, and its rivers froze up from November

vember till April, which cuts off all social and commercial intercourse with Europe.

This division was retained, by Great Britain, at the late peace. The habitable part joins the American States, and was originally in the possession of the French, to whom it proved an expensive, unprofitable burden. It hath been no less so to Great Britain, but it is supposed to be very improveable, and may become both a valuable source of commerce, and nursery of seamen. It is formed into two principal governments; those of Canada, and Nova Scotia. *Canada* is properly the native country of furs, peltry, and other articles which enter largely into the British manufactures. It also furnishes grain, timber, pot-ash, and hath valuable iron mines. This province, bounded on the north by frozen deserts, on the west by unknown countries, is only accessible to European shipping by the river St. Lawrence, whereon stand Quebec, Trois Rivieres, and Montreal.

Nova Scotia derives great importance from its local situation, and its harbours, particularly Halifax, Annapolis, and Port Roseway, the safest and most capacious in North America; the centre of northern navigation; a shelter to shipping from all parts of those seas, during the hurricanes, or when the other harbours are frozen up; and here also vessels of any burden may be repaired. In a political view, Nova Scotia is the most valuable of all the British settlements in the western hemisphere, because on this province depends, in a great measure, our possession of the fur trade, the Newfoundland fisheries, and the Sugar Islands.

The West Indies. By the West Indies is understood those innumerable islands which lie between the two continents of America, to which division of the globe they properly belong. They were discovered near three hundred years ago by Christopher Columbus,

lumbus, in the service of Spain, and have since been shared, through force or treaty, by France, Great Britain, Denmark, and Holland. Of these islands, Great Britain possesses Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, Antigua, St. Vincent's, Dominica, the Grenades, and some others of inferior importance; from whence we import sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, ginger, pepper, guaiacum, sarsaparilla, manchineel, mahogany, indigo, gums, and other valuable articles.

Coast of Africa. The southern coast of Africa was discovered by the Portuguese in that adventurous age which first carried the Europeans to the American world. Besides supplying the West Indies with slaves, it produces gold dust, ivory, gums, and other articles, far too valuable to be engrossed by the Portuguese alone: consequently, the English, French, and Dutch, have taken a share in this commerce also. Each nation hath its respective forts at the entrances of the principal rivers, but the unhealthiness of the climate prevents the establishment of colonies.

East Indies. The Portuguese gradually extended their discoveries along the coast of Africa, till at length they arrived at the most southern promontory of that quarter of the globe, which, in their joy, they called *The Cape of Good Hope*.

This discovery opened, unexpectedly, a new tract to the Eastern shores of Africa; to Persia, Arabia, the Mogul empire, China, Japan, and the numerous Spice Islands of the Indian seas. Here the Portuguese erected a commercial empire at the expence of the unhappy natives, on whom they practised all the frauds, violences, and outrage, which their Christian brethren of Spain were carrying on, with unrelenting barbarity, in the western world.

The great wealth which the Portuguese brought into Europe, while they enjoyed the monopoly of
the

the Indian commerce; the report of their civil and religious tyrannies; the impatience of the natives to throw off the intolerable yoke, began to engage the attention of other European states, particularly the Dutch, who, with the assistance of the natives, expelled the oppressors of India from almost every settlement, which the Dutch seized for themselves, and thus established a new, and more permanent power, because founded on justice and moderation towards the people over whom they preside.

The English wisely contented themselves with the possession of Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, and other forts in the Mogul empire; where, being indulged by the native princes with sundry exemptions, and exclusive privileges, they carried on a flourishing commerce, and divided eight per cent. upon their capital.

The Mogul empire, or Indostan, extends, in a compact square mass of country, from the Tartarian mountains in north latitude 36, to the Bay of Bengal, latitude 22. From thence it stretches due south, in the form of a peninsula, to Cape Comorin, within eight degrees of the line, and thus enjoys a coast of three thousand miles, which, besides the benefits to trade and navigation, contributes to the health of the Europeans who choose to reside in those very distant regions.

Indostan, in its most extensive sense, contains 1,116,000 square miles, and is consequently equal in size to Great Britain, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Turkey in Europe. The number of people who inhabit Indostan is computed at 100,000,000 of Indians, and 10,000,000 of Mahometans or Moors, the descendants of those Arabs, Persians, and Tartars, who at various periods over-ran and subdued this unwieldy empire.

The

The native Indians are zealously attached to their religious tenets, their laws, and antient customs; ingenious, tractable, inoffensive and submissive to a degree unknown in Europe; dark in their complexions, especially towards the south; feeble in their persons, constitutionally and religiously temperate, living chiefly upon rice, vegetables, and water.

Indostan is not only one of the largest empires of the world, but its produce is the most valuable; being the greatest repository of diamonds hitherto discovered; besides its spices, drugs, colours, silk, cotton, saltpetre of the best quality, saffron, coffee, sugar, and rice. Its manufactures in silks, embroidery, and cottons, have long been the admiration of Europe, and particularly of England, where the thirst of revenue permits the importation of these foreign manufactures, though now equalled, if not exceeded, in beauty, by those at home.

Between the years 1751 and 1760 a train of events, more fortunate than honourable, put the English East India Company in possession of those provinces which have hitherto been considered as the garden of Indostan, viz. Bengal, Bahar, and part of Orissa; the whole, collectively, equal in dimensions to the kingdom of France, abounding in manufacturing cities, inhabited by ten millions of people, and producing a revenue of 3,500,000*l.* annually. The fertile province of Benares, otherwise Gazipour, adjoining to Bengal on the north, and producing a revenue of 260,000*l.* was in 1774 annexed to the Company's possessions in that quarter. The provinces of Bengal and Benares lie on both sides of the Ganges, and are every where watered by its tributary streams, which are navigable for vessels of 200 tons, and connected by canals of sufficient depth for all the purposes of extensive inland navigation. The company also possess a district of 40 miles round

B

Madras;

Madras; the island of Bombay; and several detached cities upon the Indian shores.

By means of these advantages, and their territorial revenues, the Company enjoy, almost exclusively, the whole commerce of the Mogul empire; with the southern parts of Arabia, Persia, and Tibet. They trade also with the kingdoms of Asem, Aracan, Ava, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, Malacca, the empire of China, * and the principal Oriental islands, excepting Japan, the Manillas, and the islands possessed by the Dutch.

Such are the various and disjointed branches of the British empire; abounding in articles whereon mankind set the greatest value; a stimulus to invasion, and which will ever require a considerable expence to maintain.

Estimate of English exports and imports to and from the remaining settlements, in 1773, that year serving as an average medium of ten years from 1765 to 1775, being the highest average of general exports and imports in the commercial annals of this island.

	Exports to	Imports from	Seamen
East Indies	£. 845,707	£. 1,933,096	6000
African forts	— 662,112	— 68,424	- 3900
West Indies	- 1,235,734	- 2,700,814	- 12000
Canada	— 316,867	— 42,394	- 400
Nova Scotia	— 27,032	— 1,719	- 100
Newfoundland } Fisherics.	} 77,744	— 68,087	- 20000
Hudson's Bay	— 6,467	— 8,943	- 130
	<hr/> 3,171,663	<hr/> 4,823,477	
		<hr/> 3,171,663	

Balance against exports £. 1,651,814

* In consequence of the smuggling act, our imports from China will increase very considerably, and the illicit imports, from France, Holland, and Denmark, will proportionably decrease.

Could

To the annual civil establishments of the provinces,
 previous to the war in 1755 - £. 70,000
 To ditto from the peace of 1763 to the }
 time of the stamp act - - } 370,000

To the high bounties granted by parliament to encourage American produce, as hemp, flax, fir, and pine timber, pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, &c. supposed in the whole to be annually, £. 200,000

To commercial indulgencies allowed the provinces at the expence of the British merchants.

To losses sustained by those merchants from bad payments, particularly since the year 1775, when America owed several millions.

But these considerations, however important, are trifling to the expence of the three last wars, which Lord Sheffield places to the account of America, and estimates as follows, viz.

The war commencing in 1739	-	£. 31,000,000
_____ 1755	-	71,000,000
_____ 1775	-	100,000,000

		£. 202,000,000

The expence of the last war seems to be underrated by several millions.

Relative Situation of Great Britain and France, in Climate, Soil, Extent of Territory, Commerce, Revenue, and other Particulars.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS recommended, as affording new Sources of Strength and Revenue, whereby the Mother Country will be enabled to retain its Settlements, and extend and protect its Commerce.

The island of Great Britain is situated between the 50 and 59 degree of north latitude, a climate which qualifies the inhabitants equally for the arts of peace or war; while the breezes from the surrounding ocean

ocean soften the rigours of winter, and temperate the air to a degree unknown in countries upon the continent, lying under the same latitudes.

It is equally happy in its animal and vegetable productions; its metals, minerals, and fisheries; forming, upon the whole, a great storehouse or magazine of those articles which are the most serviceable to the real wants of mankind. The returns arising from the exportation of these in favourable years, exceed credibility, and they admit of being further extended, particularly those of grain, and the fisheries.

This natural produce, however valuable in itself, both for home manufactures and exportation, is rendered still more so, from the oblong form, and insular situation of Great Britain, possessing a coast of 2000 miles indented on every side by lakes, bays, or harbours; communicating outwardly with the ocean; internally, with numerous navigable rivers* and canals; by which means all the trading towns are ports, which communicate with each other, and with the four quarters of the world. The manufacturers at Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, and other places, ship their goods almost at their own doors,

* England is fertilized by more than 50 rivers, which are navigable for barges, carrying from 5 to 150 tons. Scotland hath only 3 navigable rivers, viz. the Clyde, navigable as high as Glasgow; the Forth, at Stirling; and the Tay, at Perth; but nature hath made ample amends to that kingdom in the numerous lakes which penetrate from 5 to 40 miles within land, and are navigable for ships of the line. The Duke of Bridgewater hath the merit of first setting the example in artificial navigations, and to his successful perseverance his country is indebted for the numerous canals which at present intersect the centre of the kingdom. In imitation of his celebrated cut at Manchester sundry public-spirited persons have embarked in the bold enterprize of joining the Thames and the Severn, or rather of completing a work, of which only 10 miles remained to be cut; but so unfavourable is nature to the design, that a subterraneous cut, 16 feet square, must be made through two miles of solid rock, at the expence of 8. guineas per yard.

at a low expence of inland carriage to the purchasers; and receive back by the same easy conveyance, the raw materials of both hemispheres, These are advantages of the most essential importance to a commercial country, and which no continent, or widely extended mass of land, can obtain so completely.

These kingdoms are also happily placed between the two great divisions of the globe; having Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the valuable Oriental islands, on one side; North and South America, with the West Indies, on the other. By this most favourable position, in the centre of the world*, they carry on an expeditious intercourse with commercial nations; their ships are continually steering through the ocean in every direction, and the whole earth is their market. Thus hath nature towards this island been lavish in favours, which surrounding nations may admire, but cannot attain. She hath pointed out, beyond a possibility of misconception, that the part assigned to Britain on the great theatre of the world, is an invariable attention to arts, commerce, fisheries and navigation.

Nature is, however, so diversified, that though, in sundry respects, Britain enjoys a decided superiority amongst nations, yet this pleasing reflection receives a check in the review of our comparative situation with France, the only European state that hath any pretensions to rivalship, or from which danger is to be apprehended.

* The antients considered Britain as placed at the western extremity of the world; but, on the discovery of America, our island was found to lie between the two continents, and equally adapted for the commerce of the one, and the other. Its situation, also, facing the entrance of the Baltic sea, affords it a short and easy communication with Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Poland, and the great empire of Russia; countries that furnish the materials of those mighty fleets which are Britain's glory and defence.

France,

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 23

	Square miles.
France, including the island of Corfica, } contains - - - - - }	141,357
England and Wales	49,450
Scotland with the isles	27,794
Ireland - - - - -	27,457
	104,701

Square miles in favour of France - 36,656

The superiority of that kingdom in climate and soil, is still more considerable. The northern provinces, as Picardy, Normandy, Brittany, Lorrain, and French Flanders, equal the most fertile counties of England, in grain, and common fruits. But the natural riches of France are its southern provinces, between which and England all comparison ceases.

To explain this seeming improbability, it may be necessary to remind the reader, that those provinces supply Europe and America with the most delicious wines, as claret, burgundy, champaign, pontac, frontiniac, muscadel. They also produce in great abundance, brandy, honey, the finer fruits, silk, saltpetre, saffron, and excellent salt; articles, which enter deeply into the commerce of France, and furnish exports, sufficient of themselves to enrich a great kingdom.

Such extent of dominion, and luxuriancy of soil, imply a numerous population, which, according to the late returns of the intendants of the provinces, amounts to near — — — 28,000,000

England and Wales, agree-
able to Dr. Price's calcu-
lation of 5 persons to each
house, contains * } 5,000,000

* Other writers affirm, that England and Wales contain above 6,000,000 inhabitants of all ages.

24 GENERAL VIEW OF

Ireland contains above	2,000,000	
Scotland, 30 years ago, agreeable to an estimate made out by the late Dr. Webfter.	} 1,300,000	
		8,300,000
In favour of France	—	19,700,000
Specie in France	—	£. 87,000,000
———— Great Britain and Ireland		20,000,000
In favour of France	—	67,000,000

The revenue and expenditure of France have been gradually increasing since the reign of Lewis XIV. and they amount at present to 18,000,000*l.* This sum may seem high to an Englishman; but was France taxed proportionably to Great Britain, its revenues would probably exceed 24,000,000*l.*

This conjecture is founded upon the comparative population of both kingdoms. If 5,000,000 of people in England, raise 15,000,000*l.* a country still more fertile, equally commercial, and inhabited by 28,000,000 of people, could extend its revenue beyond the abilities of any two nations in Europe to equal.

The great superiority which France enjoys, from extent of territory, and fertility of soil, derives additional value from her local and maritime situation. Washed on one side by the Atlantic, she trades with the northern parts of Europe; the coast of Africa, India, China, and America. Having the Mediterranean on the south, she engrosses almost the whole trade of Italy, the states of Barbary, the Turkish empire in Europe and Asia, comprehending Greece, Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and other parts of those

those extensive shores, which antiently engrossed the commerce of the world*.

Next, if not superior, to those channels of commerce, are her West India colonies, which far exceed, in extent, and value, those of Great Britain; and new plantations are in continual progression. The annual produce of the European colonies was thus valued some years ago, when the island of Tobago was in the hands of the English; viz,

	Ships.	Men.	Value.
French	600	18,000	£. 4,375,000
British	600	12,000	2,887,500
Dutch	150	4,000	1,050,000
Danish	70	1,500	306,250
Spain, it is conjectured, receives to the value of	—	—	} 437,500
			9,056,250

It would be endless to enumerate the various channels of commerce and revenue which that potent, active kingdom hath opened, and is opening; some of them, at the expence of Great Britain, in defiance of our ships of the line; and all the vigorous efforts we have been making to retain them.

Equally attentive is that nation to objects of inferior concern, but which, in the aggregate, are rendered subservient to the great plan of national polity. It is well known that Greece and Rome set examples to mankind in whatever is beautiful, stupendous, and useful, in architecture and science. In imitation of those great models, the public works in France

* The British trade with those countries was formerly very considerable and beneficial; but it is at present little more than a name, owing to the rivalship of the French, particularly in broad cloth, which they manufacture chiefly of smuggled wool from Ireland and this kingdom.

are constructed with a spirit, taste, and solidity, far surpassing the diminutive, imperfect undertakings in England; because, in the former country, they are the works of government, conducted on the most extensive plans, with a view to magnificence as well as general utility. Whereas, in England, those works which are of the greatest national importance, as highways, canals, and harbours, are entrusted solely to the abilities of a few traders, or country gentlemen, whose only views being profit, or local conveniency; they are executed upon contracted designs, frequently with borrowed money, and consequently subject to such heavy burdens as to defeat, in some respects, the ends for which they were undertaken.

Equally liberal, magnanimous, and politic, is the French government, in adopting its regulations in finance, to the particular situations, cases, and abilities of the respective provinces which compose the kingdom. The duty upon salt, for instance, is levied in some districts extremely high; in others, considerably lower; while the poorer countries are totally exempted. Even the frontier provinces, which that kingdom hath been gradually absorbing by conquest or treaty, are indulged with privileges and exemptions, which the native French do not enjoy. This condescension cannot fail of gaining the affections and confidence of those remote subjects, and of facilitating new acquisitions.

Such is the nation which Britain hath as its rival in arts, commerce, and arms. Superior in climate, fertility, and dominion; in population, revenue, specie, munificence, and civil polity; availing itself of the errors of this country, and rising upon its fall.

Upon the whole, we have been too secure in our estimation of that kingdom, and the wisdom of its councils. Instead of a rival, there is reason to
dread

dread a superior, or a controuling power, in every quarter of the globe. We have lately beheld our widely dispersed, and devoted empire; our commerce, shipping, and all the avenues and sources of external revenue, at the mercy of the most potent kingdom on the globe; whose friendship is universally courted by mankind, and whose influence gives the turn, or cast, to the councils of Europe, Asia, and America. No longer governed by an ostentatious display of military parade in Flanders and Germany, our rival now directs her attention to commerce, the navy, and the humbling of Great Britain. While we are amusing ourselves with the unceasing squabbles of ambition, faction, or party, France is concluding a treaty, or meditating a blow against this infatuated country. Our wars, therefore, are in future to be considered, not as wars of choice, but of unavoidable necessity. To whatever hemisphere France directs her fleets and armies, thither the British armaments must follow, to watch so vigilant an enemy, and to ward off the impending danger.

Thus, there remains no alternative between a total relinquishment of our transmarine possessions, or a continued, expensive preparation for defensive war. If we resolve upon the latter, we must at the same time devise new sources of men and revenue, a matter of greater difficulty than some speculative writers seem to allow. The ordinary and extraordinary revenues have nearly seen their utmost limits, beyond which they cannot be carried, without endangering manufactures and population. Neither can we extend the lines of our narrow kingdom, because these are fixed, unalterably, by the hand of Nature. But though we cannot enlarge its boundaries, we may improve its soil, realize millions of acres which are covered at present with heath, brushwood, moss, or stagnated waters. We may encourage

encourage arts, and new branches of manufacture; facilitate inland carriage, extend the fisheries, and raise a new world of thriving populous villages.

Harbours may be deepened or enlarged, royal dock-yards constructed in the most eligible situations, and ship-building encouraged around the whole island.

The hitherto neglected metropolis may be improved, and ornamented with magnificent edifices, so as to become the admiration of mankind, and to draw hither the wealthy, and the curious, from all parts of Europe, as to the centre of arts, commerce, and splendour.

We may adopt a compendious and saving mode of collecting the revenue, to the mutual advantage of government and the community; besides the suppression of that national evil, smuggling; a practice which the whole navy of England would in vain attempt to prevent. We may appropriate a given sum for reducing the national debt; or adopt, for that purpose, some of the plans proposed by Dr. Price, whose writings on this subject ought to be read by all those who have any regard for the safety of their country, its commerce, and dependencies.

These, seem to be some of the most necessary objects of attention; but if improvements were extended to a revival of the whole system of national polity, so as to model, qualify, and bring down all the constituent parts, to cases and circumstances now existing; the objects will be found so numerous and important, that it would require the abilities, and political knowledge, of a Sheffield, an Eden, and a Tucker, to bring them into public view.

With this island is lodged the active, invigorating force, that gives, or ought to give, security and protection to all the distant branches throughout the wide expanse of empire. Proportioned, therefore,
to

to the magnitude of external dominion and commerce, should be the powers of the centre; a consideration which hath not, seemingly, had a due share of attention. The improvement of the mother country was neglected, as an object of trivial concern, and the consequences were such as might have been expected. Filled with vast ideas of extensive empire, and commercial monopoly, we enjoyed a momentary splendour, at an expence far exceeding our abilities, and in a few years the golden dream vanished.

But so extensive were our distant possessions, that though an empire be lost, through the weakness of the seat of government, an empire still acknowledges our sway; whose proportionable magnitude to that of Great Britain is as five to one, without including the uninhabited regions of Labrador, and the countries round Hudson's Bay.

Considering our situation, therefore, in every point of view, *national improvements*, and the *increase of population*, seem not only matters of *expediency*, but of *positive necessity*; objects of the first importance, and to which all other concerns are only secondary, in a very distant degree. Happily, the field which yet remains for the exercise of a patriotic administration; the internal resources still in reserve for the relief of an oppressed kingdom; afford a pleasing, well-grounded prospect, that we shall not only be able to surmount present difficulties, but even to rise, with redoubled strength, from the ruins of a shattered empire. If we wish to erect a fabric of future prosperity on a permanent basis, we must return to our deserted native country; trace out the unexplored gifts of nature, and bring into action all its hidden treasures. England in 1784, contrasted with England at the Revolution; with Ireland, Russia, and North America, is a highly improved country. But England in 1784,

* compared

compared with Holland, China, antient Greece, Italy, and Egypt, seems to be nearly in a state of nature; still more so, is the northern part of our island, as will appear in the subsequent review of that kingdom.

Respecting population, we have to observe that the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, containing only 9540 square miles, and supplied in grain and necessaries by their neighbours, calculate the number of inhabitants at about 2,000,000. Whereas Great Britain, which contains 77,244 square miles, and supplies other nations with its exuberance, whose natural situation is most eminently calculated for inland and foreign trade, is supposed to be inhabited by no more than 6,300,000. We may therefore, without entering upon minute calculation, thus estimate the number of people, who, with the aid of government, might be maintained and employed in Great Britain, viz.

In England	—	—	12,000,000
— Scotland	—	—	3,000,000
			15,000,000
If the Irish government shall persevere in its patriotic efforts, the popula- tion of that fertile kingdom may be increased from 2 to	}		5,000,000
			20,000,000

the whole constituting a power sufficient for all the purposes of external defence, against the united force of our formidable rival, and her numerous allies.

To these favourable circumstances on the creditor side of public affairs, we have further to add, that, after 1791, the remaining long annuities, and life-annuities, granted in the reign of King William and Queen Anne, also the annuities given as pre-
miums

miums to those who have advanced money to the state, since those reigns, will gradually expire, by which above 1,300,000*l.* annually, will revert to the public.

It is ever to be regretted that government did not raise the loans, or the greatest part of them, on temporary annuities, which they might have done at a trifling difference in the expence. If, instead of 10,000,000*l.* the interest of the present debt, and of which eight parts are, or will be, perpetual, government had funded a tenth part only in perpetuity, the expence would scarcely have been felt by the nation in general, while a million paid annually to the opulent creditors of the public, would have fully answered all the purposes of individual convenience. Such would have been the happy state of our finances at the present time, and so light the burdens transmitted to posterity, had ministers been seriously inclined to keep the public debts within moderate bounds. Nor is it yet too late to put these enormous burdens into a train of redemption, within a given time, providing that our present rulers shall be so disposed. If they wish to gain the full confidence of the nation; to unfetter our commerce and manufactures; to check emigration; and to keep that many-headed monster, war, at a distance, by being always prepared for it; if they are emulous of honest, well-earned fame, and desirous to transmit their names to posterity, as the saviours of their country; they will listen to the voice of reason, and the calls of common justice towards an injured community, who have been grievously loaded, beyond any example in the annals of mankind.

The further resources still in reserve for national purposes, may be thus stated.

Savings in the army and ordnance establishments, in consequence of the loss of America, and the very expensive, though useless island of Minorca.

Ditto,

Ditto, in bounties on American produce and other disbursements in those states, the whole supposed to be half a million annually.

- Ditto, in collecting the excise, customs, and duties, being at present from 6 to 15 per cent. on the gross amount, but which may be reduced to less than one half of that expence, as soon as the complicated mass of revenue shall be simplified or consolidated, and smuggling suppressed.

Ditto, by abolishing the bounty on the exportation of corn, supposed to cost the nation 140,000l. annually, upon an average of years, without answering any other purpose than the encouragement of frauds, it being alledged that many cargoes thus shipped upon bounty are, soon after, brought back, reloaded, and shipped upon a second bounty*.

Sale

* A bounty upon the exportation of corn in a manufacturing country, is so far impolitic, as it affords a pretence for raising the rents of lands at the expence of that class of people who are least able to bear it; and, at the same time, gives our rivals in trade a decided advantage at foreign markets. It hath been argued, in support of the bounty, that cheap provision is the source of idleness, and disorderly habits, amongst persons who are restless through the impatience of money in their pockets. Admitting this to be the case with a portion of the working people, shall the wives and children of these thoughtless men be rendered still more wretched, through the want of that necessary article, bread, thus artificially enhanced beyond its natural value, and beyond the abilities even of the most industrious mother to purchase a sufficient quantity for her unhappy offspring? Or, because the kingdom may contain 50 or 60,000 disorderly persons, is the whole body of the sober, the domestic, and the industrious manufacturers, artists, and labourers, with their families, amounting to some millions, to be thus deprived of the gifts which Heaven hath so bountifully provided for them?

It hath been further argued, that, as wages are higher in England than in any other country, the working people can bear a proportionable rise in the price of provisions; but it should be considered, that human nature is subject to accidents, to lingering sickness, and to death; that even the most diligent are sometimes out of employ, from stagnation of business; and that when the work, from whatever cause, is at a stand, the supplies of a whole family are

Sale of the royal forests, crown lands, and other unproductive claims, which would also open a new field to agriculture, population, and the consumption of home manufactures.

Some of these savings are now in actual progression, and the accumulated amount of the whole will ultimately exceed 2,000,000l. annually.

In the mean time, however, additional taxes must be levied to raise the public revenue to a par, or level, with the unavoidable disbursements as before stated; and, as persons of all denominations have something to say on these subjects, the following observations are submitted, among other schemes of the day, to the consideration of the reader.

The objects of revenue may be classed under three general heads;

1. *The landed property*; on which, owing to late improvements, and the rapid growth of towns, the tax is levied at present very unequally.

2. *Trade and commerce*; or duties and excises on exports and imports, manufactures, and the necessaries of life. Objects, that ought to be the last in consideration, and always touched with the greatest delicacy; but, which, on the contrary, have been taxed, and re-taxed, to an alarming degree; tending to sap the foundations of commerce, the great prop on which all other sources of revenue chiefly depend.

3. *Luxuries, superfluities, and amusements*, seem therefore, the most eligible objects of taxation, and which will be more or less productive in proportion as commerce shall be exempted. From these channels all the deficiencies of revenue may be amply

are instantly cut off. Debts, or the precarious dependence upon friends or neighbours, look them in the face, and the loss of one week throws them back many weeks. It ought also to be considered, that as taxes, and all the necessaries of life, have risen, and are rising, far beyond any example in other countries, the article of bread should, in policy and humanity, be permitted to reach the cottage, and the garret, at such prices as bounteous nature alone shall, from year to year, stamp upon it.

C

supplied,

supplied, and at an easy expence in collecting; without oppressing any class of people; without cramping the national exertions; or driving the industrious manufacturers and their families to the new world. The articles which seem to be the most productive, though the least burthensome, are,

		ANNUALLY.
Gentlemens carriages having 4 wheels	}	£. 10 0 0
and 2 horses, —		
— 4 ditto — — —		25 0 0
— 6 ditto — — —		50 0 0
Chaises or whiskies having 2 wheels -		5 0 0
Saddle horses kept for pleasure —		1 0 0
Qualifications for shooting — — —		5 0 0
Every pack of hounds — — —		25 0 0
Dogs of certain descriptions, from 5s. to		1 0 0
Every house-keeper or master of a family,	}	
for permission that hair powder may be		
used in such family, if renting a house		0 5 0
under 50l. and to be charged propor-		
tionably upon higher rents		
A similar tax to be levied and propor-	}	
tioned upon housekeepers, who per-		0 5 0
mit card-playing within their respec-		
tive houses		
Watches from 5s. to — — —		2 0 0

These taxes, if duly enforced, are calculated to raise above 1,000,000l. a sum which, with savings, and the extinction of temporary annuities, would effect the following essential purposes, viz:

Make good all the deficiencies of revenue, arising from whatever cause.

Enable government to reduce the national debt, by means of an accumulating fund, upon compound interest, during a given number of years*.

And

* Dr. Price and other gentlemen conversant in numerical calculations, have given several striking examples of the progressive effects of

And thirdly, enable government to appropriate a specific sum annually to objects of national improvement; which, besides giving encouragement to ingenuity, and employment to the industrious, would promote the circulation of specie throughout the kingdom, increase the demand for various articles of inland manufacture, keep the people at home; and finally produce, in their operation, an annual equivalent equal to the whole amount of the original expence, if not, in many instances, exceeding it.

of accumulating interest, provided that both principal and interest shall be permitted to operate, without alienating any part thereof, as was originally proposed by the projectors of the sinking fund in 1716.

“Money,” says the Dr. “bearing compound interest increases at first slowly. But, the rate of interest being continually accelerated, it becomes in some time so rapid as to mock all the powers of the imagination. *One penny*, put out at our Saviour’s birth to *5 per cent. compound* interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum, than would be contained in a *hundred and fifty millions of earths all solid gold*. But if put out on *simple* interest, it would in the same time, have amounted to no more than *seven shillings and fourpence half-penny*.”

Respecting the present national debt, the Dr. says, that a million borrowed annually for 20 years, will pay off, in this time, 55 millions 3 per cent. stock, if discharged at 60l. in money for every 100l. stock; and in 40 years more, without any further aid from loans, 333 millions (that is 388 millions in all) would be paid off. The addition of 19 years to this period would pay off a *thousand millions*.”

“One million yearly applied to discharge our debt, would, says Baron Maseres, raise in 60 years, at 75 per cent. 317 millions.”

Such is the hope yet remaining for this island, after the long train of political errors which characterize the age. It must therefore afford every friend of his country, and of posterity, very considerable satisfaction when he contemplates, that by a slight requisition on a few articles of luxury only, our incumbrances may be discharged, and all taxes on manufactures, and the necessaries of life abolished. By this happy turn in our affairs we shall soon be enabled to go to foreign markets with better goods, and at lower prices; nor will there be, under such circumstances, the smallest pretence to ransack the globe, in quest of remote settlements.

So soon as the great concerns of the nation shall be put into this happy train, Britain may be considered as out of danger, and in a hopeful way; especially so, if we, instead of stimulating the jealousy, and irritating the passions of mankind, enjoy our superlative advantages, in humble gratitude to the Author of those gifts, and with moderation and humanity towards mankind, of whatever country or complexion.

This rule of conduct will allay the jealousies, dissipate the resentments, and secure the friendship of an offended world. It will accelerate commercial intercourse, give permanency to old channels of trade, and open new ones, whereof there yet remain an unbounded field, especially with France, and the northern part of our island; countries, of which we have in many respects lost the benefit, by labouring to crush the one, and by cramping the exertions of the other.

Such is the arduous work allotted for those who are, or shall be, entrusted with the management of public affairs. They have to undo the mistakes of almost a century, and to lead the nation into that direction which nature, experience, and the circumstances of the times, point out as its proper line of action.

The embarrassments to be encountered, and the difficulties to be surmounted, in restoring a fallen empire, present a noble field for the exercise of Roman patriotism; that species of virtue which elevates the mind, supersedes all selfish or frivolous considerations, and perseveres, with enthusiastic zeal, in whatever is great, useful, and benevolent. It is pleasing to observe, that as our former system was fallacious in its principle, and ruinous in its operation to ourselves, and to mankind; the measures reserved for the present day will produce the most salutary, healing, and beneficial effects, wherever our influence extends. That plan of action, which
is

is calculated to bestow not imaginary, but real glory, to this exhausted country, will, at the same time, give peace, security, and comfort to a tenth part of the human race.*.

* The world is supposed to contain 953 millions of people ; of which number, 25 millions are under the sovereignty of the king of Great Britain ; but, in estimating the whole collective body of mankind who are more or less under the influence of the British councils, or affected by them, we must, besides our Oriental provinces, include the greatest part of the Mogul empire. The trust which Heaven hath reposed in the members of the British senate is, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance, and most serious concern : they are the stewards of nations and people, in every quarter of the globe ; bound, by every possible tie, to diffuse universal justice, and effectually to redress the grievances of those who cannot, or who dare not, lodge their complaints, personally, where alone the supreme power is vested.

A N N A L S
O F
S C O T L A N D.

SCOTLAND having been long harrassed by hostile invasion, and sometimes embroiled in civil commotions, the profession of arms became both a necessary, and a favourite employment amongst the great body of the people. Every man was a soldier, ready to march at the command of his chieftain, or upon the summons of his prince. The nation, thus inured to the habits of war, in defence of their country and liberties, and always prevailing in the sequel, gained a military reputation abroad; while the valour and fidelity of the auxiliary Scots, in the armies of contending princes, procured their native kingdom various commercial privileges and exemptions, which it enjoyed until the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, when those nations, the mart at Campvere in Holland excepted, alledging that Scotland was no longer a separate kingdom, subjected its commerce to the same regulations and restrictions as that of England. The Scots of the middle ages, sensible of the benefits to commerce which those distinguished privileges bestowed, began to avail themselves of the riches which their seas and extensive coasts afforded, and to import, chiefly by means of the fisheries, not only the produce of more luxuriant climates, but also specie in considerable plenty;

plenty; infomuch, that the coin of Scotland continued, for many ages, the same in quality and quantity as coins of the like denominations in England.

Mention is made by foreign writers of a traffic between Scotland and the Low Countries, whither, in the ninth century, the Scots carried their fish; and it is observable, that this trade first suggested to the Dutch the idea of that fishery on the coast of Scotland, which was the origin of their rise, from insignificant villages, to High and Mighty States.

Long before that period, however, the Scots and Picts seem to have been acquainted with certain principles of rude architecture, as appears by fundry houses and ruins, particularly in the Highlands, of a most singular construction, and fully described by the antiquaries of the present century.

Next in time, are the circular towers at Brechin and Abernethy, which have also been described, though their uses have not been ascertained, by those writers.

It is beyond a doubt that ecclesiastical buildings of considerable magnitude began to be erected in the fifth century; some of these buildings being mentioned by Bede who lived near that period, and by succeeding historians, and in charters.

But it was not till the Scots had re-united the Pictish kingdom, expelled the Saxons, broke the power of the Danes, and established peace and security, that the princes, nobility, and dignified clergy, began, by means of commerce and the fisheries, to erect those magnificent fabrics which characterize the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. Those mighty works were carried on with unremitting assiduity, under the patronage of a line of excellent monarchs, through whose mild government, wise institutions, and patriotic exertions, the kingdom arrived, comparatively, to a considerable degree of refinement, and began to form a part in the

political system of Europe, when the death of Alexander III. in 1285, wound up that flourishing period; and embroiled the two British kingdoms in all the calamities of a sixty years war.

The population, the commerce, and the resources of Scotland, at the commencement of that destructive period, must have been very considerable. The kingdom was supplied by Genoa, with ships and arms; and by the Netherlands with arms, stores, and provisions.

In the *Fœdera*, * vol. III. page 771, Edward II. solicits the Earl of Flanders to break off all communication

* In the beginning of the reign of Henry I. king of England, anno. 1100, the records and registers of public acts of the crown first began to be regularly kept. From these, Thomas Rymer, Esq. historiographer to queen Anne, published his celebrated *Fœdera* in 20 vols. folio: Consisting of treaties, conventions, letters, grants, &c. between the kings of England, and foreign princes, and states; and also, many charters, grants, proclamations, &c. of those kings, relating to matters with their own subjects. Transcribed from the public archives in the Tower of London and the Chapel of the Rolls; which collection was continued by Mr. Saunderfon, keeper of the said records.

Mr. Carte, in a printed advertisement, anno 1744, relative to his then intended history of England, says, "That our records began to be kept in the reign of Richard I. (probably he means *more generally*) when the acts and grants of our kings, under the seal of their Chancery Exchequer, began to be regularly enrolled and kept in proper repositories. That the survey of the lands of the kingdom in *doomsday book*, and the sheriffs accounts for one year of Henry I. and for all the reign, except the first year, of Henry II. among the rolls, in the Pipe Office, are indeed more antient; but these are not properly acts of our kings; nor were the acts of other kings in Europe usually enrolled and entered upon record before that time. In France, before that time, the Chancellor only kept copies of all grants under the great seal, which, at his demise, were delivered over to his successor; and the like method was probably observed in England, and, perhaps, in other parts of Europe. But an accident of our king Richard's surprizing king Philip Augustus in an ambush, and seizing of his great seal and the copies of all his grants, made them fall into the method of registering in books, and repositing in secure places, the copies of all grants, &c. And this method seems to have been introduced, at the same time, into England."

munication and correspondence with the Scots, whom he calls rebels; to which the Earl made answer as follows: "Our country of Flanders is common to all the world, where every person finds free permission, neither can we withhold this privilege from persons concerned in commerce, without bringing ruin and destruction on our country. If the Scots come into our ports, and our subjects go to theirs, it is not thereby our intention, nor that of our subjects, to encourage them in their error, but merely to carry on our traffic without taking part with them."

In 1322, Edward finding all his remonstrances with the Earl of Flanders ineffectual, and that his subjects still continued to supply the Scots with arms and provisions, ordered the barons of the Cinque ports to destroy all the ships of the Flemings, which should be found carrying supplies to the Scots. And in 1333, we find Edward III. complaining to the said Earl, and to the burgo-masters of the three good towns of Bruges, Gaunt, and Ypres, of their people's aiding the Scots, his enemies, with their ships, ammunition, and provisions.

So respectable was the Scottish trade, even in the worst of times; and as all the trifling manufactures of that early period must have been nearly at a stand during the depressing circumstances attendant upon war, we may chiefly attribute the foreign aid and supplies, to the fisheries alone.

No sooner had peace, security, and good order, been restored, than the nation resumed its commercial spirit with new vigour, and from thenceforward the progressive flourishing state of Scotland is

The valuable collection of state papers, thus happily preserved through a series of ages, and amidst all the revolutions that convulsed the island, hath enabled later historians to correct the errors of old writers, and to publish the annals of both nations, with a degree of certainty hitherto unknown,

fully

fully authenticated in the writings of British and foreign historians, as well as by charters and parliamentary records.

In 1378, one Mercer, a Scots navigator, having been taken prisoner by the English, his son, with a squadron of ships, attacked Scarborough, where the elder Mercer had been confined, carried off several vessels; and a considerable number of the inhabitants. This, the English historian, Walsingham, laments, as "a great misfortune to England, which might have been enriched by the ransom the elder Mercer was capable of paying."

The Scots commerce with the Low Countries, France, Spain, and the Mediterranean, had at this time become so considerable, that the ports in the north of England, particularly Newcastle and Hull, fitted out privateers to intercept it, and actually took a Scots ship, valued at the immense sum, for those days, of 7000*l.* sterling.

In 1381, the English council issued special orders that the Scots should receive no molestation in their trade.

In 1407, John duke of Brabant, did "grant his letters patent of *new privileges* to those of the Scottish nation, trading *all over* his dominions," and it is further related that Bruges, in Flanders, was then, and had been *very long before that time*, the staple port for Scottish ships and merchandize."

In 1410, according to English historians, "Sir Robert Umphryville, vice-admiral of England, lay, with ten ships of war, before the port of Leith, when landing on either side the Forth, where he did much mischief and plundered the country, he took many prizes, and burnt the great galliot of Scotland, with many other ships, and yet brought home fourteen tall ships, laden with drapery goods and corn, whereby he so far lowered the prices in England, as to have obtained the name of Mend-market."

The

The fifteenth century opens an æra extremely favourable to the arts of civil life in Scotland, particularly literature, science, husbandry, planting, commerce, navigation, and the fisheries. It introduces the pacific, the splendid, and truly patriotic reigns of the five James's, who were equally vigorous in executing, as their parliaments were in enacting, the numerous regulations and institutions which distinguished the vertical period of Scotland's glory and happiness.

JAMES I. one of the most accomplished princes of the age, applied himself with unremitting assiduity, to every object of national utility,

He amply endowed the university of St. Andrews, of which he was properly the second founder. He established schools over the kingdom; invited and encouraged learned and ingenious foreigners to reside in Scotland; and frequently honoured their public exercises with his presence. He kept a diary, in which he wrote down the names of all such men as deserved his patronage, and preferment; reprov'd, with great freedom, such churchmen as lived unsuitably to their character; and, as a check to their immoderate luxury, he brought over some Carthusian monks, the severest order in the church of Rome, for whom he endowed and allotted a monastery at Perth, the centre of his dominions.

He rewarded industry, encouraged agriculture, husbandry, manufactures, and commerce; *
regulated

* In the statutes of his first parliament, mention is made of a duty of 4d. Scots, on each thousand of red herrings, made in Scotland. And, in his second parliament, a duty was laid on woollen cloth exported. While the foregoing extracts serve to exhibit the antiquity of red herrings and woollen cloth, for exportation in Scotland; they inform us, at the same time, that our ancestors of those days were little acquainted with the science of commerce; for, besides the impolitic duties laid upon exports, the royal boroughs made an ordinance, that no foreign merchants should

regulated the wages of workmen and labourers, by a certain standard; introduced a better style of architecture; obliged landlords to rebuild or repair all their manors, castles, and forts; and to superintend the civilization of their tenants, for whose conduct they were made partly responsible. He reformed the courts of justice, and obliged every advocate, who attended at the bar, to swear, before they entered upon any process, "that they should say nothing but truth, in order to make it appear such to the judges: That they should not go about to corrupt the judges, with promises or bribes: That they should make use of no false or frivolous arguments: and lastly, That they should by no means offer to delay or retard the decision of the case in debate." He travelled through the most uncivilized parts of the Highlands, to see that justice was duly administered. He rebuilt, or repaired bridges; established ferries and inns; enforced the antient warlike exercises of the people, ordering musterings or wappinshawings of all men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to be made four times a year, in every sheriffdom of the kingdom; that every subject should be provided with warlike weapons according to his degree; the meanest to be furnished with sufficient bows and arrows, a sword, buckler, and knife. Laws were enacted against drinking, and vanity in apparel; cloaths of silk, rich embroideries, costly furs, necklaces of

should be permitted, as had formerly been practised, to purchase herrings from the Scottish fishermen, at sea, nor until they were first landed; that so their own burghers might be first supplied. Whereupon the Netherlanders and the German Hanseatics (who, till then, constantly took off immense quantities of herrings from the Scots, on their coasts, whereby Scotland was enriched) betook themselves directly to that fishery, whereby Scotland became afterwards impoverished, and those other people were greatly enriched.

James I. having married his daughter Mary to Wolfred Lord of Vere, the Scottish staple was removed from Bruges to that city, where it hath generally remained to the present time.

pearl, &c. were prohibited to be wore, excepting by knights and lords, or their heirs.

All taverns of wine, ale, or beer, were to be shut upon tolling a bell at nine o'clock in the evening, by the magistrates of burghs, who were to forfeit fifty shillings to the king's chamberlain as often as they should fail in their duty.

James, to the excellent statutes which distinguished his reign, endeavoured to soften the manners of his subjects, by introducing the polite arts, particularly those of poetry, painting, and music, to their acquaintance. In poetry, he was an author; and of music, he was one of the best judges and composers of his time. He is generally supposed to have been the reformer of the Scottish vocal music, if not the father of that elegant simplicity, for which the antient Scottish music is every where celebrated. Several pieces of his poetry were extant in the reign of James V. but nothing hath reached the present times that can be attributed to him, with any certainty, excepting a panegyric upon the princess Jane, before she was married to him, called *the King's Quair*,* which in
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* The King's Quair was rescued from oblivion by the assiduity of the learned and ingenious William Tytler, Esq. of Edinburgh, who, with the assistance of a student at Oxford, found the copy amongst the Seldean manuscripts, in the Bodleian library. In the same manner, Dr. Percy first discovered the song of Peblis to the Play, in an antient manuscript collection of Scottish songs, preserved in the Pepsian library.

Mr. Tytler hath lately favoured the public with an elegant edition of the King's Quair, and Christ Kirk on the Green, accompanied with a Glossary; a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of King James, and on Scottish Music. Peblis to the Play, is now first published by Mr. Nichols of London, in the second volume of his *Select Scottish Ballads*. The same gentleman is printing a continuation of Scottish Songs, now first collected from the originals in the Pepsian library.

“The genius of the Scots,” says Mr. Tytler, “has in every age shone conspicuous in poetry and music. Of the first, the poems of Oſſian, composed in an age of rude antiquity, are sufficient proof.

The

the old language signifies *the King's Book*. 2. A ballad or poem, called *Christ Kirk on the Green*, and

The peevish doubt entertained by some, of their authenticity, appears to be the utmost refinement of scepticism. As genuine remains of Celtic poetry, the poems of Ossian will continue to be admired as long as there shall remain a taste for the *sublime and beautiful*.

The Scottish *Muse* does no less honour to the genius of the country. The old Scottish songs have always been admired for the wild, pathetic sweetness, which distinguishes them from the music of every other country. I mean, in this essay, to try to fix the æra of our most antient melodies, and to trace the history of our music down to modern times. In a path so untrodden, where scarce a track is to be seen to lead the way, the surest guide I have to follow is the music itself, and a few authorities which our old historians afford us. After all, the utmost I aim at is probability; and, perhaps, by some hints, I may lead others to a more direct road.

The origin of music, in every country, is from the woods and lawns. The simplicity and wildness of several of our old Scottish melodies, denote them to be the production of a pastoral age and country, and prior to the use of any musical instrument beyond that of a very limited scale of a few natural notes, and prior to the knowledge of any rules of artificial music. This conjecture, if solid, must carry them up to a high period of antiquity.

The most antient of the Scottish songs, still preserved, are extremely simple, and void of all art. They consist of one measure only, and have no second part, as the later, or more modern airs have. They must, therefore, have been composed for a very simple instrument, such as the shepherd's reed or pipe, of few notes, and of the plain *diatonic scale*, without using the semi-tones, or sharps and flats. The distinguishing strain of our old melodies is plaintive and melancholy; and what makes them soothing and affecting, to a great degree, is the constant use of the concordant tones, the third and fifth of the scale, often ending upon the fifth, and some of them on the sixth of the scale. By this artless standard some of our old Scottish melodies may be traced: such as *Gil Morice—There cam a ghost to Mary'er's door—O laddie, I man loo' thee,—Hap me wi' thy pettycoat*. I mean the old sets of these airs, as the last air, which I take to be one of our oldest songs, is so modernized as scarce to have a trace of its antient simplicity. The simple original air is still sung by nurses in the country, as a lullaby to still their babes to sleep. It may be said, that the words of some of these songs denote them to be of no very antient date: But it is well known, that many of our old songs have changed their original names, by being adapted to more modern words. Some old tunes have a second part; but it is only

and another poem called *Peblis to the Play*; both of them describing the humours and manners of the peasantry in those rude ages.

James

only a repetition of the first part on the higher octave; and these additions are probably of more modern date than the tunes themselves.

King James I. is said to have been a fine performer on the lute and harp, with which he accompanied his own songs. Playing on these instruments, must, by the prince's example, have become fashionable; and, of course, a more regular and refined modulation in the Scottish songs must have been introduced. The simple scale of the pipe, by the introduction of the stringed instruments, became, in consequence, much enlarged, not only by a greater extent of notes, but by the division of them into semitones.

The great æra of poetry, as of music, in Scotland, I imagine to have been from the beginning of the reign of king James I. in 1405, down to the end of king James V. in 1542. The old cathedrals and abbeys, those venerable monuments of Gothic grandeur, with the choristers belonging to them, according to the splendour of their ritual church service, were so many schools or seminaries for the cultivation of music. It must be owned, however, that although the science of harmonic music was cultivated by the church composers, yet, as the merit of the church music, at that time, consisted in its harmony only, the fine flights and pathetic expression of our songs could borrow nothing from thence.

This was likewise the æra of chivalry: The feudal system was then in its full vigour. The Scottish nobility, possessed of great estates, hereditary jurisdictions, and a numerous vassalage, maintained, in their remote castles, a state and splendour little inferior to the court of their kings. Upon solemn occasions, tilts and tournaments were proclaimed, and festivals held with all the Gothic grandeur and magnificence of chivalry, which drew numbers of knights and dames to these solemnities.

James IV. and V. were both of them magnificent princes: They kept splendid courts, and were great promoters of these heroic entertainments. In the family of every chief, or head of a clan, the bard was a very considerable person: his office, upon solemn feasts, was to sing or rehearse the splendid actions of the heroes, ancestors of the family, which he accompanied with the harp. At this time, too, there were itinerant or strolling minstrels, performers on the harp, who went about the country, from house to house, upon solemn occasions, reciting heroic ballads, and other popular episodes. To these sylvan minstrels, as they were called, I imagine we are indebted for many fine old songs, which are more varied in their melody, and more regular in their composition, as they approach nearer to modern times, though still retaining their 'wood-notes wild.'

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JAMES II. founded the univerfity of Glasgou, and exceeded his father, if poffible, in encouraging
 fumptuary

To the wandering harpers we are certainly indebted for that fpecies of mufic, which is now fcarcely known; I mean the *port*. Almost every great family had a *port* that went by the name of the family. Of the few that are ftill preferved are, *port Lennox*, *port Gordon*, *port Seton*, and *port Athole*, which are all of them excellent in their kind. The *port* is not of the martial ftain of the *march*, as fome have conjectured; thofe above-named being all in the plain-tive ftain, and modulated for the harp.

The *pibroch*, the march or battle tune of the Highland clans, with the different ftains introduced of the *coronich*, &c. is fitted for the bagpipe only: its meafure, in the *pas grave* of the Highland piper, equipped with his flag and military enftigns, when marching up to battle, is ftately and animating, rifing often to a degree of fury.

To clafs the old Scottifh fongs, according to the feveral æras in which we may fuppofe them to have been made, is an attempt which can arife to conjecture only, except as to fuch of them as carry more certain marks, to be afterwards taken notice of."

Mr. Tytler proceeds to ftate the gradations of the Scottifh mufic, and particularly the moft diftinguifhed fongs, which fall in with the following periods of time, viz.

1. The fongs prior to the reign of James I.
2. ——— from that æra to the beginning of James IV.
3. ——— from James IV. to the end of the reign of queen Mary.
4. ——— from queen Mary to the reftoration; and,
5. ——— from the reftoration to the union.

"It were endless, fays he, to run through the many fine airs expreffive of fentiment, and paffion, in the number of our Scottifh fongs, which, when fung in the genuine natural manner, muft affect the heart of every perfon of feeling, whofe tafte is not vitiated and feduced by *fafhion* and *novelty*.

As the Scottifh fongs are the *flights of genius*, devoid of art, they bid defiance to artificial graces and affected cadences. A Scots fong can only be fung in tafte by a Scottifh voice. To a fweet, liquid, flowing voice, capable of fwelling a note from the foftest to the fulleft tone, and what the Italians call a *voce di petto*, muft be joined *fenfibility* and *feeling*, and a perfect underftanding of the fubject, and *words* of the fong, fo as to know the *significant word* on which to *fwell* or *foften* the tone, and lay the force of the note. From a want of knowledge of the language, it generally happens, that, to moft of the foreign mafters, our melodies, at firft, muft feem wild and uncouth; for which reafon, in their performance, they generally fall fhort of our expectation. We fometimes, however, find a foreign mafter, who, with a genius for the pathetic,
 and

sumptuary laws for the general welfare. He laboured with unremitting zeal, to accustom his subjects

and a knowledge of the subject and words, has afforded very high pleasure in a Scottish song. Who could hear, with insensibility, or without being moved in the greatest degree, *Tenducci sing I'll never leave thee*, or, *The Braes of Ballendine?* or, *Will ye go to the Ewe-bughts, Marion*, sung by Signora Corri?

It is a common defect in some who pretend to sing, to affect to smother the words, by not articulating them, so as we scarce can find out either the subject or language of their songs. This is always a sign of want of feeling, and the mark of a bad singer; particularly of Scottish songs, where there is generally so intimate a correspondence between the air and subject; indeed, there can be no good vocal voice without it.

The proper accompaniment of a Scottish song, is a plain, thin, dropping bass, on the harpichord or guittar. The fine breathings, *those heart-felt touches*, which genius alone can express, in our songs, are lost in a noisy accompaniment of instruments. The full chords of a thorough bass should be used sparingly, and with judgment, not to overpower, but to support and raise the voice at proper pauses.

Where, with a fine voice, is joined some skill and execution in either of those instruments, the air, by way of symphony, or introduction to the song, should always be first played over; and, at the close of every stanza, the last part of the air should be repeated, as a relief for the voice, which it gracefully sets off. In this *symphonic part*, the performer may shew his taste and fancy on the instrument, by carrying it *ad libitum*.

A Scottish song admits of no cadence; I mean, by this, no fanciful or capricious descant upon the close of the time. There is one embellishment, however, which a fine singer may easily acquire, that is, an easy *shake*. This, while the organs are flexible in a young voice, may, with practice, be easily attained.

A Scottish song, thus performed, is among the highest of entertainments to a *musical genius*. But is this genius to be acquired, either in the performer or hearer? it cannot. *Genius in music, as in poetry, is the gift of Heaven*; it is born with us, it is not to be learned.

An artist on the violin may display the magic of his fingers, in running from the top to the bottom of the finger-board, in various intricate *capricios*, which, at most, will only excite surprize; while a very middling performer, of taste and feeling, in a subject that admits of the *pathos*, will touch the heart in its finest sensations. The finest of the Italian composers, and many of their singers, possess this to an amazing degree. The opera airs of those

jects to the habits of civil life; curbed the licentiousness of the borderers, and obliged them to cultivate their own lands, instead of preying upon those of their neighbours.

He enacted severe laws against pirates, and all those who broke the peace, either at home or abroad; every traveller, upon entering an inn, was to lay aside all his armour, excepting a knife, be-

those great masters, *Pergolese, Jomelli, Galuppi, Perez*, and many others of the present age, are astonishingly pathetic and moving."

Mr. Tytler, in a critical dissertation on the composition and harmony of the Italian music, endeavours to prove, that the Italians owe the improvement of their music to the early introduction of the Scottish melody into it.

The following testimony of *Tassoni* the Italian poet, leaves no room for further doubt respecting the originality of our celebrated airs. "We reckon, among us moderns, James king of Scotland, who not only composed many sacred pieces of vocal music, but, also, of himself, *invented a new kind of music, plaintive and melancholy, different from all others*; in which he has *been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, prince of Venosa*, who, in our age, has improved music with new and admirable inventions. Gesualdo is also celebrated, by cotemporary writers, as one of the most learned and greatest composers of vocal music in his time. He was, say they, the prince of musicians of our age; he having recalled the *rythme* into music, *introduced such a style of modulation*, that other musicians yielded the preference to him; and all singers and players on stringed instruments, laying aside that of others, every where eagerly embraced his music." Mr. Tytler, in closing these extracts, exclaims in the honest warmth of his heart, "How perfectly characteristic, this, of the pathetic strains of the old Scottish songs! what an illustrious testimony to their excellency!"

Many of the finest songs seem to have been composed by persons above the common rank, of classic education, and well acquainted with the mythology of the antients. These gentle swains and nymphs resided chiefly in the pastoral countries, to the southward of Edinburgh. The Tweed, the Yarrow, the Galla Water, the Broom of Cowden Knows, and the Bushes above Traquair, were witnesses of many tender scenes, and will long perpetuate those tales of love in all its various situations of hope, success, disappointment, and despair. Jean of Aberdeen, Lochaber no more, the Birks of Invermay, Allan Water, and other beautiful airs, do honour to the more northern parts of the kingdom. Invermay lies on the north side of the Ochil hills in Stratherne, Perthshire; and, at no great distance westward, is the Water of Allan, which gives name to a small valley, called Strathallan.

cause the law presumed the sheriff to be the guardian of the subjects safety within his districts.

He revived the laws against beggars, excepting those who were licensed by the civil magistrates; and the king's justice was empowered to banish or imprison all gypsies, horners, masterful beggars, and feigned fools. Women were prohibited to resort either to church or market with their faces covered, so as not to be known; the great nobles, and dignified clergy only, were allowed to wear scarlet gowns, with rich furniture; no merchants, unless they were magistrates, or of the town council, and no baron or gentleman, who was not possessed of forty pounds old extent, was to wear silk cloaths; nor were their wives or daughters to be dressed in either, but in a manner agreeable to their fortunes; coarse grey and white cloaths were to be worn by the people, on working days; but on holidays, they might wear cloaths of other colours. It was enacted that every man, possessed of a plough and oxen, should sow a certain quantity of wheat, pease, and beans, yearly; and all freeholders, both spiritual and temporal, when they let their lands, were to oblige their tenants to raise trees, quickset hedges, and broom. The courts of justice were further regulated; the case of hospitals was enquired into; and it was enacted, that the chancellor, assisted by two proper persons of each diocese, should visit all the hospitals in the kingdom, to put in force the statutes of their several foundations, which had been neglected, or rendered ineffectual during the distresses and commotions of former times. Fairs, markets, and the internal policy of the kingdom, were regulated; every parish was to provide butts and bow-marks, for every male from twelve to fifty years of age, which they were to practise once a week; musterings were to be held once a month, and all able-bodied males, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, were

to be provided, according to their several ranks, with horses and armour for the field; the greater towns were to provide artillery and ammunition, and likewise engineers and other workmen for conducting the train.* The mint, weights, and measures, were again regulated, and other laws were instituted by the unanimous concurrence of king and parliament, between whom there seemed to be only one mind.

* Advice having arrived in Scotland, that the English intended to renew hostilities, the parliament passed the following ordinance, which shows the manner by which intelligence was instantaneously conveyed over the whole kingdom.

In the first place, the parliament thought it speedful (that is, it was their advice) that fit persons should be appointed to guard the passages of the Tweed, betwixt Roxburgh and Berwick, and to watch certain places, and fords of the river, in order to discover and advertise the country of the approach of an enemy; which they were to do in this manner. They, for example, who watched at the ford near Hume, upon the enemy's approach, were to make a bail, that is, set on a great fire, at Hume, which being seen by the neighbouring country, bails were, in the same manner, to be made at Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, the castle of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbarton, &c. as, also, at Eggerhope castle, Soltray Edge, and on the sea coast, as at Dunpender law, and North Berwick law. By one bail, or fire, thus set on, the country was to understand that the enemy was at hand; who, if he seemed considerably strong, in that case, two bails were to be set, like two candles together; or three or four, according to the exigence and danger that might be threatened. By this means, it was very easy to advertise most parts of the kingdom, within a few hours, of the approach, and strength of an enemy, before it was possible for them to pass the Tweed: and thus, continues the record, considering their far passage (great distance) we shall, God willing, be as soon ready as they.

Other precautions, for the safety of the borders, against the English, were taken in the same parliament. The East borders were to be provided with garrisons, consisting of two hundred spears and two hundred bows. Those on the West, were to contain one hundred spears, and as many bows; and the expence of the whole was to be defrayed by an equal assessment of the landholders, which was to be sent to the Exchequer by the sheriffs. Every gentleman or baron was to keep his house in tenantable repair, so as to resist any sudden surprize; and to maintain a number of able-bodied men, if called on to take the field against the common enemy.

JAMES

JAMES III. The reign of James III. though that prince proved less active than his father, was distinguished by the vigour of the parliament, particularly in regulating foreign commerce, promoting inland navigation, and the fisheries. The nation had seen the Flemings, Dutch, Hamburgerers, Dantzickers, and other sons of industry, acquire power and riches by fishing upon the Scottish coast. It was, therefore, enacted, "That the lords (that is, the parliament) think fit, for the common good of the realm, and the great entres of riches, which will be brought into it from other countries, that certain lords, spiritual and temporal, and burgessees, cause make great ships, buffes, pink boats, with nets, and all other necessaries for fishing."

The honour of the nation came next under consideration; coopers and merchants, who packed salmon in barrels under the size of the old Hamburg measure, forfeited the same, besides a fine to the king. The parliament, also, regulated the trade with Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and France, permitting none but burgessees, and men of character, to sail to these countries, on commercial affairs, and all tradesmen who commenced merchants were required to forego their former crafts. The parliament of the year 1487 first permitted the boroughs to send yearly representatives to Inverkeithing, there to treat upon whatever might benefit commerce, conduce to their good government and interest, and remove the injuries they might sustain. These boroughs, by permission, sent an embassy from their own body to the emperor, requesting that monarch to desist from issuing letters of marque against the Scottish navigators. From these, and a variety of other evidences, it appears that the commerce of Scotland, at this time, was in a very reputable condition all over Europe.

So great was the spirit for trade under those
D 3
worthy

worthy patriots, that even the clergy amassed considerable fortunes, by engaging in it. Bishop Kennedy built a trading ship, which he called the Bishop's barge, reckoned one of the largest mercantile vessels in Europe. That prelate also built St. Salvador's college, in St. Andrew's, and endowed it with revenues and rich ornaments.* In these and other public works, he is said, by Lindsay, who lived in the succeeding reign, to have expended no less than 30,000*l.* sterling.

The former laws against furred scarlets not having answered the purposes of sumptuary acts, because they had been succeeded by silks, which had not been provided against, it was ordained, "That none but knights, minstrels, heralds, or such as could spend 100*l.* of land rent, should wear silk doublets, gowns, or cloaks, on pain of forfeiting 10*l.* for every fault, to the king, and the cloaths themselves (except such as were already made) to the heralds and minstrels. The same prohibitions extended to the women. †

A law was enacted abolishing the sanctuary of the church to all persons guilty of premeditated murder,

* Within the tomb and monument, which he erected for himself at a great expence, were found, in the reign of Charles II. six silver maces, one of which weighs seventeen pounds, is gilt, and curiously chased. These maces were the gift of the munificent bishop to his favourite college, and, in all probability, they had been hid at the reformation, in order to preserve them from the Gothic rage of the reformers, who destroyed or defaced every thing upon which any kind of imagery was represented. One of the maces was given to each of the other three Scots universities, and three remained here.

† The king set the example in these sumptuary laws, as appears in the account of disbursements, during the year 1474, by John bishop of Glasgow, treasurer to the king.

The particulars of the disbursements are arranged, and summed up, under the three following heads, viz.

Expences

murder, and for punishing all sheriffs, and other magistrates, who suffered murderers to escape.

It would be endless to enumerate the statutes for the better enforcing of justice, for mitigating the distresses of the people, and discouraging idleness. Particular regard was also had to the rights of churchmen, widows, orphans, minors, foreigners, and the hospitals.

While the king and parliament was thus prosecuting the most valuable national purposes, James encouraged learned foreigners to reside at his court, patronized science and arts, particularly music and architecture, built ships of war, and made further regulations for the defence of the kingdom. An act was made, "That all spears, whether fabricated at home, or imported from abroad,

	£.	s.	d.
Expences for the king's person —	117	10	6
Things tane for the queen's person —	113	1	6
Things cost for my lord the prince —	41	1	8
Scots	£. 271	13	8

On the other hand, Cochran, who had been raised, through the king's partiality for favourites, from the station of an architect to the earldom of Mar, is thus described by the historians of those days, and may serve to give the reader some idea of the finery of the age, and the magnificence affected by the nobility, whom this minion imitated: "When Cochran, says Lindsay, came from the king to the council, he was well accompanied with a band of men of war, to the number of three hundred light axes, all clad in white livery, and black bands thereon, that they might be known for Cochran the earl of Mar's men. Himself was clad in a riding pie of black velvet, with a great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of five hundred crowns, and four blowing horns, with both the ends of gold and silk, set with precious stones. His horn (a costly blowing horn, which he wore by his side, as was the manner of the times) was tipped with fine gold at every end, and a precious stone, called a beryl, hanging in the midst. This Cochran had his heumont borne before him, over-gilt with gold; and so were all the rest of his horns; and all his pallions (pavilions or tents) were of fine canvas of silk, and the cords thereof fine twined silk; and the chains upon his pallions were double over-gilt with gold."

should be six ells long;* that the great ecclesiastical manors should defray part of the burden of war; that prelates, as well as barons, should provide carriages for the field. Every yeoman, who was not an archer, was to provide himself with a battle axe, and a target made of one hide (folded we suppose into a reasonable compass) to resist the shot of the English; and all the arms were to be produced at the weaponshawings, held by the sheriffs.

JAMES IV. The long reign of James IV. undisturbed by domestic commotions or foreign war, was one united effort of king and parliament, upon the same salutary principles which had directed the operations of the three former reigns. The royal navy now made a respectable figure abroad; †
commerce

* Some spears of this enormous length, may be seen in the town-house of Dunbar.

† It is plain from James's conduct, that he was aspiring to be a naval power, in which he was encouraged by the excellent seamen, which an extensive commerce and the fisheries had then produced in Scotland. He applied himself with incredible assiduity to building ships, in which he assisted with his own hands.

“In this same year, says Lindsay, the king bigged a great ship, called, the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France. For this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak-wood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norway: for she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth, (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was a year and day ere she was complete) to wit, she was twelvescore foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the wall, outled jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every side, so stark and so thick, that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea. From that time she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds expence, by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, by all the rest of her orders, to wit, she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before,

commerce was every where extended ; * and it was enacted by parliament, " That all maritime towns should build buffes, or vessels of at least twenty tons burden, to be employed in fishing ; and that all idle persons should be pressed into that service." Provisions were made for the improvement of agriculture, and as the wood of Scotland was almost destroyed, on account of the small fines annexed to the offence ; the old laws for encou-

before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand and battert-falcon, and quarter-falcon, slings, pestilent ferpetens, and double-dogs, with hagtor and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her ; she had six score of gunners to use her artillery ; and had a thousand men of war, by her captain, flippers, and quarter-masters.

When this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to assay her if she was wight ; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little skaith. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardin, and there, afore the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quarter-master of her ; and Robert Bartyne, who was master shipper."

Buchanan says, " that James built three stately ships of a great bulk, and many, also, of a middle rate ; one of his great ones was, to admiration, the biggest that ever any man had seen sail on the ocean, it being also furnished with all manner of costly accommodations. The greatness of it appeared by this, that the news stirred up Francis king of France, and Henry VIII. king of England, each of them to build a ship in imitation of it, and each endeavouring to outvie the other."

The above curious description, while it conveys to posterity the particulars of naval architecture, strength, &c. in ages which we call barbarous, serves also, to illustrate this important truth, That the genius of Scotsmen is particularly adapted for navigation and ship-building.

* Meurfius, the Danish historian, relates, that in 1510, the Baltic sea being much frequented by the English, French, and Scottish merchant ships, John king of Denmark pressed all the ships, of the above-named three nations, into his assistance, against the Hanseatic towns, who had invaded his dominions. That upon the Hanseatics being joined by the Swedes, the king of Denmark, in his necessity, purchased ships of England, France, and Scotland, his allies, at a great expence,

raging

raging planting were revived; "and that every freeholder should make parks for deer and rabbits, build dove-cots, plant hedges and orchards, and at least one acre of wood, where no great forests grew." The like regulations were renewed for the preservation of fish ponds, orchards, bees, the young fry in rivers, and in general of all game.

Conservators had, long before this time, been appointed by the government of Scotland, to take care of the interest of their countrymen abroad; and, to prevent the extravagance of transmarine suits at law, it was enacted, That the conservator, assisted by at least four honest, intelligent Scots merchants, should determine all differences that happened abroad among his countrymen; and he himself, or his deputy, was to repair every year to Scotland, to give an account of his conduct.

James was at great pains to mend the breed of horses, for which purpose he sent agents abroad, with letters to the respective princes, some of which are still in being; but James's principal delight was in military exercises, and he earnestly laboured to see all his subjects become soldiers. The laws were renewed respecting the weaponshawings, arms, and military dress. The sheriffs were impowered to muster, four times a year, the inhabitants of their respective districts; the aldermen and bailiffs doing the same within their burghs, as they should answer to the chamberlain or his deputy. Every gentleman, worth ten pounds, or more, of yearly revenue, was to be armed with basnet, fellet, white hat, gorget or piffane, complete armour for the legs, sword, spear, and dagger. Inferior ranks of subjects were to be armed as the king's commissary, or the sheriff should appoint; but the meanest inhabitant was to be provided with a bow and arrow, or a good axe.

Many excellent laws were made for regulating the internal trade of the kingdom; for the better administration

administration of justice; civilizing the Highlands; and protecting the church against the encroachments of the court of Rome. It was laid down by parliament, as a maxim, "That the privileges of the church, as well as the statutes of the realm, had been created for the benefit of the community, and that they could not be renounced without consent of the king, the three estates, and the respective chapters."

This reign is particularly distinguished for one of the best and most humane statutes that is to be found in the annals of the most civilized states, and at a time when clergy as well as laity, throughout great part of Europe, were plunged in barbarism. It was enacted, That all barons and freeholders of substance should henceforth send their eldest sons, or heirs, to the grammar school, at eight or nine years old, there to remain till they had attained a perfect mastery of the Latin,* when they were to be removed to the college, where the arts and laws were taught, at which place they were to continue three years; to the end, says the statute, that justice might reign universally through the realm, all judges ordinary under his highness having knowledge to do justice."

Thus the kingdom, by a uniform perseverance in the most excellent institutions which human wisdom could devise, enjoyed peace,† security, and a mutual confi-

* To this excellent law was owing, in all probability, the elegant style of Boethius, Buchanan, and other Scottish writers of

† The splendour of the Scottish court, upon the event of James's marriage with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. serve to corroborate the testimony of historians, respecting the flourishing state of Scotland under this excellent prince. The royal bride set out from Richmond, in Surry, June, 1503, attended by her father as far as Collewiston, near Nottingham, the residence of his mother, where she was resigned to the care of the earls of Surry and Northumberland, who proceeded with her in the manner and form prescribed by Henry, in his own hand-writing, which

confidence between the prince and the people. Abroad, it now composed a part of the political system,

is still extant. The retinue consisted of the chief nobility, knights, and gentry, in the kingdom, and they were attended by above 2000 followers, and the most splendid equipages that were made use of in those times. Many of the company took their leave at the borders; but those who remained still made a splendid appearance, and arrived at Lamberton church, in the Merse, where the bride was met by James, accompanied by a superb train of his nobility and officers of state. From Lamberton the procession proceeded to Dalkeith, and next day to Edinburgh, where the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. From the best accounts, both published and in manuscript, it appears, that the Scots outshone their guests in every article of luxury. Their appearance was more costly, their chains of gold more massy, and their furniture and equipages richer. This must have been owing to the great intercourse and commerce which James and his subjects, at this time, entertained with foreign courts and countries; for even the most sober luxuries were then unknown in those of Denmark, Sweden, and the other northern parts of Europe where commerce had made less progress; an indication of what Scotland would have been at the present day, had it remained the seat of its sovereigns, and its wealth been spent, as of old, within the realm.

Many foreigners were present during this Scottish jubilee, and partook of the festivities attending it, which, according to the modes of that time, and the particular disposition of James, chiefly consisted in feats of arms. James, in some of those exhibitions, assumed the character of a savage knight, and it is said that he distinguished himself above all the company by his strength, activity, and address in martial exercises. That he might support the character with the greater propriety, he had, for his retinue, two bands of Highlanders, or persons in that dress, who skirmished with each other, with targets and broad swords, to the music of their bagpipes; but those feigned conflicts were far from being harmless, for they produced real wounds and bloodshed, as in a true battle, which struck the spectators with the highest astonishment, at the resolution of the combatants, who could thus sport away their lives, the custom of the times not suffering them to hold the practice in detestation. The exhibition of the day being over, the night was spent in entertainments, masquerades, and dancing. The king's politeness was still more distinguished than his chivalry, so noble was the entertainment, and so elegant the attendance paid to every guest.

The fame of these tournaments drew to the court many foreigners, especially from France, to try their prowess, who were all liberally entertained by the king, and as bountifully dismissed.

* The

system, and its friendship was solicited, in strong terms, by the powers who then acted the principal part on the theatre of Europe. * Many letters sent to James by these potentates, and those sent by James in return, are still extant. The classic style of James's Latin epistles were the theme of foreign pens, both in prose and verse.

James proved a faithful and useful friend to all his allies in their distresses. He sent a powerful armament, and ten thousand men, to the assistance of his kinsman, the king of Denmark. When the duke of Guelders was cruelly attacked by the overgrown house of Austria and Burgundy, James not only supplied the unfortunate prince with men and money, but also wrote pressingly in his favour to the continental powers. To Lewis XII. when destitute of allies, and ready to sink under the arms of England, Germany, and Italy, James sent a fleet, and a body of troops; for which seasonable supplies, Lewis was so overcome with gratitude, that he gave orders for ratifying and augmenting the ancient privileges of the Scots nation in France. His letters of naturalization in favour of Scotland give the following reasons: " Because of the league † which had been of old made and observed between the two nations; and
in

* The ambitious and turbulent pope, Julian II. having kindled the flames of war over all Europe, endeavoured to detach James from the French alliance; for this purpose, he sent a nuncio into Scotland, who presented James with a most elegant sword of state, five feet in length; which sword was deposited in the castle of Edinburgh, with the other regalia of Scotland, at the time of the union, where they still remain.

† Alluding to a league of amity between Charlemain, king of France, and Achaius, king of Scots, in the year 790; to which alliance most of the subsequent treaties of reciprocal defence between France and Scotland had a reference. In the contract of marriage between the dauphin of France and Mary queen of Scots, published among the French treaties of peace and alliance, mention is made of the *Antient leagues betwixt the two kingdoms*,
brown

in consideration of the great and mighty services done by the Scots to the kings and kingdom of France, especially during the reign of Charles VII. when many princes of Scotland came over to France, and helped to expel the English, who were then masters of the most part of it. For which signal piece of service, and the undaunted courage expressed by the Scots on all occasions, that monarch, Charles VII. had appointed two hundred of them to guard his person, of whom one hundred were men of arms, and are now, adds the record, the one hundred launces of our antient ordinance, and one hundred archers, twenty-four of whom are called archers of the body. Secondly, because of the unshaken fidelity, which, without any variation, or interruption, has at all times been

begun eight hundred years before that time. The origin of this ancient alliance seems to have arisen, first, from the obstinate resistance of the Saxons in Germany, aided by their countrymen in England, to the arms of Charlemain, which obliged that great conqueror to recruit his armies by auxiliaries from various parts of Europe, amongst whom were four thousand Scots, commanded by Gilmer, brother to Achaius. This Gilmer, after signaling himself against the pagan Saxons, embraced a religious life, and founded some monasteries for his countrymen in Germany and other places. Which fact is fully authenticated by the united testimony of French and Italian historians of those early times. In Paulus Emilius's history of the French achievements, we meet with the following very remarkable expressions: "The Saxons being overcome, that their name, by degrees, might be extinguished, Charles bestowed the honours of magistracy upon strangers, but principally upon the Scots, whom he made use of for the great fidelity he found in them."

Secondly, Charlemain was desirous to agrandize France, by rendering it the seat of literature, as well as extensive empire; for this purpose he invited thither the learned from all parts, and particularly certain ecclesiastics of Scotland, whom he employed to read philosophy, in Greek and Latin, at Paris, and afterwards in founding a university in that metropolis.

Old historians speak of Inverlochy, as being the residence of Achaius, and a place of some note, to which the French and Spaniards resorted for fish. The ancient castle was destroyed by the Danes. The present building is supposed to be of the thirteenth century.

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conspicuous in those of that nation; and in the extraordinary good offices done by the present king of Scotland, who has declared himself a fast friend of the French monarchy, in opposition even to his own brother-in-law, the king of England, and has sent both a considerable land army, and a fleet, consisting of many good ships, to France; upon which account *his subjects ought to be for ever encouraged and favoured above all others.*"

Upon the whole, the reign of James IV. may be considered as the brightest æra in the annals of Scotland. Her gold and silver abounded more than at any other period; her commerce flourished abroad; peace and tranquillity reigned at home; faction was annihilated; universal harmony prevailed amongst all ranks of men; and, it is worthy of remark, that no person suffered, during this long reign, for rebellion, conspiracy, or any real or imaginary trespass against the crown.

►JAMES V. prosecuted, with unwearied zeal, the great plans of national improvement, which had been chalked out by his ancestors, and their parliaments. He revived the laws for the building of fishing buffes, the encouragement of commerce, the supplying his subjects with wine, and necessaries, the planting and preservation of woods, forests, and hedges; establishing a national militia; and for the internal government, peace and security of the kingdom. He introduced a better style of civil architecture, built or repaired several palaces for the royal residence, embellished the town of Edinburgh, promoted the fine arts, and employed Germans to work the gold mines discovered in Crawford Moor. * He set out with five ships, attended
by

* James IV. and V. contracted with fundry Germans, who had the chief management of the Scottish mines in Crawford Moor, where they employed three hundred men, and procured
gold

by sundry noblemen, upon a voyage to the Orkney and Hebride islands, for the double purpose of taking charts of the coasts, * and establishing justice among the people. He introduced order and good government amongst the borderers, and punished as thieves and robbers, those desperate bands of them who lived upon the contributions of their English neighbours; † and,

gold to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds. Some of the French memoir writers, in speaking of the marriage of James V. to the king of France's daughter, mention among other particulars served by way of desert at the marriage feast, a number of covered cups, filled with pieces of gold, and gold dust, the produce of Scotland, which James generously distributed among the guests. It is also upon record, that those coins, struck by James V. called, *bonnet pieces*, were fabricated of gold found in Scotland. "They were," says bishop Nicholson, "extremely beautiful, and little inferior to the finest medals." Many pieces, of gold mixed with various substances, have been found in those parts, washed down by the floods; one of which, weighing an ounce and a half, is in the possession of the earl of Hopton, the proprietor of Crawford Moor.

* These drawings were completed by the French king's cosmographer in 1583. Mr. Adair drew them anew in 1688.

† James resolved to attempt in person, what his predecessors had so often failed in by their deputies. As he was known to be greatly addicted to hunting, he summoned his nobility to attend him, with their horses and dogs, which they did in such numbers, that his hunting retinue consisted of about eight hundred persons, two thirds of whom were well armed. This preparation gave no suspicion to the borderers, as great hunting matches, in those days, commonly consisted of some hundreds; and James, having set out upon his diversion, is said to have killed five hundred and forty deer.

Among the other gentlemen who had been summoned to attend him was John Armstrong, of Gilnock-hall, in Liddesdale. He was the head of a numerous clan, who lived with great splendor upon the contributions under which they laid the English on the borders. He was himself always attended by twenty-six gentlemen on horseback, well mounted and armed, as his body guards. Having received the king's invitation, he was fond of displaying his magnificence to his sovereign, and attiring himself and his guard more pompously than common, they presented themselves before James, from whom they expected some particular mark of distinction for their services against the English, and for the remarkable protection they had always given to their countrymen, the Scots. On their first appear-

and, as a final conclusion to the zealous efforts of his predecessors for the impartial distribution of justice, he

appearance, James, not knowing who he was, returned Armstrong's salute, imagining him to be some great nobleman; but, hearing his name, he ordered him and his followers to be immediately apprehended, and sentenced them to be hanged upon the spot. It is said, that James, turning to his attendants, asked them, pointing at Armstrong, "What does that knave want, that a king should have, but a crown and a sword of honour?" Armstrong begged hard for his life, and offered to serve the king in the field with forty horsemen, besides making him large presents of jewels and money, with many other tempting offers. Finding the king inexorable, "Fool that I am," said he, "to look for warm water under ice, by asking grace of a graceless face;" and he and his followers submitted to their fate.

James, having, by these and some other severities, restored peace to the borders, chose, soon after, to make the Highlands the seat of his diversion, to which he was attended by the queen mother, an ambassador from the pope, and a retinue sufficient to subdue the most powerful robbers and outlaws. Lindsay, the historian, who lived at the time, gives a curious account of the reception and entertainment which the king and his train met with in Athol, upon this occasion, which, as it serves to give some idea of the produce of the Highlands, and the magnificence of the ancient barons upon extraordinary occasions, I shall partly transcribe.

"The earl of Athol, hearing of the king's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a prince, that he was as well served with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own palace of Edinburgh. For I heard say, this noble earl gart make a curious palace to the king."—Then follows a description of this palace, which was situated in a fair meadow, and built of green timber; it was ornamented with flowers, had a draw bridge, and was furrounded with a sheet of water. "And also this palace within was hung with fine tapisry, and arrasses of silk, and lighted with fine glafs windows in all airths; Further this great earl made such diversion for the king, and his mother, and the embassador, that they had all manner of meats, drinks, and delicacies, that might be gotten, at that time, in all Scotland, either in burgh or land; that is to say, all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, malvery, muskadel, hippocras, aquavitæ. Further, there was of meats, wheat-bread, main-bread, and ginger-bread; with fleshes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, grice, capon, cony, crane, swan, partridge, plover, duck, drake, briffel-cock, and pawnies, black-cock, muir-fowl, and capercaillies: and also the stanks that were round about the palace were full of all delicate fishes, as salmonds, trouts, perchies, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes that could be gotten in
E fresh

he instituted the court of session, upon the same plan in which it has remained, with little variation, to the present time.

But James, as hath already been observed, did not rest solely on the courts of law for civilizing his subjects. In imitation of former kings of Scotland, he frequently penetrated into the most barbarous parts of the Highlands, for the purpose of punishing delinquents, establishing peace, security, and the arts of civil life. Buchanan, who lived in that reign, represents the young monarch as being so brave and daring in his person, that, slighting all dangers, he would attack and break the most formidable band of banditti, with inferior numbers; that he would sit on horseback for twenty-four hours without intermission, satisfying the calls of nature with the meanest food that was at hand; that robbers seldom escaped his activity, and were often terrified into submission with the dread of his name.

Tho' James's education had been neglected, his memory was celebrated by Ariosto under the name

fresh waters; and all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks and potingers, with confections and drugs for their deserts; and the halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessels and napery, according for a king. The king remained in this wilderness, at the hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say, it cost the earl of Athol, every day, in expences, a thousand pounds.

The ambassador of the pope, seeing this great banquet and triumph, which was made in the wilderness, where there was no town near by twenty miles, thought it a great marvel that such a thing could be in Scotland, and that there should be such honesty and policy in it, especially in the Highlands, where there was but wood and wilderness. But, most of all, this ambassador marvelled to see, when the king departed, and all his men took their leave, the Highlandmen set all this fair place in a fire, that the king and the ambassador might see it. Then the ambassador said to the king, "I marvel, sir, that you should thole yon fair place to be burnt, that your grace has been so well lodged in." Then the king answered the ambassador, and said, "It is the use of our Highlandmen, though they be never so well lodged, to burn their lodging, when they depart."

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of Zerbino. Several other Italian poets have recorded his memory in Latin verses, as did Ronfard, the French poet, who resided several years in Scotland. Tho' James himself was a poet, we know not with certainty any of his productions that have reached our times, excepting a humorous description of one of his amours, printed among the earliest collections of Scottish songs, by the name of *The Gaberlunzie Man*.

Such are the outlines of the Scottish affairs, and national exertions at home and abroad, from 1424 to the death of James V. in 1542; an æra wherein nothing was omitted, not even the most minute circumstance, that could contribute to improve the kingdom, civilize the people, and diffuse universal happiness amongst all orders and degrees of men. *

The

* We shall conclude this early period with a circumstantial account of the military system of the Scots, and their method of fighting, previous to the general use of fire arms. "And for this purpose," say the Scottish statutes of 1541, "it was enacted at the same time, that weapon-shawings should be made in the months of June and October; but, because they had been omitted for some years, the lieges should be mustered thrice the first year by the sherriffs, bailies of regality, provosts and bailies of boroughs, and other commissaries whom the king pleased to appoint." At these musters it was also ordained, "that every nobleman, such as earl, lord, knight, and baron, and every great landed man, having one hundred pounds of yearly rent, should appear in white, light or heavy, as they chose, with weapons correspondent to his honour; while others, of lower degree, were to have jake of plate, halkrik or brigatanes, gorget or pefane, with splents, panse of mail, with gloves of plate or mail: the other unlanded gentlemen and yeomen being ordered to wear jakes of plate, halkriks, splents, fellat or steel bonnet, with pefane or gorget; the whole having swords." No other weapons were to be shewn at these rendezvous, but strong spears and pikes six ells in length, Leith-axes, halberts, hand-bôws, arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords.—They likewise ordained, That inhabitants of burghs, who possessed one hundred pounds, should be armed in white armour; all others, who could spend ten pounds yearly, having orders to appear at the musters like gentlemen and yeomen. To prevent frauds on these occasions, it was statuted, that every earl, lord, baron, laird, and others, should give unto the muster-masters

The death of James V. closed the splendor, and, in some degree, the independency, of that antient kingdom.

the names and weapons of their attendant soldiers at every rendezvous, signed and sealed, to be considered by his majesty's commissaries, as all lords and bailies of regalities were to do the same within their jurisdictions. But, as both numbers and arms are useless where discipline does not obtain, they further voted, "That the sheriff, steward, provost, bailies, aldermen, lords, and bailies of regality, shall, with the king's commissioners, after the musters are complete, choose one captain or more for every parish, to exercise the companies of his district, at least twice a month, in May, June, and July, on what days they shall think most convenient, and in every other month, if possible. The captains to be elected as often as the sheriff, commissioners, and counsellors, appointed by the king, shall think it expedient."

"And, lastly, because great damage was always done to the country by the multitudes of horsemen who came in times of war to the king's army, although all there fought on foot, it was prudently ordained, that no man should have any other than a baggage horse, but should march on foot from the first place appointed by his majesty for the rendezvous of his army. Yet might earls, lords, barons, great landed men, and others whom the king or his lieutenants should appoint, ride wherever his majesty moved with his army."

The following curious description of the order of battle observed by the Scots is copied from a journal of the protector Seymour's expedition into Scotland, and the battle of Pinkey in 1547, written by W. Patten, who was joined in commission with Cecil, as judgemarshal of the English army.—"But what after I learned, specially touching their order, their armour, and their manner, as well of going to offend, as of standing to defend, I have thought necessary here to utter. Hackbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight most commonly always a-foot. They come to the field well furnished all with jack and skull, dagger and buckler, and swords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice, that, as I never saw none so good, so I think it hard to devise the better. Hereto every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array towards joining with the enemy, they cling and thrust so near in the fore rank, shoulder and shoulder together, with their pikes in both their hands straight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers shoulders, that, if they do assail undiscovered, no force can well withstand them. Standing at defence they thrust shoulders likewise so nigh together, the fore-ranks well nigh to kneeling, stoop low before, their follows behind holding their pikes with both hands, and therewith, in their

kingdom. The opposite factions, under the influence of France and England, co-operating with the struggles which subverted the popish religion, exhausted the internal strength of the kingdom, enfeebled the executive powers of government, desolated the country, and laid in ruins those noble edifices which it had been the work of ages to erect. *

But

their left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against their right foot, and the other against the enemy breast-high; their followers crossing their pike points with them forward; and thus each with other so nigh as space and place will suffer, through the whole ward, so thick, that as easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedge-hog, as any encounter the front of their pikes”

With the decline of the ancient military art in Scotland ended also the short-lived navy, which arose in the reign of James III. and disappeared after the death of James V. being suffered to rot in the ports of France.

* They consisted of monasteries, abbeys, convents, priories, colleges for secular priests, and provostries for the chief persons of that order. These buildings were the repositories of the public or national annals; of all ecclesiastical charters, records, bulls of the popes, and registers of the national councils, diocesan synods, consecrations, and other canons of the respective churches.

The most ancient of these buildings was at Icolmkill, (a small island on the west coast of Mull, in Argyleshire) which was founded or erected in the sixth century. From that time, to the death of James V. the Scottish princes, nobility, and dignified clergy, seemed to vie with each other in raising and endowing those numerous monuments of piety, taste, and national genius; whose fate hath no parallel in the history of civilized nations, and whose ruins are beheld with admiration by every stranger.

In 1559, the mob of Perth, inflamed by a declamatory sermon against churches and convents, as monuments of idolatry, first began the dreadful work of demolishing the noble edifices of that place, and a spirit of devastation instantly pervaded the greatest part of the kingdom.

In this, the populace were openly encouraged by the leading men of the reformation, who among other acts “passed one,” says Spotswood, “for demolishing cloisters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down; the execution whereof was committed to the most violent men of the party; thereupon ensued a most pitiful devastation of churches, and church-buildings; throughout all parts of the kingdom; for every one made bold to put their hands, the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater. No difference

But though the nation was thus internally convulsed, during the reigns of Mary and James VI. commerce still continued to flourish, in a certain degree.

In 1543, Henry VIII. gave orders for seizing several Scots ships, that were trading to France. He imagined that those seizures would induce the representatives of the great burghs in Scotland to vote for the marriage of their young queen to his son prince Edward; but this was so far from being the case, that the merchants refused to have their ships and cargoes delivered to them on such a condition. These seizures having been made in time of peace, gave the Scottish government very great cause of complaint; the answer returned by

was made, but all churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else they could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale: the very sepulchres of the dead were not spared;” and, among others, those of the kings and queens, since king Malcom III. at Dumfermline, Scoon, Arbroth, Melros, the charter-house of Perth, &c. insomuch, that of all the Scottish royal family, from ages co-eval with the Romans, there is not one monument left entire within that kingdom.

Of the ecclesiastical edifices the cathedral of Glasgow only escaped the fury of the times, owing to the resolution of the citizens. Many buildings were totally demolished, and the stones removed for private uses. Others, whose walls were left standing, have served the purpose of quarries to the neighbourhood; and, in a few ages more, every vestige of those venerable remains will, in all probability, vanish from the eye.

The ruins which chiefly attract the notice of strangers are those of Melros, in the shire of Roxburgh; Paisley in Renfrewshire; Dumfermline, and St. Andrews, in Fifeshire; Arbroth or Aberbrothick, in Angus; and Elgin in Murrayshire.

The reader will be able to form some judgment of the magnitude of those buildings, by the following statement of their dimensions, compared with the cathedral of Glasgow, which remains entire.

	Length	Breadth	Height	Traverse
Glasgow Cathedral	284	65	96	
Elgin	264			114
Aberbrothick	275	67		165
St. Andrew's	370	63		322

by Henry, was, "That the ships were carrying provisions to his enemies, the French, and that the crews had spoken disrespectfully of the English party in Scotland." To this it was answered by the Scots, "That the ships were only *laden with fish*, and that the treaty did not prohibit the subjects of Scotland from carrying on their trade as usual."

In 1544, the English army pillaged the town of Leith; "where," says lord Herbert, "they found more riches than they could have easily imagined." Dr. Drake, another English historian, speaking of that period, relates, "That his countrymen took twenty-eight of the principal ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kinds of rich merchandise, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries, and brought them into English ports."

In 1545, Henry prevailed with the Flemings to seize sixteen Scots ships and their cargoes.

Louis Guicciardin, in his account of the commerce of Antwerp with foreign nations, about the year 1560, says, "To Scotland Antwerp sends but little, as that country is chiefly supplied from England and France. Antwerp, however, sends thither some spices, sugars, madder, wrought silks, camblets, serges, linen, and mercery. And Scotland sends to Antwerp vast quantities of peltry, of many kinds, leather, wool, indifferent cloth, and fine large pearls, though not of quite so good a water as the Oriental ones." The same author, speaking of the commerce of Holland, observes, "That Vere, or Campvere, owes its principal commerce to its being the staple port for the Scots shipping, and so has been for a long series of years."

Besides Campvere on the continent, the antient city of St. Andrews had long been a mart of general commerce. The town was large, elegant, full of merchandise, shipping, and business. It was the great resort of trading vessels from all parts of Europe, who, to the amount of three or four hundred,

held an annual fair in the bay, trafficking with each other, and with the natives. The fair lasted from twelve to fifteen days, and contributed, with the literary and ecclesiastic establishments of St. Andrews, to that eminent degree of wealth and splendor for which the place was long celebrated.

Such was the commercial spirit of the nation, in antient times, and even during the unsettled reigns of Mary, and James VI. Both sides of the Forth exhibited an almost continued line of trading ports, and wealthy boroughs. Nor was foreign commerce neglected on the western coast.

In the annals of Glasgow, mention is made of one Elphinston, as a promoter of commerce in that antient city, about the year 1420. Its trade consisted of pickled or cured salmon and herrings, which it exported chiefly to France. The returns were salt, brandy, and wine, particularly the latter, which was both plentiful and cheap.

In 1569, "It is statute and ordainit, be ye magistrats and council, yat ye pynt of wine be sald na darrer yan eighteen pennys ye pint." Which eighteen pennys is only equal to three halfpence sterling, and the Scottish pint is equal to four English pints.

Dumbarton, Air, and Irvine, situated upon the Clyde, were also places of trade and shipping, as appears from an order of the national council, upon the cessation of arms between the two British kingdoms; which order, as it particularises many of the principal commercial towns of Scotland, during the middle ages, is inserted in this place for the information and amusement of the reader.

Order of council, Edinburgh, 2 Aug. 1546.

"The quhilk day, forasmekle as thair is ane pece taken and standand betwix our soverane lady, and hir derrest uncle the king of England, quha has written to hir grace, shawand, that thair is certane Scottis schippis in the est seis, and utheris placeis

placeis, that dailie takis, rubbis, and spulzies his schippis, and liegis of his realme, passand to and fra, desyrand thairfore hir grace to putt remeid thairto; for keiping of the said parte; thairfore ordanes letteris to be directit to officeris of the quenis sheriffis, in that pairt, to pass to the merk-
 kat croces of Edinburc and Kyngorne, Dysfart and Pittenweme, Kirkaldy and Inverkeithing, Quenisferrie, pere and shore of Leith, Dundee, Aberdene, Montrois, Are, Irwyne, Dumbertane, Glasgou, and uther placeis neidful, and thair, by oppin proclamatioun, command and charge all and fundrie our soverane laydyis liegis, that nane of them tak upoun hand to pass furt in weirfair, unto the tyme thai cum unto my lord governour, and lordis of counfall, and have his grace's licence, under our soverane ladyis previe seil, or great signet, and subscripsioun of my lord governour, with sik restrictionis as fall be gevin to thame, under the pane of tynsell of lyff, landis, and gudis; and gif ony schippis happynis to depairt, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to invaid, tak, truble, or molest, ony Inglis schippis, under the pane foresaid."

The principal exports of Scotland, previous to the union of the two crowns, were grain, cattle, sheep, salted pork, white fish, pickled salmon, pickled and red herrings, wool, coarse woolen and linen goods, leather, various kinds of peltry, pearls, lead, and coals; also, during the late reigns, some gold and silver sent to Germany.

The foregoing sketches evidently prove, that the Scots, while under the immediate presence of their sovereigns and parliaments, had carried navigation, commerce, literature, science, and all the arts of civil life, to a height then unknown in many countries of Europe, particularly those lying under the same latitudes; and had not their laudable efforts been often interrupted, their country laid waste, their towns plundered, and their shipping

carried away, or destroyed, through baneful war, there is every reason to suppose, that Scotland, at the beginning of the 17th century, would have rivalled the most opulent and polished states.

And, as a further proof of the spirit, the penetration, and the good sense of that nation, it should be remarked, that the total subversion of the ancient ecclesiastical establishment, and the restoration of the primitive doctrine and discipline, were effected by the people only; and though the fervour of their zeal carried them, in certain respects, to violences which cannot, in reason, be defended, yet, the beneficial revolution which they ultimately accomplished in the course of a few years, and in the face of the greatest monarchy in Europe, will be handed down and recorded, as one of the most singular events which any state hath produced.

We now arrive at a period when patriotism disappeared, and when all public spirit and national improvement ceased. An event took place, which, though it sheathed the swords of both nations, proved, in its consequences, more fatal to Scotland than the politicians of those ages had foreseen. This was, its giving a king to England, in the person of James VI. anno 1603, whereby the two crowns were inseparably united; an elevation extremely pleasing to James, who thereby became sole monarch of Great Britain, but which struck so deep at the root of national prosperity in his native dominions, that many of the trading towns fell into decay, and have not yet been able to recover their former importance. The princes who had inspired the nation with noble sentiments, who had warmly patronised whatever constitutes the power, the opulence, and the elevation of states, being now suddenly withdrawn, the people lost their spirit, universal dejection took place, and the nation sunk back rapidly into ignorance and insignificance.

The

The moment that James left Scotland, that country ceased, in effect, to be a free, independent kingdom. To the presence of a prince, the splendour and refinements of a court, the invigorating influence of a patriotic king and parliament, succeeded a pusillanimous council and senate, the creatures and humble dependants of a distant court; whose contentions, jealousies, and mutual distrust, served to cherish those party feuds and family animosities, which had often thrown a shade upon the Scottish annals, during the brightest periods of national prosperity.

The advantages of this union, on the part of England, were of the most solid nature: It deprived France of an antient, faithful ally, which England drew over to itself, and thus obtained a double acquisition of strength, while the rival nation sustained thereby a double loss. It gave the greater British kingdom the entire command over the lesser one, in all cases whatever; and it brought to London the rents of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who, from inclination or hope of preferment, were led to reside in that capital.

On the part of Scotland, no commercial benefit was gained; no treaty of reciprocal advantage was procured, whereby the nation, and especially the metropolis, might be enabled to sustain the shock which this event occasioned. On the contrary, the commercial privileges which Scotland had long enjoyed in foreign kingdoms, were mostly withdrawn; and restrictions, hitherto unknown, were now vigorously imposed. The trading towns, feeling the effects of those regulations, petitioned their absent monarch to interpose in their behalf, but no effectual redress could be obtained.

To complete the distresses of that melancholy period, the kingdom was invaded by whole armies of military enthusiasts, who, under the pretence of reforming church and state, repeated the barbarous
policy

policy of the most despotic tyrants; destroyed thousands of the innocent inhabitants, seized the shipping, the merchandize, and valuable effects of the trading towns; * demolished the castles of the nobility, pointed their cannon against the poor remains of ecclesiastical ruins, carried off the national records, and erected forts in the most eligible places, to enforce obedience to the government of an ambitious usurper.

Equally calamitous in their operation and consequences, were the religious commotions of that devoted kingdom; and as these are closely connected with the civil and commercial affairs of the nation, during this unhappy period, we cannot wholly omit the subject.

King James had laboured to subvert the presbyterian establishment of his native country, with a view to uniformity of religion over the whole island. He proceeded, in this impracticable work, by slow and gentle means; but the presbyterians having made a stout resistance to all innovations, his successors, at the instigation of Laud and other zealous bigots, attempted to enforce obedience by the sword. These sanguinary measures, instead of making converts to the church of England, produced all those dreadful effects which have ever disgraced religious war. Episcopacy and Calvinism became triumphant alternately, while of Christianity nothing seemed to remain

* In 1651, General Monk destroyed or carried away the shipping, the artillery, and the merchandize of the Forth, stormed and plundered Anstruther, and ruined St. Andrews, the once glory of the kingdom. From thence he sent a detachment to Dundee, under Colonel Alured, who observing the wealth of the place, found a pretext for a general massacre of six hundred inhabitants, who were put to the sword, and having thereby crushed all opposition, he gave the town up to plunder, carried away forty cannon, and sixty sail of trading vessels which had retired for safety to that harbour, "Some of my men, says he, in his letter to the parliament, have gotten 500, some 300, others 200, and

remain but the name.* Numbers of both parties fell in battle. Some hundreds suffered death or torture; many betook themselves to a voluntary exile among their friends in the north of Ireland; † others

200, and 100 pounds apiece. None of them but are well paid for their service."

* The presbyterians were promiscuously called *covenanters*, from their having signed a *solemn league and covenant*; or *whigamores*, from *whig*, an acid blueish liquor drawn from the churn, the usual drink of the peasantry at that time, and at present. And now arose the distinction of whig and tory, and the aversion to the Stuart family, which still prevails among the former in Scotland.

† The northern Irish had never submitted completely to the English arms. They were therefore proscribed as barbarians and aliens, living without the English pale, and who took every opportunity to harass the English interest. On the other hand, they kept up a correspondence with the Scots, whom they considered as their countrymen and friends. In 1315, Edward Bruce, brother to Robert king of Scotland, having invaded Ireland at the head of a considerable army, made an impression on the English interest, and was formally crowned king of Ireland, at Dundalk; but losing, soon after, his crown and life, the administration of the kingdom reverted to the English government. The connection and intercourse was, however, still kept up between the Scots and northern Irish. In 1505, Henry VII. king of England, proposed an interview with James IV. to settle the affairs of Ireland, and other purposes. This report reaching the Irish chiefs of the north, one Odon Odongnoil, who seems to have entered into a league with James or his father, sent one Heneas Macdowal from the town of Drumanageil, to notify to James the death of his ally, Odon's father, and to require from James, by virtue of the alliance between them, 4000 men, to be commanded by John, the son of Alexander Mackean. He also beseeched James that he would not go out of his own kingdom, to meet with the king of England.

About the year 1540, there being a great coldness between Henry VIII. and James V. the latter prepared a navy of 15 ships, with 2000 men, for a secret enterprize. Lord Herbert "does not pretend certainly to know James's design in those preparations, though, says his Lordship, it looked as if he hoped to annex Ireland to his crown, since, about this time, certain Irish gentlemen came to invite him over to their country, promising to acknowledge him for their king; and that divers noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland should come over to do him homage." Henry having at this time declared himself king of Ireland, of which he was before only styled the lord, thereby gave umbrage to James, who

others were branded with hot irons, and had one of their ears cut off, under which indignities they were transported as slaves to Jamaica, and the American plantations. Nor did the women escape the fury of this religious phrensy. They were branded, whipt, tied to stakes within the flood-mark, and otherwise punished, frequently without the form of a trial.

Such were the effects of religious intolerance, in Scotland, during the greatest part of the last century, and which ought to serve as a lesson of moderation to all those factious spirits, who, insensible of the valuable privileges, civil and religious, which the British constitution diffuses amongst all denominations of people, are ever meditating innovations equally unmeaning and unnecessary.

These privileges were confirmed by king William

who firmly asserted that he had a preferable claim to, at least, one half of that island, which had been peopled chiefly by the subjects of Scotland, and who unanimously considered him as their natural sovereign.

Numbers of Highland volunteers were at this time blended with the Irish troops, while, on the other hand, a body of Irish archers were at the battle of Pinkie, anno 1547, in the division commanded by the earl of Argyle. Reciprocal aid, and supplies of troops, had been customary between both countries, from the earliest ages down to that melancholy period, when the unhappy Scots were driven in whole bodies into the north of Ireland, much to the prejudice of their native country, but highly beneficial to Ireland, which thereby acquired a new colony of sober, ingenious, and industrious people, by whom the great staple of the linen manufacture was introduced, and by whose descendants it hath been extended to an incredible degree.

Since, therefore, a connection and friendship thus kept up from time immemorial, hath been lately cemented by consanguinity, similarity in religion, pursuits, and modes of life, we would gladly hope that the northern Irish and western Scots will behave as kindred, countrymen, and neighbours, giving and receiving mutual assistance, particularly in the fisheries upon their shores, which seem intended by providence, not merely for the inhabitants of Lock Broom and Lock Swilly, but for the general supply of all British and Irish subjects, whose local situation enables them to avail themselves of this inestimable bounty.

at the revolution, in 1688, when the presbyterian establishment received a permanent sanction, and peace being then finally restored to a bleeding, impoverished nation, the people began to contemplate the benefits of trade, and to resume the commercial spirit of their ancestors.

The parliament having, in the abundance of their gratitude, voted liberal supplies of men and money, towards enabling king William to prosecute his military enterprizes; that prince, highly sensible of the obligation, ordered the lord commissioner of Scotland to declare in parliament, "That if the members found it would tend to the advancement of trade, that an act should be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa, America, or any other part of the world, where plantations might be lawfully acquired; and that his majesty was willing to declare, he would grant to the subjects of this kingdom, in favour of these plantations, such rights and privileges as he granted, in like cases, to the subjects of his other dominions." Many other flattering promises were added, and the lord president confirmed and enforced all that had been said by the commissioners. A dutiful answer was voted to the king's letter. Two committees were appointed, a loyal one for the kingdom, and a patriotic one for the encouragement of trade.

The latter, in consequence of powers that had been granted to the commissioner by the king, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies; with the very extensive privileges of planting colonies, building cities, towns, and forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives, exempting the merchants, for twenty-one years, from all duties and impositions; and rendering the trade exclusive. Letters patent were directed by the parliament

ment to be expedited under the great seal, confirming this act, without farther application to, or warrant from the crown.

Shares in the new company were purchased with such readiness, that, notwithstanding the low state to which the kingdom had been reduced, a capital of £. 400,000 was actually raised in Scotland; £. 300,000 had been subscribed privately in England; and £. 200,000 was offered by Hamburgh. It was determined to raise the capital to £. 1,000,000, and to establish a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien, which joins the two continents of America in such a manner, as to enable the colony to carry on a trade with the South Seas, the Atlantic, the East and West Indies.

Depending on the royal word, the new India company resolved to execute their project without delay. For this purpose, they purchased ships of large burden, at Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, which, with a number of transports, they loaded with merchandize, artillery, and military stores. Having embarked 1200 experienced veterans, who had served abroad in king William's wars, the fleet sailed from Leith in July, 1698, went round by the Orkney Islands, took in some wines at Madeira, and had a safe passage to Darien.

The natives, strongly prepossessed against Spain, and acknowledging no dependence on that kingdom, received the Scots with open arms, lived with them like subjects or brothers, and assisted in the establishment of the infant colony, which soon began to assume a favourable appearance, and was named *Caledonia*. A safe and commodious harbour which they took possession of, was declared to be free; the town of *New Edinburgh* and *Fort St. Andrew*, were begun to be formed, and every commercial advantage was opening to their view, when all their hopes were frustrated by an opposition, which

which had been raised by the English and Dutch India companies to this promising enterprize. The king endeavoured to soften the resentment of the Scots, by resuming, with assiduity, the long meditated project of uniting the two kingdoms in one common interest, which desirable work was completed in 1707.

The commercial benefits which had been expected in virtue of the union, were, however, scarcely perceived in Scotland, till the late reign, when a spirit of improvement, industry, and commerce, began to pervade the centre of the kingdom. While the encouragement given to the linen manufacture gave new life to the decayed ports of the eastern shores, and roused them into action, the American commerce, and the bounties on the fisheries, animated those of the west.

The citizens of Glasgow, availing themselves of their situation, fitted out in 1718, the first vessel of Glasgow property that crossed the Atlantic. Their trade advanced by slow degrees till 1750; and from that period to 1775, it may be said to have flourished. In 1776, America prohibited all intercourse with Great Britain. In 1782, Ireland was admitted to participate in the American and West India commerce; and in 1783, the American trade was laid open to all the world. Thus vanished, after a short possession, all the *exclusive* commercial privileges relative to that country; for which, the Scots had annihilated their parliament, their African and India company; and subjected themselves to excises, taxes, duties, and commercial restrictions, unknown before the year 1707.

Commercial Establishments.

All the commercial privileges which the Scots enjoyed abroad have been revoked, as before mentioned, excepting at Campvere in Holland, which is still the residence of a consul, or conservator, appointed by the royal boroughs of Scotland; and even these privileges have of late been held on a preca-

rious tenure, notwithstanding the obligations which Holland owes the former kingdom.

The court, or *Convention of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland*, had its origin about the middle of the twelfth century. Their meetings were held occasionally at Haddington, and afterwards, annually, at Inverkeithing. The number of these boroughs is at present sixty-six, including the cities. Some of them are in ruins, others decayed, the harbours choaked up, and the corporations involved in debts. The boroughs are represented in parliament by 15 members; and, at the annual convention held at Edinburgh, by one commissioner from every borough, besides Edinburgh, which sends two. Their privileges extend to commercial affairs both within the kingdom and abroad, of which they consider themselves the guardians, but having neither funds nor spirit, their conventions of late years have not effected any material purpose of national concern.

In 1726, however, the convention, perceiving the miserable state of the nation, procured a new establishment, *for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements, consisting of 21 Trustees*, who so far as their very limited funds extend, have rendered their country the most essential services. The funds allotted for these great national objects consist of

An annuity, as per treaty of union, of	2000
Interest of £.40000 lodged in the royal bank, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	1800
Annual savings, on an average	500
A flax fund, arising from an additional duty on foreign linens, about	2000

£. 6300

The following is a state of the linen manufacture, which still increases under the fostering hand of this Board. *

* Account of linen cloth stamped in Scotland, from the first of November, 1781, to the 1st of November, 1782, distinguishing

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In 1746, Archibald duke of Argyle (the Mæcenæ of Scotland) procured a royal charter for the quantity, value and price per yard, at a medium, in each shire; and likewise the total quantity, total value, and price per yard, at a medium, in Scotland.

Shires.	Yards.	Value.			Price per yard at a medium.	
		£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Aberdeen	150,032 $\frac{1}{4}$	13,631	19	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Air	63,490 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,716	9	3	1	2
*Argyle	4,666	282	4		1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Banff	41,354	2,875	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
*Bute and Arran						
Berwick	24,263	1,593	13	8	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
*Caithness	1,525	58	1	$\frac{1}{2}$		9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Clackmannan						
*Cromarty	4,365	163	13	9		9
Dumfries	24,804	1,137	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$		11
Dunbarton	118,798 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,840	7	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	3 $\frac{10}{12}$
Edinburgh	180,120 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,229	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Elgin	49,671	1,802	10	6		8 $\frac{8}{12}$
Fife	2,360,739 $\frac{3}{4}$	90,303	15	8		9 $\frac{2}{12}$
Forfar	6,742,387 $\frac{1}{2}$	177,105		8		6 $\frac{3}{12}$
Haddington	27,500	1,562	5	8	1	1 $\frac{7}{12}$
*Inverness	292,509	8,601	11	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		7
Kincardine	104,046 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,084	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$		9 $\frac{5}{12}$
Kinross	87,411 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,075	18	5		11 $\frac{2}{12}$
Kirkcudbright	2,256	201	3	4	1	7 $\frac{4}{12}$
Lanerk	1,571,798 $\frac{1}{2}$	165,577	11	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{3}{12}$
Linlithgow	5,286	460	12	7	1	8 $\frac{6}{12}$
*Nairn	10,468	641	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2 $\frac{8}{12}$
Orkney	18,294	1,858	10	4	2	1 $\frac{4}{12}$
Peebles						
Perth	1,699,682 $\frac{1}{4}$	81,195	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$		11 $\frac{5}{12}$
Renfrew	1,577,451 $\frac{1}{4}$	166,637	7	5	2	1 $\frac{4}{12}$
*Ross	24,020	827	12	2		8 $\frac{3}{12}$
Roxburgh	44,698	3,416	13	7	1	6 $\frac{3}{12}$
Selkirk						
Stirling	95,922	7,354	14	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	6 $\frac{4}{12}$
*Sutherland	725	36	5		1	
Wigton	20,459	827	19	6		9 $\frac{8}{12}$
Total stamped in Scotland	15,348,744 $\frac{1}{2}$	775,100	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Do. from Nov. 1, 1782, to Nov. 1, 1783.	17,074,777	866,983	10	6		

§4 ANNALS OF SCOTLAND.

establishment of a *British Linen Company*, with a capital stock of 100,000*l.* and which may be further increased as the affairs of the company shall require.

In 1782, the principal merchants and manufacturers in Glasgow and its neighbourhood, formed themselves into a Society, by the name of *The Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures in the city of Glasgow, comprehending the towns of Paisley, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and the places adjacent.*

This society is established by royal charter, and is governed by thirty directors, one of whom is their chairman.*

Present

The stars mark the Highland counties, which, with the Hebride Isles, compose nearly one half of the kingdom, exclusive of the Highland part of the shires of Perth, Elgin, and Aberdeen.

The proportion of linen made and stamped for sale in the two divisions of the kingdom, is thus in value, viz.

In the Lowlands	—	—	—	764,489
In the Highlands and Hebride Isles	—	—	—	10,611
				£. 775,100

Consequently, one half of the kingdom manufactures seventy-two times the value of the other half, besides a variety of other manufactures in the Lowlands, that are entirely unknown in the Highlands. This great disproportion is not owing to any idle disposition, or incapacity of the Highlanders, as some people wrongly insinuate, but purely from the neglect of that country, and its want of towns and markets. It is well known that the Highlanders of both sexes, who are employed as servants in the Lowlands, are equally dextrous and diligent, as the people amongst whom they reside. Combining this circumstance with the small quantity of linen yet made in eleven counties of the Lowlands, viz. Banff, Berwick, Clackmannan, Dumfries, Elgin, Haddington, Kircudbright, Kinlithgow, Peebles, Selkirk, and Wigton, amounting only to 10,461*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* we may conjecture that when every support is given to, and every impediment removed from this manufacture, the numbers of yards may be extended to 50,000,000 annually; and, consequently an additional demand for English goods.

* “The outlines of business committed to the charge of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, shall be:

1. To consider of such plans and systems as shall contribute to
the

*Present State of Agriculture, Manufactures, and
Commerce.*

Improvements in the various branches of husbandry, planting, and the raising a better breed of cattle and sheep, have made rapid progress in the Lowlands since the year 1750; but much remains to be done, particularly on those estates whose proprietors reside in other parts of the island.

Partly to the absence of these gentlemen, is owing the neglect of manufactures, and commerce, over a very considerable part of the kingdom; the banks of the Clyde, the Forth, and the Tay, with a portion of the east coast, as far north as Inverness, may be said to carry on the whole trade of the nation both inland and foreign.

Most of the countries to the southward of Edinburgh,

the protection and improvement of those branches of trade and manufactures which are peculiar to this country, and which may be interesting to the members of the chamber at large.

2. To regulate all matters respecting any branch of trade or manufacture, which may be submitted to the directors, for the purpose of establishing rules for the convenience and assistance, either of foreign traders, or manufacturers

3. To read and discuss all public and private memorials and representations of members of the chamber, requesting the aid of the directors in any matter regarding trade or manufactures.

4. To afford aid to members, whether as individuals or otherwise, who may apply for assistance in negotiating any matter of business, whether local, or of a nature which requires the weight and influence of the directors, in making application to the board of trustees, to the king's ministers, or to parliament.

5. To procure relief or redress in any grievance, hardship, oppression, or inconvenience, affecting any particular branch of trade and manufacture, carried on by the members of this society, by interposing the weight and influence of the directors in any public negotiation that may be thought necessary to effect such relief.

6. To consider of all matters affecting the corn laws of this part of the united kingdom in particular, as being of the utmost consequence to its trade and manufactures.

And, in general, to take cognizance of every matter and thing that shall be in the least degree connected with the interests of

burgh, and whose inhabitants, composed in antient times, the flower of the Scottish armies, exhibit at present a melancholy picture of decayed boroughs, neglected seats, and a dejected commonalty. Though this district hath a coast of near 200 miles, abounding in small harbours, and situated most admirably for western commerce, and the fisheries; yet, from the head of the Solway Firth to the town of Air, there is neither manufacture, nor shipping beyond the size of the herring buffes, although it would appear by the number of ports, and by tradition, that there was formerly a petty traffic in all those places.

The same remarks are applicable to that extensive inland country which reaches from the river Tay, or the lake of that name, to the Pentland Firth. There is, however, amongst the gentlemen of the northern counties, a more general spirit for introducing small branches of manufacture; also for planting, and other rural improvements. By these generous efforts, the hills begin to be covered with timber of various denominations, and so numerous as to exceed credibility. Of this, the estate of the late Sir Archibald Grant furnishes the most striking instance, that gentleman having, it is said, lived to see several millions of trees of his own planting, and mostly in full growth.

Of the various Classes and Degrees of People in the Lowlands, and their Propensity for the Manufactures of England.

It is scarcely necessary under this head to men-

commerce—to assist in pointing out new sources for promoting whatever may be useful and beneficial—and attend to every application made to parliament, which may be thought injurious to the trade and manufactures of this country—to support an intercourse and friendly correspondence with the convention of royal boroughs, and board of trustees for fisheries and manufactures, for the purpose of communicating new and useful improvements to their at-

tion

tion the nobility, gentry, and principal traders; their manners and modes of life being similar to those of the same ranks in England, from which country they supply themselves in the various articles of dress, furniture, and paintings.

Very different, however, in many respects, are the generality of the farmers of Scotland from their southern brethren. No sooner has the traveller passed the borders, than he perceives a striking contrast, not only in the appearance of the farms, houses, and cattle, but also in the countenances of the people. The men are sober, temperate, and laborious; the women equally diligent in raising coarse woollen and linen cloth, and other necessaries for the family, besides some small matters, particularly linen and yarn, for sale. Some of the more fertile districts excepted, this class of people seldom enjoy the luxury of butcher's meat, wheaten bread, or even small beer. These they cheerfully relinquish, to gratify their propensity for English broad cloth and other fineries, wherewith to adorn themselves on Sundays, and public occasions. Notwithstanding the unceasing toils of the week, they attend all the duties of religion with the utmost punctuality, and are equally attentive to the education and morals of their children; insomuch, that irregularities seldom happen, and crimes of a gross nature are scarcely known. For many years after the revolution, the number of persons executed in the course of justice, did not exceed three, upon an annual average, through the whole kingdom.

Equally sober, industrious, and domestic, are the mechanics, whose earnings, excepting those who are engaged in the finer manufactures, do not exceed seven or eight shillings weekly, in the southern parts; and from four shillings and sixpence to six shillings in the north. On this they dress in English broad cloth; and their wives, occasionally, in a gown, or cloak of silk, from London.

don. On this also, they bring up, educate, and fit out for the world, those adventurous, intelligent people, who abound throughout Europe, Asia, and America.

There is another class in Scotland, whose industry, and laudable pride, enable them to maintain themselves without troubling the parish, and at the same time contribute materially to the great staple of the kingdom. These are females of all ages, and under various distressing circumstances; the orphan, the widow, and the aged mother; all those who have out-lived their kindred, or who receive no support from them. By unremitting application at the wheel, they gain two shillings weekly, in or near the manufacturing towns; but those of the northern parts, and who are chiefly employed in knitting stockings, cannot, with the closest application, clear above eighteen pence. So slender an income implies a scanty subsistence, consisting of barley-meal, greens, potatoes, butter-milk, whey, or water. A small moiety is reserved for a decent apparel, of home manufacture, wherein to appear at church; and though worn down with age, infirmities, or neglect, they hold out with surprising cheerfulness and fortitude, having always in contemplation, the prospect of a happier existence throughout eternity. This is also the consolation of the great body of people in that kingdom; the favourite subject of their conversation when in health, and the support of their minds, in the days of affliction.

Upon the whole, when we consider the Lowlands of Scotland in a general view; the disposition, industry, and sober manners of the inhabitants; the many acres yet in a state of nature; the numerous decayed sea-ports, which might be restored; the abundance of fish, cattle, sheep, vegetables, and roots; and that of 32 counties, 18 export grain, not from the extraordinary crops, but the thinness
of

of inhabitants; when we sum up all these circumstances, the aggregate will enable us to form an estimate of the importance of that division of the island; and this leads to the main objects of the work, so far as they relate to that kingdom.

Scotland, the most valuable Nursery of Seamen in the British Empire, England excepted.

The benefits which England derives from Ireland, America, Africa, the East and West Indies, have been the frequent theme of public discussion by the natives of the respective countries, or by persons whose interest or inclination it was, to set forth these advantages in the most favourable light.

Our derivative benefits, from the northern part of the united kingdom, in strength, and commerce, though of all others the most valuable, permanent, and improveable, have not hitherto been so forcibly represented, so fully understood, or regarded with such attention and respect, as their importance seems to require. To this may be partly owing the neglect of that kingdom, the contempt in which it is beheld, the comparative scantiness of the funds allotted for its improvement, and the universal disposition for emigration amongst the husbandmen and artists, to a country where those industrious people will establish, much sooner than is generally imagined, the various manufactures of their native land.

It is to be wished that we may not, for a long term of years, have occasion for such numerous armies as have lately pervaded the globe, and in which the Scots supported, as usual, their military reputation: but a powerful, well-appointed fleet, and a proportionate number of men, always in readiness, will ever be necessary, both in peace and war. The great exertions, and the incredible expence of this kingdom, in acquiring, raising, protecting,

recting, and retaining, distant settlements, had the navy in view, equally with commerce, because the one depended upon the other. The carrying trade to, and from, those settlements, respectively, was considered as so many sources, which constituted England's glory and defence: but that conclusion admits of some exceptions. The trade to China and the East Indies, instead of being a nursery for seamen, is the consumer of that very useful class of people, and requires constant supplies from the temperate shores of Britain. The trade to Africa is equally destructive; and even the West Indies, being subject to all the disorders peculiar to the tropical climates, must debilitate and carry off great numbers of men in a premature age.

The North American commerce was more favourable to longevity, and employed 8000 seamen, who were, however, chiefly Britons; nor did America ever afford any supplies to the navy, and none is now to be expected from that quarter. On the contrary, the northern provinces are building ships of war for our rival, to whose marine strength, by an unexpected turn in human policy, the forests of that great continent are at present devoted.

Such being the partiality of America towards France; and such the destructive nature of the carrying trade to all our remaining settlements, Canada, Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland excepted, the Scottish fisheries claim the most serious consideration. That great nursery contributes, in a double capacity, to the aid and strength of this kingdom; it supplies equally the waste of the mercantile service, and the royal navy; enabling us to carry on the greatest traffic, and to man the most victorious fleets that the world hath seen.

Previous to the American war, or in years when the bounty to the herring buffes was regularly paid, the fisheries of that kingdom and the three divisions of islands, employed 20,000 men, composed of experi-

experienced seamen, or persons who were advancing progressively, in the naval profession.

The great superiority of this nursery to all others appears in the following comparative statement :

The commerce of the 13 States when in our possession ; also Canada, Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay, employed	}	8000
The Whale fishery to Greenland, Davis's Straits, and other parts, encouraged judiciously, by a large bounty, employs	}	3000
The settlements, colonies, and islands, still subject to Great Britain, in various parts of the world, employ, viz.		
Hudson's Bay	—	130
Nova Scotia *	—	200
Canada	—	400
Africa	—	3900
West Indies	—	12000
China, and the East Indies, previous to the tea act	}	6000
		22630

The Newfoundland fisheries employed of men and boys, from Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of the natives } 12000

This statement speaks at once to the understanding. We perceive that the Scottish fisheries, and of one species only, employed in the proportion of nearly seven seamen to one of those who are engaged in the whale fishery ; above two to one of those who carried on the whole North American commerce while in our possession ; and nearly equal

* The estimate, respecting Canada and Nova Scotia, being made before the American war, must be considered far too low for the present time. The great resort of refugees to those provinces, and the rapid increase of trade with the mother country and the West Indies, will in a few years employ 2 or 3000 British seamen. On the other hand, the Newfoundland fisheries will, in all probability, fall chiefly into the hands of France, Nova Scotia, and the American states.

to the number now employed in all our remaining settlements, the Newfoundland fishery excepted.

Of still greater consequence will these fisheries appear, when it is known, that the herring and the white fisheries, upon the coasts, lakes, and firths of Scotland, could raise, and keep in constant readiness for the naval and mercantile service, 50,000 hardy seamen, and at no greater expence to the public than a small moiety bestowed in bounties to the boats and buffes, who engage in that hazardous and slavish business, upon the boisterous seas of the north.

The war at the revolution employed 45,000 seamen. The number hath increased every succeeding war; and in 1782 it amounted to 110,000. The great efforts which France, aided by Holland and America, is now making in the naval department, require the same attention on our part, and in all probability the British fleet, at the breaking out of another war, will far exceed that of the year 1782, great as it was. An additional number of men will consequently be wanted: and as the manning of the navy hath ever been attended with considerable difficulty and expence to government, and with circumstances of oppression towards many who are dragged into that service against their consent; there is not, in the whole system of British politics, an object of greater importance to the defence and prosperity of these kingdoms, than that of increasing the number of hardy, intrepid seamen, by means of the northern fisheries, and coasting trade. The arguments for a vigorous attention to this national object, derive additional force, from the sober manners, and tractable dispositions of those men, a circumstance well known to the naval officers, and much approved of by them.

Scotland

Scotland considered as a commercial Nation, and its great Importance to England in that View. Some Proposals for a more liberal System of Polity relative to Scotland, with conjectural Estimates of the beneficial Consequences which would flow therefrom, to the whole Island.

It hath been observed, that a spirit of industry, trade, and rural improvements, began to revive in Scotland about the year 1726, in consequence of the American commerce carried on from Glasgow, and some salutary, though incomplete measures of government respecting the linen manufactures, and the western fisheries, by which the whole kingdom was more or less benefited. Since that time, more especially from the year 1750, the demand in Scotland for English manufactures, and various foreign articles through the channel of London, as silk, drugs, tea, and India goods, gradually increased, till the fatal commencement of the American war in 1775, when the annual value of English exports to Scotland had amounted to

— — — — —	£. 2,000,000
The ready money spent by the Scots nobility and gentry residing in England. — — — — —	} 500,000
Ditto, by traders, and other persons, in their periodical journies to London; also in remittances to boarding schools, academies, and for a variety of other purposes. — — — — —	} 100,000
	—————
	£. 2,600,000

In 1696, was established in England, the office of inspector-general of the value of exports and imports to, and from, all parts of the world; and in
1697,

1697, the amount of exports was found to be

— — — — —	£. 3,525,906
Annual exports to Scotland only, between 1763 and 1775; including also, the money spent in England by the natives of Scotland	2,600,000

£. 925,906

being within a million of the whole exports of England, in the memory of man. The superiority of Scotland in a commercial view, at the present period, to any other channel or source of trade, will further appear from the following comparative statement, taken from Sir Charles Whitworth's Commercial Tables for 1771, that being the highest year of English exports, particularly to the American States, where the imports from this kingdom never exceeded 1,763,409l. upon an average of ten years, prior to 1780.

	Exports to	Imports from
Africa — — — — —	712,538	97,486
Canaries — — — — —	23,825	6,803
Denmark and Norway — — — — —	152,340	83,711
East Country — — — — —	95,961	195,357
East India — — — — —	1,184,824	1,882,129
Flanders — — — — —	861,777	142,138
France — — — — —	146,128	51,645
Germany — — — — —	1,316,492	765,774
Greenland — — — — —	10	13,803
Holland — — — — —	1,685,397	428,080
Ireland — — — — —	1,983,818	1,380,737
Italy — — — — —	782,582	947,138
Madeiras — — — — —	11,213	2,067
Portugal — — — — —	716,122	354,631
Ruffia — — — — —	150,159	1,274,620
Spain — — — — —	1,224,811	568,323
Streights — — — — —	153,323	3,604
Sweden — — — — —	64,180	157,851
Turkey — — — — —	20,573	100,443
Venice — — — — —	73,956	83,335
		Guernsey,

Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney	58,565	56,802
North America	4,586,886	1,468,941
West Indies	1,151,360	2,716,569
Spanish West Indies	4,301	39,988
	£. 17,161,146	12,821,995

Since the year 1748, the annual amount of English imports hath gradually increased from 9 to 12,000,000*l.* while from 1771, that of exports hath been gradually decreasing; insomuch that the balance, which, upon an average of 50 years previous to 1771, had been above 4,000,000*l.* in favour of exports, did not, at the conclusion of the late war, amount to 1,000,000*l.* after deducting the value of stores and other supplies for the army and navy. Nor are there any good grounds to hope, that the national exports to foreign parts will again produce a balance of 4,000,000*l.* or even half of that sum, for a permanency of years.

The balance with Russia, Sweden, and other countries upon the Baltic, hath always been against England, owing to the importance of the articles which we receive from thence, to manufactures, and shipping. Our exports to Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the Streights, have lately decreased to the amount of two millions annually, which France hath partly gained; and similar deficiencies, by means of that politic nation, may be expected with other European kingdoms, the trade of Russia excepted.

In America, the prospect is still more gloomy. As those states are seducing artists and manufacturers from all the commercial nations of Europe, and as their country abounds in raw materials, as iron, copper, timber, furs, peltry, cotton, hemp, flax, indigo, and silk; it may be presumed, that they will restrict their imports from this country to such articles only as they cannot raise within themselves,

felves, and, instead of being a general customer, become a rival, much sooner than we imagine.

The same may be said of Ireland, whose non-importation agreements furnish matter of serious concern.

Upon the whole, the luxury of the times hath considerably increased our imports, while the exertions of France, the independence of Ireland, and America, have so greatly abridged our exports, as to bring both nearly to a par. And though the commercial balance is decreased, or nearly annihilated, the drain of specie, by the East India company, * smuggling, the interest of public debts paid to foreigners, and remittances to absentees; amounts to near 3,000,000l. annually, which emissions will soon be attended with very alarming consequences, unless speedily checked, or new sources of commerce are opened.

Some of the negative remedies to these unfavourable circumstances are now the subject of parliamentary discussion; others, we would gladly hope, will be brought forward in gradual succession, while the productive sources of a commercial balance demand an equal degree of attention. We perceive from the foregoing tables and estimates, that, as the Scottish fisheries are the most valuable nurseries for seamen, so is its trade, and its expenditures in England, the most beneficial to our manufactures. With some nations we carry on a losing trade; from others we receive an uncertain balance; and even the tenure by which we possess our distant settlements, and the monopoly which we derive from them, are so extremely precarious, that it would be political insanity to build our future prospects upon such

* The smuggling of tea will decrease in consequence of lowering the duties, but the consumption will remain the same, and the whole, or the greatest part of it, must ever be purchased with specie.

speculative sources. Whereas, the benefits which flow from the northern part of the island, are progressive and permanent; and, could we reconcile our minds to the idea of relinquishing a comparatively small portion of revenue, the influx of specie from that country "would, as Mr. Hume observes, be sufficient for the important purposes of feeding the circulation of the kingdom," and of a growing national wealth, admitting the balance with other countries to be upon an equality.

The income, or wealth of Scotland, whether arising from rural improvements, the industry, and temperance of the people, or its commercial balances from foreign countries, center, and ever will center, with England. The gentry of the former kingdom have mostly trebled their rents since the year 1750, yet they are not wealthier than their forefathers. On the contrary, the increase of income, though incredibly rapid, hath not, amongst the generality of families, corresponded with their taste for the elegancies, and the luxuries of a more opulent people; insomuch, that estates are constantly upon sale, the old families gradually disappear, and the landed property falls into new hands, especially in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and other trading towns. This is the natural course of things with those orders of men. Their rents are spent by themselves in England, or carried thither, circuitously; nor will it ever be otherwise with the gentry of Scotland, while London continues to be a universal storehouse of whatever is pleasing to the eye and the senses; the center of amusements, affording irresistible allurements for dissipating, in a fashionable style, the produce of their estates, and sometimes more.

The inferior orders, as hath been observed, are equally emulous of English finery; a species of pride, which, while it stimulates industry in one kingdom, promotes manufactures in the other. Thus, the foibles of the higher, and the virtues of the lower

classes of people in Scotland, become subservient to the opulence and prosperity of England, in a very considerable degree. Every man, who, through unremitting labour, gains the small pittance of seven shillings weekly, becomes a customer to the wealthy English farmer, clothier, or draper; besides bringing forward a generation of new customers, by means of the excellent principles which he instills, and the example which he sets before them,

We may, therefore, consider the trade of Scotland as our principal mart, and the landed property of that kingdom as an inexhaustible mine; from which channels flow a permanent flux of specie, with this peculiar circumstance in favour of those sources, that they require no fleets and armies, no waste of lives, and of millions, to defend. From that country, therefore, we derive every possible benefit, negative and positive; and which, with the judicious appropriation of a suitable fund, will accumulate beyond conception; for it is to be remembered, that a very considerable part of the country is in a state of nature; that other districts admit of farther improvement; and that the manufactures and commerce of the kingdom are mostly limited to the three navigable rivers, and a portion of the eastern coast only. When a spirit of trade and improvements becomes more universal, pervading every shore, and every valley of the nation; and when the rising metropolis shall attract a more numerous resort of wealthy strangers, the consequences will be proportionably great.

The good effects of vigorous measures, supported by aid of government, are boundless; of which the present century affords some striking instances. Russia, from an immense desert, inhabited by Barbarians, and only known by name, to the southern states of Europe, hath become instantaneously the seat of arts, science, and literature; a general emporium of European and Asiatic commerce; and bids fair in

another century, to equal, if not eclipse, the most celebrated empires of the world.

The progress of the British American colonies, under the direction of their respective assemblies, assisted liberally by the mother country, had no parallel in the annals of antient or modern nations.

The present state of Ireland, a country nearly similar to Scotland in dimensions, local situation, climate, and natural produce, requires on that account a more circumstantial detail. That kingdom had been an expensive burden to England, from the time when it became subject to the latter nation, in the reign of Henry II. to that of Queen Elizabeth, including a period of 385 years.

“ In 1573, the money which the queen had sent to Ireland, since her accession to the throne, anno 1558, being computed, came to 490,779*l.* whereas the whole produce of the revenue of Ireland, during all that time, amounted but to 120,000*l.*” being 8000*l.* per annum.

“ In 1641, part of the walls of Dublin fell down, which lay unrepaired for want of money, until the lords justices sent the citizens 40*l.* to advance that service. In 1644, the citizens of Dublin were numbered, and found to be 5551 protestants, and 2608 papists, in all 8159.” Corke, Waterford, Belfast, and Limerick, were still less considerable; and it is beyond a doubt that the ports of Leith, St. Andrews, or Dundee in Scotland, then carried on, and had for many ages, more foreign commerce than the whole kingdom of Ireland; as appears by an authentic list of the number of seamen, fishermen, and boatmen, in the latter kingdom, anno 1695, amounting to 4,424 only.

Towards the commencement of the present century, the parliament of Ireland began to direct its attention to national improvements, and with such perseverance and success, that the public revenue, which in queen Elizabeth’s reign produced only 8000*l.* annually, amounted at Christmas, 1784, to

1,000,000l. though the excises, taxes, and duties, are so light as scarcely to be felt by the inhabitants. By means of this revenue, and the patriotic national exertions, Ireland may, at this time, be considered both as a manufacturing, and a commercial country; and promises to become, soon, a considerable emporium.

In 1697, the exports of Ireland amounted to £. 251,262. In 1782, the exports of linen cloth to Great Britain were 24,692,072 yards, from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per yard; total value £. 1,646,138. the whole exports of Ireland to Great Britain £. 2,699,825; and to all the world about £. 3,500,000. The balance of trade in favour of Ireland is supposed to exceed £. 1,000,000. A manufactory which gives employment to 4 or 5000 persons, in the Manchester branches, is established near Dublin; another manufactory carries on the Glasgow and Paisley branches, at Dundalk. Broad cloth, silks, ribbons, and poplins, are carried on to a considerable extent in Ireland; the exports to America, and the West Indies, have become very considerable, and are daily encreasing.

The increase and splendour of Dublin correspond with the growing wealth of the nation. That metropolis contains 100,000 inhabitants; it is ten miles in circumference, and its new streets are commodious, and singularly elegant. The public buildings lately erected, and now erecting, have a solidity and grandeur scarcely inferior to the structures of antiquity; and it is the peculiar felicity of Ireland, that every corner of the kingdom proclaims the magnificent taste of its senate. *

If

* *Commercial Advantages and Privileges enjoyed by Ireland compared with the present State of Scotland.*

<p>In Ireland, the trade, manufactures, commerce, agriculture, inland navigation, harbours, charity schools, public buildings,</p>	<p>Scotland hath no national revenue, and, consequently, no public works have been erected in that kingdom, at the public</p>
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and

If such hath been the rapid transition from ignorance, sloth, and extreme penury; to opulence, splen-

and other objects of national benefit, are vigorously supported by parliamentary grants from 50,000l. to 100,000l. annually.

Ireland hath also three national societies, composed of the nobility, dignified clergy, gentry, and principal traders, endowed with revenues, amounting in the whole to 30,000l. or 40,000l. annually, which are distributed in bounties, premiums, and rewards, for the encouragement of fisheries, manufactures, the fine arts, and ingenious men.

Ireland hath a public revenue of 1,000,000l. which is mostly spent within that kingdom.

Coals exported from Scotland to Ireland pay a duty of 1s. 1d. per chaldron.

Rock salt is permitted to be exported from England to Ireland; and, duty free.

A bounty of five per cent. is given by the Irish parliament on gauzes, lawns, &c. manufactured in that kingdom for inland consumption—and eight and a half per cent. on exportation.

All manufactures in Ireland are exempted from excise or duties.

Taxes are low in Ireland, particularly on salt, candles, leather, soap; and all English and India goods exported to Ireland, have a drawback of the excise and duties.

expende, since the union of the two crowns in 1603. Some military roads and fortifications have been formed or erected for the purposes of government.

Scotland hath three national or public societies, whose conjunct revenues do not amount to 80000l. annually; a sum which would serve to embellish or improve a country town, but is far inadequate to the great purposes of national improvement.

Scotland, having no separate revenue, is thereby deprived of the benefit of circulation within itself.

Coals carried coast-ways from one part of Scotland to another, or from England, pay a duty of 5s. 4d. per chaldron.

Scotland is not permitted to import rock salt from England.

No bounty is allowed in Scotland upon fine manufactures, fabricated in that kingdom for inland consumption.

All manufactures in Scotland, linen excepted, are subject to duties from 20 to 40 per cent. including the duties upon the importation of the raw materials.

Taxes are high in Scotland, particularly on salt, candles, leather, soap, &c. and these, in their operation, may be considered as additional burdens on the above-mentioned imposts. No drawback is allowed on goods exported to Scotland.

dour, and national importance, in less than 90 years, what may not be expected from a civilized, industrious people, were they equally exempted from certain burdens of no great importance to government, and supported by adequate funds operating in every department, and amongst all denominations, from the fisherman and aged spinster, to the counting-house of exports and imports? The education, sober manners, and domestic turn of those people, qualify them most eminently for meeting government half way in every beneficial measure, and no period since the union required more vigorous efforts, on both sides.

The loss of the exclusive trade of America, the impediments to commerce, in consequence of a seven years war, the capture of 313 vessels, many of them richly loaded, and the non-payment of the American debts, have checked the progress of the western parts, and reduced many families from affluent circumstances to the verge of bankruptcy. The almost insurmountable difficulties of the working people, in consequence of frequent bad seasons, and the successive high prices of grain, attended, at the same time, with accumulating excises and taxes upon trade, and the necessaries of life, have filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and seem to threaten a decrease or removal of various manufactures, which served as a substitute for specie, to England, that article being drained from Scotland by other channels. The general decay of the fisheries, and the very injudicious impediments to that important branch, as enumerated in the subsequent detail, are objects also of the most serious concern. *

Equally

* *Titles and Substance of sundry Memorials from the Royal Boroughs, and Traders, of Scotland.*

1. Present State of Custom-house Fees, and the Trade upon Rivers. Edinburgh, February 1782.

2. To the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury. The humble Memorial of the General Convention of the

Equally alarming is the late decrease of exports, to foreign countries, and the consequent increase of an unfavourable balance, of which the following is an authentic statement :

In

the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, 1783, relative to Duties on the Materials for Bleaching.

3. Memorial from the Manufacturers of Iron, in Scotland, relative to the Duties on that Article. Glasgow, March 1783.

4. Memorial of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, 1784, relative to the Duties on printed Linens and Cottons.

5. Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, in the City of Glasgow, 1784, on the Subject of the proposed Tax on printed Cottons and Linens.

6. Proposals for the Ease and Relief of Mariners and Traders, in the Carriage of Goods not liable to Duties when shipped Coast-ways. June 1784.

7. A View of the Consequences of the proposed Tax on printed Linens and Calicoes, with Regard to illicit Trade. Glasgow, July 1784.

8. Memorial in Behalf of the Manufacturers of Muslin in the City of Glasgow and the Neighbourhood. July 1784.

9. Memorial from the Manufacturers of Thread-Gauzes, Lawns, and bordered Handkerchiefs, in Glasgow, Paisley, and the Neighbourhood. July 1784.

10. Memorial, or Case respecting Coals, and Custom-house Fees in Scotland. 1784.

11. Memorial of the Manufacturers of printed Linens and Calicoes in the City and Neighbourhood of Glasgow. July 1784.

12. Three Memorials from the Magistrates of Rothfay, stating the Hardship of the Coal Duties.

All the above papers, excepting those from Rothfay, are printed. They are composed with great judgment and strength of argument, and copies were transmitted to several members of parliament, at London. Some relief hath been granted respecting the duty upon barilla, and the custom-house fees, imposed by the revenue officers, on boats and small crafts navigating the firths and rivers contrary to law, and the customs of England, in similar circumstances. But the great business respecting the duties on manufactures remains for the further consideration of the legislature.

The Substance of these Memorials, is generally as follows :

That the proposed additional impost upon those fabrics of linen and cotton, which are chiefly manufactured in Scotland, will raise the whole duty to 35 or 40 per cent on the article in its finished state for printing.

That besides promoting tumults, by rendering desperate a great body of the industrious workmen, it strikes collaterally

In 1770, the balance in favour of Scot-	}	£. 514,556
land had arrived at		
1780, it fell to		99,315
1781, it was against Scotland		34,761
1782, ditto		155,313
		And

against the great staple of Scotland—*The linen trade*, which is supported in an eminent degree by the printing of coarser fabrics. That high duties will operate most effectually in establishing a system of illicit trade, perfectly similar to that which prevailed with regard to India muslins and calicoes, before the duties on those articles were reduced from 33 to 18 per cent.

That similar manufactures are established in Ireland, aided by bounties; both on inland consumption and exportation, and that the Irish parliament hath burdened the Scottish goods with a duty of 10 per cent. when imported into that kingdom; which, taken in conjunction with the bounty given on their own manufactures, operates as a most severe check on the former; and having already drawn over above 1000 weavers in the branch of thread-gauzes, lawns, &c. shows the impolicy of any additional burden, under circumstances so extremely delicate and critical.

Finally, That the memorialists little expected, at a moment when they are struggling at every foreign market with a competition threatening the ruin of their infant manufactures, that a blow so fatal to them should originate with that legislature to which they have been accustomed to look up for protection. That their ardent desire is to be useful and industrious members of the community; but while they see themselves marked as the victims of distress and ruin, by a measure partial in its operation, and destructive in its consequences, they would act a criminal part to sit silent, without avowing to his majesty's ministers, to parliament, and to the world, those sentiments which become the subjects of a free government.

It hath been also asserted by the principal manufacturers, that the British India company supplies Germany, France, and particularly Switzerland, in calicoes; which those nations print and import into Great Britain, being enabled thereto, by the drawback on the first purchase, saving of the excise, and cheapness of provisions and labour. The Irish have the same advantages over Great Britain; and those obstructions will finally drive every man of property out of the trade, or into the foreign trade; thereby diverting their capital from a safe and commodious trade at home, beneficial to themselves and their country, to a circuitous, a difficult, and a precarious trade abroad. And, say they, it is notorious, that when a manufacturer goes to London, and offers his goods to the warehousekeepers, the latter immediately turn over goods of India fabric, and also of France, Germany, and Switzerland, which they purchase at pleasure from the agents of those countries, on

easier

And it ought to be observed, that, whether the commercial balance be in favour, or against that kingdom, there is, and ever must be, a drain of specie for grain and meal, amounting to 300,000l. annually, upon an average of years; which, with the balance to England, the remittances of taxes and rents as already stated, forms an aggregate, far beyond the unassisted exertions of Scotland to support for a permanency of time. The consequences of a losing trade with foreign nations will be a proportionate decrease of imports from England, and of the balance in favour of that kingdom. Of the exports from Glasgow previous to the American war, three-fourths were of English produce or manufactures. The exports of that city being now reduced, the commissions to England are proportionably abridged.

Upon the whole, the interest of Scotland is in every possible respect the interest of England; and, such is their relative situation and mutual dependence, that as they are united by nature, so ought they to be unalterably consolidated in one common interest, for they will rise or fall together.

Therefore, after contemplating the subject in every point of view; the distresses under which Scotland labours from soil and climate; its great distance from the seat of government; its having no invigorating national assembly within itself; no adequate funds for the great purposes of general improvements: in consideration also of the loss of America; the transfer of West India trade to Ireland; the drain of specie by the nobility and gentry, and other objects as stated in these pages; the most efficacious means of supporting that country, and of promoting the general prosperity of Great Britain, would be, I humbly conceive, to abolish all taxes, duties, and excises in Scotland, the land-tax excepted; and, instead thereof, to substitute such duties only, as shall seem necessary

easier terms than the British manufacture, burdened with high duties, can be sold at,

for

for the regulation of trade and commerce between both kingdoms; the produce of which duties, together with the land tax, to be vested in the board of trustees at Edinburgh, and to be by them applied, unalienably, to the improvement of Scotland, the encouragement of the fisheries, manufactures, and other salutary purposes, as shall from time to time appear conducive to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the happiness of the people.

And, it is further submitted to consideration, whether the board of trustees, consisting at present of 21 members only, should not be established upon a wider basis; and to include, for the time being, the whole body of the nobility of Scotland, the lords of session, barons of exchequer, the crown lawyers, the ministers, professors, and magistrates of Edinburgh. In order still, further to combine the national force in one respectable establishment, it is submitted to consideration, whether it would not be proper to consolidate this board and the convention of the royal boroughs; the whole constituting a *Board, or College of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Improvements*, entrusted with such powers as government shall deem expedient.

An institution thus composed of persons of the first eminence, * would restore public spirit among the higher orders, call forth the exertion of mental powers, encourage general industry, revive the drooping mind, and gladden every heart. Each individual would find employment, and comfortable subsistence for his family; tumults, murmurings, and emigration, would cease or abate; gratitude to majesty, and an enlightened government, would pervade the kingdom, and its most distant islands.

* Of such descriptions of men are composed the national Societies established in Ireland, Denmark, France, Spain, (called *the Friends of their Country*) and other European states.

Were

Were further arguments necessary to enforce the expediency of these propositions, it might be observed, that the revenue of Scotland, though burthenfome to the people, is comparatively so very inconsiderable to that of England, that, were the pen drawn through every item of it, the deficiency in the estimate of ways and means, would scarcely be observable; while the advantages, which would flow into England by the various channels which have been enumerated, would exceed credibility. Such was the main argument of the American colonies, so late as the year 1776. They contended, that the magnitude of their imports from the mother country, included within it, a productive revenue, and a profitable commerce, centering in Great Britain. The same reasoning is applicable to Scotland. Exempt us, say they, from insupportable restraints on trade; from excises on our infant manufactures, and the necessaries of life; reduce the expensive burden of revenue officers, and you will gain ten-fold, by means of the profits of our industry, which will ultimately circulate in your manufacturing towns; and, by the revenue upon your goods, which we consume. But, should we, after thus contributing to your opulence and splendour, be deprived of every fourth candle, every fourth pound of soap, and bushel of coals, we shall neither be able to weave nor bleach; our aged parents will languish through cold or famine; and the young men, who promised to become beneficial customers, will fly, indignantly, beyond the seas; and thus be lost to their families, to their country, and to you.

Consider, we beseech you, whether a people labouring under every possible disadvantage, natural and political; of whom two-thirds live, or rather exist, upon meal, vegetables, and butter-milk, be proper objects whereon to lay, with the same indiscriminate hand, the burdens of your ruinous wars, in which they had no concern, and from which they
could

could derive no advantage. Consider whether a bleak, narrow country, composed in general of rock, heath, or sand; whose commercial balance of late with foreign nations, and at all times with you, hath been unfavourable, can ever produce an efficient permanent revenue, without manifold hazards, and losses, in the experiment.

So completely drained is that kingdom of its specie by England, that though, at the time of the union, the circulation amounted to nearly 1,000,000l. sterling, the whole currency of the kingdom hath not for many years exceeded 200,000l. and even that trifling sum is purchased in England for the purpose of supporting the circulation of the Scottish banks, at an expence of 4000l. per annum; nor can it be otherwise in a country where London bills often sell at a premium of two per cent.

Upon the re-coinage some years ago, the specie of Great Britain and Ireland was found to be nearly as follows, viz:

In England	—	—	£. 18,000,000
Ireland	—	—	1,600,000
Scotland	—	—	200,000

19,800,000

And so unproductive is the revenue of that country, that the annual excises, upon an average of 3 years, ending in 1773, raised only £. 95,229
The customs in ditto — — 68,369

Neat amount, (exclusive of the land-tax)	}	163,598
in the collecting of which, the people		
were burdened with the further expence of — — —	}	43,253

Thus the country pays above one-fourth more than is received at the exchequer, and it is certain that many of the taxes scarcely defray the expence in collecting them. The excises have, however, increased considerably since 1773; and some writers

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unacquainted with the abilities of the country, or inattentive to the fallacious causes of that increase, exult on the imaginary flourishing state of the kingdom, and the progressive revenue which may be expected to flow therefrom.

That this increase is derived from impolitic sources, every reader will readily allow, when informed, that it arises chiefly from additional duties on salt, soap, printed cloths, muslins, lawns, and other articles highly prejudicial to fisheries, and infant manufactures; also from distilleries, though the kingdom depends upon other nations for daily support in meal and grain.

Most certain it is, that nature hath put a negative against productive revenue, and extensive agriculture in that kingdom; endowing it, however, by means of other channels, with the sources of beneficial, active business. Were government, therefore, to follow this unerring guide, to cooperate with it in the great lines of political administration, and to consider Scotland, not as an object of revenue, but of trade, the following estimates will show the prodigious advantages that must flow to England from the propositions before stated.

Admitting 200,000l. annually to be the utmost extent of neat revenue in Scotland, and also the given sum for its improvement; the progressive increase of population, naval strength, imports from England, and the influx of specie to that kingdom, would, we conjecture, from the above-mentioned circumstances, be found at the end of fifty years as follows:

We shall state	}	1,300,000; and in 1834 at 3,000,000
the population in 1784 at		
The men employed in all the fisheries in the best years	}	20,000 — ditto 50,000

The

The imports from England, as they stood before the American war, nearly	}	£. 2,000,000	In 1834*	4,000,000
Rents, &c. spent in England by Scotsmen		£. 600,000	ditto	1,000,000

Whereas 10,000,000l. the accumulated amount of the above-stated 200,000l. exclusive of interest, for a period of fifty years, would be exhausted in twelve months, if expended agreeably to the old system, in destructive war. Such would be the opposite effects in the operation of the same specific sum, circulating within our own island, upon the arts of peace; or lavished amongst distant regions, in the prosecution of imaginary glory, external dominion, and fallacious channels of commercial monopoly.

Unhappily, the present situation of government, and that destructive body, the India company, afford no flattering prospect that any arguments tending to the abridgment of the national finances will produce the desired effect. A deduction of facts; a statement of positive grievances, and the expediency of redressing them, however, excite the attention of some readers towards a people, whose life is one continued struggle, and whose patience is nearly exhausted.

Supposing, therefore, that government should not be inclined to delegate the internal affairs of Scot-

* This supposition is strongly supported by a comparative view of the exports to Scotland, between the years 1697, and the union in 1707, which upon an average, amounted only to £. 65,345 annually. From this it appears that the exports between 1707 and 1775, have increased thirty-fold. And, it may be supposed that the money spent by Scottish nobility and gentry residing in England, within the same period, hath increased in the proportion of five to one.

land in the manner now suggested; but desirous, at the same time, to give every possible relief consistent with the abilities of the state; in that case, a general revival of the civil policy of the kingdom, though less efficacious than the former proposal, would be productive of essential benefits to every class of people.

For this purpose a committee of enquiry might be appointed, from the convention of the royal boroughs, to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, beginning with those objects which require immediate notice, as the fisheries, and inland navigation; the linen and cotton manufactures in all their branches; the unproductive excises or duties, which it would be expedient to abolish, and the regulation of taxes partially imposed on that part of the united kingdom.

It would require a whole volume to enumerate, bring forward, and explain the various objects which await the attention of a committee thus appointed; and, as public spirit begins to revive amongst the inhabitants of North Britain, we entertain a hope that this season of peace will be appropriated to these great purposes. We are the more confident in these expectations, from the consideration that the age is more enlightened respecting the relative operations and effects of commerce. Writers of the first abilities have lately exploded that contracted system which impoverished the distant branches to aggrandize and enrich the centre: and, if we may judge from the very favourable concessions made to the American states, and to Ireland, it would seem, that government hath happily adopted the same generous sentiments. A conscientious regard to the common rights of mankind knows no distinction of country, or local situation. Neither is it politic. From favours partially conferred, or burdens injudiciously imposed, arise commotions, revolt,

revolt, and civil war; while an equal diffusion of benefits, protection, or redress, suited to cases and circumstances, is government founded on the sure basis of philosophy, and political wisdom; principles inseparably connected, by the Ruler of the universe, for the benevolent purpose of uniting all the various parts of empire in one common interest.

The half-starved Highlander, inured to the inclement seasons, and barren heaths of the 58th degree, is an improper object of taxation; but he supplies his country, and its sugar islands, with fish; takes upon him the toils of war; reposes himself, after the fatigues of the day, upon a bed of snow; and is always prepared to renew the march, or the attack, with fresh vigour. While, on the other hand, the opulent citizen of the 51st degree, is unqualified for such exercises; but he contributes liberally to the revenue, supplies the ways and means, supports the credit of the state, and the honour of the nation. Thus every denomination of subjects furnish their quota to the general stock of commerce, revenue, strength, or defence, and have an equal claim to the notice of government.

Having thus attempted to state the relative situation of the various branches which compose the British empire in general, and the two British kingdoms in particular, with a view to that system of policy which seems to be the most equitable, and most conducive to the benefit and security of the whole; I shall close this part of the subject in the words of certain writers, whose distinguished reputation, unanimity of sentiment, and thorough knowledge of the true interest of their country, fully establish the positions which I have been endeavouring to enforce.

Mr. Arthur Young. "Had the millions, and tens of millions, which have been expended on the original settlement and subsequent protection of the colonies, been laid out on the melioration of England,

land, this kingdom would have had at present double the quantity of cultivated lands, and double the number of useful inhabitants."

Dean Tucker. "Suffice it to observe, that the wars of Europe for these 200 years last past, by the confession of all parties, have really ended in the advantage of none, but to the manifest detriment of them all: suffice it further to remark, that had each of the contending powers employed their subjects in cultivating and improving such lands as were clear of all disputed titles, instead of aiming at more extended possessions, they had consulted both their own and their people's greatness, much more efficaciously than all the victories of a Cæsar, or an Alexander."

The Dean, after enumerating the true principles and real causes of our increase of trade since the revolution, proceeds thus:—"Now all these things co-operating together would render any country rich and flourishing, whether it had colonies or not: and this country in particular would have found the happy effects of them to a much greater degree than it now doth, were they not counteracted by our luxury, our gambling, our frequent ruinous and expensive wars, our colony-drains, and by that ill-gotten, and ill-spent wealth, which was obtained by robbing, plundering, and starving the poor defenceless natives of the East-Indies. A species of villainy this, for which the English language had not a name, 'till it adopted the word *nabobing*."

Lord Sheffield. "Fisheries, coasting trade, and northern voyages, produce hardy and intrepid seamen; African and Indian voyages destroy many, and debilitate more.

"It should never be the policy of England to give a particular encouragement to sedentary fisheries, at the distance of 3000 miles, as they inter-

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ferre so much with the fisheries carried on from the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ The fish from New-England, and the country adjacent, cannot be put in competition with the herrings sent in great quantities from Scotland and Ireland; nor should any regulation be made likely to affect this nursery for seamen, *which may be greatly increased with proper attention.*

“ If any thing like policy is preserved in this nation, we shall have ship-building in every port and creek of Britain and Ireland, *by the encouragement which we ought to give every fishery, and to every art connected with navigation.*

“ Nothing can be more impolitic, at least in a commercial nation, than a fondness for foreign dominions, and a propensity to encourage distant colonization, rather than to promote domestic industry and population at home. The internal trade of Great Britain is much greater than its external commerce. The best customers of the manufacturers of Britain are the people of Britain.

“ Europe has been long wild and extravagant in looking towards America for every thing; fortunately for France, she failed there, but in her pursuits lost more glory than she had attained elsewhere during a century. Spain has been impoverished, and is much reduced below what she was before she suffered from her American delusions. England survives; and it is to be hoped will survive her American misfortunes; that she will learn wisdom from what has happened; and that she will no longer squander her riches heedlessly at a distance, and out of her reach. *Britain may have the good fortune to see her fisheries surpass those of the rest of the World, and to raise five seamen of the best and hardiest kind for one she does now.*”

“ The Bishop of Landaff having, in his sermon before the house of lords, put the most favourable construction upon the present state of public affairs,

sums

furns up the whole, in the following musical language.

“ But great and happy as we are, there is much room left for those whom it may concern to make the attempt of making us greater and happier: and we sincerely pray to God that all parties may be disposed to do this, not by sacrificing public confidence to private animosity; the stability of government, to selfish or ambitious struggles for power; not by indulging a proud propensity to embrace the first favourable opportunity of regaining our glory, as it is called, by the renewal of war; not by prosecuting unjust views of commercial monopoly, or territorial conquest, in distant countries; * but by taking the most prudent measures

* “ I wish,” says the Bishop, “ I could consider our acquisitions in Asia as compensating our losses in America; but they have been obtained, I fear, by unjust force, and on that account I cannot think that they will be useful to us. It requires little political sagacity to foretell, that the natives will pay their tribute with reluctance; that it will be expended in the maintenance of the standing army by which it must be collected; that our enemies in Europe, jealous of the resources which we shall stand a chance of deriving from Asia, will endeavour to counteract all our projects of interest and ambition, and to make that country another America to this nation.”

The East India company hath ever been obnoxious to the people of this kingdom; inasmuch, that in the reign of king William, petitions were presented from various parts of the country for its dissolution. The house of commons also addressed the king to the same purpose; but, says a historian of that period, “ those who had been the most warm in detecting abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish.”

The abuses of the company’s servants in latter times are well known, but still it is contended,

1. “ That the India trade is a valuable nursery for seamen.”— To this proposition it hath already been observed, that these very distant and sultry voyages are the destroyers of that class of men.

2. “ The trade to India is the grand channel of English commerce, and will enrich the kingdom by the magnitude of its exports and imports.”—The exports to India, till we became possessed of the territorial revenue of that country, consisted chiefly

fures at home, to heal our divisions, and amend our morals; for the strength, foreign and domestic, of every nation upon earth, must ultimately, under God,

of specie for the purpose of completing the investments or cargoes sent from thence to England.

The following periodical statements of the value of goods exported thither since the commencement of the present century, compared with our exports to Holland, Germany, and Spain, are extracted from Sir Charles Whitworth's Commercial tables; viz. we exported in

	To India.	Holland.	Germany.	Spain.
1700	126,697	1,765,951	629,997	610,912
1710	126,310	2,071,306	975,303	215,935
1720	83,811	1,915,112	760,224	499,324
1730	135,484	1,766,526	1,092,490	777,949
1740	281,751	1,754,204	1,091,061	101,635
1750	508,654	2,204,095	1,255,872	1,783,075
1760	1,161,670	1,784,442	1,544,016	1,048,222
1773	845,707	1,873,860	1,337,552	839,072

The exports to Portugal used formerly to treble those to India; and Flanders hath of late equalled, if not exceeded, the whole eastern commerce. Thus our intercourse with several kingdoms of Europe is incomparably superior to that of India, and without any expence to government.

3. "The East India trade produces a considerable revenue, and is consequently a great support to the state."—This is the charm which hath long influenced the British councils, and from which we may partly trace the dismemberment of our empire, and the present embarrassed situation of the kingdom. It is well known that the cargoes of tea sent to America with a view to serve the India company, and clogged with a duty of three pence per pound, renewed those commotions which terminated in the loss of that empire. For this also, we permit the company to pour into these kingdoms whole cargoes of muslins, callicoes, dimities, shawls, nankeen, china ware, and other Asiatic manufactures, to the great injury of our merchants and traders, and by which 200,000 working people are deprived of their natural right. It hath also been alledged by many, that the heavy excises laid, time after time, upon British printed cottons, and linens, originate in Leaden-hall street.

Admitting this to be a groundless surmise, it is, however, beyond a doubt, that our Oriental connections have, in a general view, proved extremely prejudicial to the honour and interest of this nation. And it would seem, that the only means whereby that

God, depend on the union, and on the number of its inhabitants, and its happiness on their VIRTUE."

that country may be rendered really and permanently serviceable to government and the community, would be, to regulate its commerce by a general prohibition of all manufactures, of whatever denomination, that interfere with those of Great Britain; while the raw materials, and other articles, the natural produce of Asia, as indigo, silk, saltpetre, spices, drugs, tea, and diamonds, would still enable the company to carry on a respectable, sure, and profitable trade, and to restore their credit and their honour, without prejudice to India, or their native country.

H. S.

A

A VIEW

OF

THE HIGHLANDS,

INCLUDING THE

HEBRIDE, ORKNEY, AND SHETLAND
ISLANDS.*Divisions and Face of the Country.*

SCOTLAND admits of two grand divisions, the Lowlands and the Highlands,

The first division comprehends the countries southward of the Forth, with the eastern coast, as far north as Inverness. In this division the language, manners, and dress of the people, are nearly the same as in England. This is also the most fertile and improved part of the kingdom, wherein are situated the towns of any note; the seats of manufactures, commerce, and navigation, as before described,

The second division remains to be considered; it comprehends the west side of the kingdom, from Cantire to the Pentland Firth, with the Hebride Isles; also the interior parts of Scotland, from the Firth of Clyde, Loch Lomond, and Loch Tay northward; and here the people speak the Erse or Gaulic language, dress in the antient Roman manner, and have, till of late years, lived almost in a state of nature,

The face of the country, in this division, exhibits
one

one great mass of rugged mountains, appearing in all manner of directions, covered on the sides with heath or natural woods, and on the highest summits with everlasting snow. These mountains are separated from each other by vallies, straths, or glens; and, in some places, by narrow deep chasms, darkened with timber, through which the united tributary streams of the surrounding mountains roll, with great impetuosity, till they vent themselves in some inland lake; - but more frequently in the capacious bays formed by the Atlantic, on one side; or the British sea, on the other side of the island.

The Hebrides, or Western isles, are about 300 in number, above 40 of which are inhabited. In extent, collectively, they are nearly equal to Wales; they cover almost the whole western coast of Scotland, and are supposed, from the best calculations, to contain from 50 to 60,000 people. The language, manners, dress, and face of the country are similar to those of the opposite coast of the continent, but the timber hath been completely exhausted.

Names of the Islands.	Number of People.	Produce, exclusive of grain, hemp, flax, roots, cattle, sheep, fish, fowl, and kelp.
*Islay	7000	Lead, and some silver; iron-ore, marle, lime-stone, and shell sand.
Jura	1200	Iron-ore and slate,
*Tirey	1700	Marble, and flint stones.
Col	1000	
Mull	5000	An appearance of coal on the south side.
*Lismore	1500	Composed entirely of lime-stone.
Sky	15,000	Fine variegated marble, free-stone, lime-stone, marle, iron-ore, and clays for earthen ware.
Raafay	900	Freestone.

Lewis	}	15,000
*Harris		
*North Uist		
Benbecula		
*South Uist		
Barra		
Waterfay		
Bishops Isles		

Marble, fine red clay, coral and coralline.

These islands form a chain near 140 miles in length from north to south. They lie from 34 to 57 miles due west from the mainland of Scotland. The channels by which they are separated, at low water, are so shallow as to give them the appearance of one island, and from this

The stars denote those islands which are the most fertile.

circumstance, they are usually called the *Long Island*. Their shores are one continued fishery, and their commodious bays * give shelter to the shipping of all nations who navigate these northern seas.

The lesser islands, which lie between the Long Island and the mainland, are chiefly,

Giga, Colonsa, Rum, Canay, Scalpa, and Rona,

The celebrated Icolmkill and Staffa, on the coast of Mull,

Kerrera, Seil, Lung, Shuma, &c. on the coast of Argyleshire, and abounding in slate.

Besides the above-mentioned Hebride islands, lying beyond the Peninsula of Cantire, there are several islands on this side of the Peninsula, within the Firth of Clyde, which may be called the *Little Hebrides*, viz. Arran, Bute, the two Cumbras, Lam-lash, Sanda, and the remarkable Craig of Ailfa; the whole inhabited by about 12,000 people, who are

* Particularly those on the eastern side, which penetrate between the openings of a lofty shore of rock. The west side is in general a sandy level, where the ocean hath made, and is still making, great depredations. It hath gained four miles upon South Uist, as appears by the remains of buildings now overwhelmed with water. Persons of the last age, remembered to have fished from the windows of a church which is now at the distance of two miles from the land.

admirably

admirably qualified for the fisheries, and all the branches belonging thereto.

The Distresses of the Highlands.

Such being the natural state of the Highlands, the only parts capable of agriculture are the vallies or glens around the bases of the mountains; and these vallies having the sun for a few hours only, vegetation advances slowly, and the harvests are always late. The climate is equally discouraging to the purposes of husbandry. The spring is bleak and piercing; the summer is cold and short; the autumn, from the beginning of August, deluged with rains; the winter long and tempestuous. During the latter season, the people are cut off from all communication with the Low Countries, by deep beds of snow, impassible torrents, pathless mountains and morasses on the one side; by long and impracticable navigations on the other.

To these accumulated discouragements of nature, are added the oppressions and ill-judged policy of many proprietors of those sterile regions, far beyond their natural value, were they even in hands more capable to improve them. Where both soil and climate conspire against the raising of grain in any considerable quantity, and where there are no markets, possibly within the distance of fifty miles, for the sale of corn and the lesser articles of husbandry, the farmer turns his attention chiefly to the grazing of a few cattle and sheep, as the means whereby he expects to pay his rent, and support his family. If, therefore, his farm hath been raised at the rate of 300 per cent. while the price of cattle hath scarcely advanced 100, this method of improving estates, as the proprietors term it, furnishes a high-sounding rent roll, extremely pleasing to human vanity, but which, being founded upon oppression, injustice, and folly, hath hitherto proved fallacious and humiliating, to all those who have persevered in the cruel experiment.

Upon

Upon the whole, the situation of these people, inhabitants of Britain! is such as no language can describe, or fancy conceive. If, with great labour and fatigue, * the farmer raises a slender crop of oats and barley, the autumnal rains often baffle his utmost efforts, and frustrate all his expectations; and instead of being able to pay an exorbitant rent, he sees his family in danger of perishing during the ensuing winter, when he is precluded from any possibility of assistance elsewhere.

Nor are his cattle in a better situation: in summer they pick up a scanty support amongst the morasses, or heathy mountains; but in winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds afford neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them the small stock of meal which hath been purchased, or raised, for the family only; while the cattle thus sustained, are bled, occasionally, to afford nourishment for the children, after it hath been boiled, or made into cakes.

* This description alludes to the country in general, and admits of exceptions, in regard to the soil of the vallies, and some of the islands and shores, as shall be specified more fully in another place.

Instead of the plough, the farmers, in many parts, use the spade, partly through necessity, arising from the irregularity of the surface, and partly from antient custom. The rainy season commences about the first of August, and continues, with little intermission, till November. When, therefore, the corn is cut down, which is performed by hooks, a number of sheaves are piled together, and thatched on the top. In the first interval from rain, the thatch is taken off; and the sheaves, if dry, are carried to the barn. This laborious work is repeated until the whole crop hath been thus secured. Against all inconveniencies arising from rains, the duke of Argyle hath erected a very extensive, and lofty building, with open floors, and other vents, to dry the corn immediately after it is cut down; and which, at the same time, prevents the straw from heating. Other gentlemen have adopted the same plan, though on a smaller scale, and was this very necessary improvement more general in that country, some thousand bolls might be saved annually, to the distressed farmers,

The

The sheep, being left upon the open heaths, seek to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather amongst the hollows upon the lee-side of the mountains; and here they are frequently buried under the snow, for several weeks together, and in severe seasons during two months or upwards. They eat their own and each other's wool, and hold out wonderfully under cold and hunger; but even in moderate winters, a considerable number are generally found dead after the snow hath disappeared, and in rigorous seasons few or none are left alive. *

Meanwhile the steward, hard pressed by letters from the gaming house, or Newmarket; demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropitious seasons, the death of cattle, and other accidental misfortunes;—his honour's wants must at any rate be supplied, the bills must be duly negotiated,

Such is the state of farming, if it may be so called, throughout the interior parts of the Highlands; but as that country hath an extensive coast, and many islands, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of those shores enjoy all the benefits of their maritime situation. This, however, is not the case: those gifts of nature, which in any other commercial kingdom would have been rendered subservient to the most valuable purposes, are in Scotland lost, or nearly so, to the poor natives, and the public. The only difference, therefore, between the inhabitants of the interior parts, and those of the more distant coast, consists in this; that the latter, with the labours of the field, have to encounter, alternately, the dangers of the ocean, and all the fatigues of navigation.

To the distressing circumstances at home, as stated above, new difficulties and toils await the

* In the north of England the farmers discover the sheep, when under the snow, by means of spaniels, who upon coming to the spot where the sheep are buried, scrape the snow with their feet.

devoted farmer when abroad. He leaves his family at the commencement of the winter fishery in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks on board a small open boat, in quest of the herrings, with no other provisions than oatmeal, potatoes, and fresh water; no other bedding than heath, twigs or straw; the covering, if any, an old sail.* Thus provided, he searches from bay to bay, through turbulent seas, frequently for several weeks together, before the shoals of herrings are discovered. The glad tidings serve to vary, but not to diminish, his fatigues. Unremitting nightly labour (the time when the herrings are taken), pinching cold winds, heavy seas, uninhabited shores covered with snow or deluged with rains, contribute towards filling up the measure of his distresses; while, to men of such exquisite feelings as the Highlanders generally possess, the scene which awaits him at home does it most effectually.

Having realized a little money amongst country purchasers, he returns with the remainder of his capture, through a long navigation, frequently amidst unceasing hurricanes, not to a comfortable home and a chearful family, but to a hut composed of turf, without windows, doors, or chimney, environed with snow, and almost hid from the eye by its great depth. Upon entering this solitary mansion, he generally finds a part of his family, lying upon heath or straw, languishing through want, or epidemical disease; while the few surviving cows, which possess the other end of the cottage, instead of furnishing further supplies of milk and blood,

* The Highland dress, lately resumed, is extremely useful to these people when on board, as well as in the field. The plaid contains sundry yards of worsted stuff, which the Highlander wraps several times round his body, and lies down to sleep amidst all inclemencies of weather; his only comfort a little whisky, and a pinch of snuff.

demand

demand his immediate attention to keep them in existence.

The season now approaches when he is again to delve and labour the ground, on the same slender prospect of a plentiful crop, or a dry harvest. The cattle which have survived the famine of the winter, are turned out to the mountains; and, having put his domestic affairs into the best situation which a train of accumulated misfortunes admits of, he resumes the oar, either in search of the summer herring, or white fishery. If successful in the latter, he sets out in his open boat upon a voyage (taking the Hebrides and the opposite coast at a medium distance) of 200 miles, to vend his cargo of dried cod, ling, &c. at Greenock or Glasgow.* The produce, which seldom exceeds twelve or fifteen pounds, is laid out, in conjunction with his companions, upon meal, and fishing tackle; and he returns through the same tedious navigation.

The autumn calls his attention again to the field; the usual round of disappointment, fatigue, and distress awaits him; thus dragging through a wretched existence, in the hope of soon arriving in that country where the weary shall be at rest.

Many other circumstances might be represented in this picture of human misery, of which I shall at present mention only two. In time of war, those who engage in the fisheries are indiscriminately pressed, without the smallest regard to cases or circumstances, however distressing to the unhappy victims and their starving families; while others,

* The largest fish are generally taken off Barra, a part of the Long Island, about 200 miles from Glasgow. When a boat arrives, the town bell is sent round, the people flock to the quay, and the fish are immediately purchased at one shilling each. Were ten times that quantity brought to Glasgow, and the other trading towns on the Clyde, they would find a ready market, to the mutual benefit of all parties; but this cannot happen until the passage shall be shortened by the proposed canal across the Peninsula of Cantire.

who

who travel from the most remote parts, without money or provisions, to earn 30 or 40 shillings in the Lowlands by harvest work, are often decoyed into the army, by stratagems which do no credit to the humanity of the age.

These virtuous but friendless men, while endeavouring, by every means in their power, to pay their rents, to support their wives, their children, their aged parents, and in all respects to act the part of honest, inoffensive subjects, are dragged away—they know not where—to fight the battles of nations who are insensible of their merits, and to obtain victories of which others are to reap the imaginary benefits.

The aged, the sick, and the helpless, look in vain for the return of their friends, from the voyage or the harvest. They are heard of no more. Lamentations, cries, and despair, pervade the village or the district. Thus deprived of their main support, the rent unpaid, the cattle sold or seized, whole families are reduced to the extremity of want, and turned out, amidst all the inclemencies of the winter, to relate their piteous tale, and to implore from the wretched, but hospitable mountaineers, a little meal or milk, to preserve their infants from perishing in their arms.

In this situation they wander towards the Lowlands, * happy to find shelter at night from the chilling winds, driving snow, or incessant rains, in some cavern or deserted cottage; still more happy, if chance hath provided their lodging with a little straw or heath, whereon to lay their almost lifeless

* The Highland poor have of late become so numerous in the Lowlands that some towns positively refuse them admittance.—“We are eat up, say they, with beggars.” Thus the poor creatures, especially women, children, and old people, are driven from place to place, as nuisances in society, and unworthy of existence, though they require nothing more than the coarsest gifts of nature, which Britons in general would spurn at.

infants,

infants, the constant objects of their first attention amidst all the calamitous vicissitudes of life.

Such is the hard lot of the great body of the people who inhabit a fifth part of our island. Neglected by government; forsaken, or oppressed by the gentry; cut off, during most part of the year, by impassible mountains, and impracticable navigations, from the seats of commerce, industry, and plenty; living at considerable distances from all human aid, without the necessaries of life, or any of those comforts which might soften the rigour of their calamities; and depending, most generally, for the bare means of subsistence, on the precarious appearance of a vessel freighted with meal or potatoes, to which they with eagerness resort, though often at the distance of fifty miles. Upon the whole, the Highlands of Scotland, some few estates excepted, are the seats of oppression, poverty, famine, anguish, and wild despair, exciting the pity of every traveller, while the virtues of the inhabitants attract his admiration.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the resentments of human nature should burst forth, upon the first opportunity, against those, who, instead of labouring to mitigate their distresses, were daily adding new oppressions; till having, by those means, desolated whole districts of the country, the delusion vanished, and they found themselves under the shameful necessity of purchasing cattle and sheep to graze the deserted heaths.

This humiliating circumstance was facilitated by an event which their penetration had not foreseen. The Highlanders, who had served in the American war, being, by royal proclamation, entitled to settlements in that extensive country, were desirous that their kindred and friends should partake of their good fortune. Some transmitted their sentiments by letters; others, returning from thence to pay a farewell visit to their native land, delivered their

their opinions personally, and all agreed in their encomiums upon the new world. They exhorted their countrymen to exchange their barren heaths for the boundless plains of America; they declaimed upon the softness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of provisions, the exemption from taxes; the opulence, ease, and luxury of the people.

These alluring descriptions had the desired effect upon the imaginations of men naturally warm, and impatient of injuries. The Highlanders now first began to look on their native country with contempt, and upon their oppressors with indignation.—Shall we, said they, remain in these miserable huts, the objects of derision, without the common necessaries of life, or the prospect of better times? No! we will depart to the great country beyond the ocean, where our labour will be rewarded, and our families comfortably maintained.

Such was the language, and such the disposition of the oppressed, the much-injured Highlanders, whether situated upon the continent, or amongst the islands. In vain did the landlords use the most persuasive arguments, offering terms, which formerly would have been gladly accepted. The heroic exploits of their ancestors, the antiquity of the clan, the respect for the chief, no longer held the people in fetters. They began to think, and to act for themselves. Whole groups of men, women, and children, passed in continual succession, to the sea ports, * and with such determined resolution, that those

* In my journies through the Highlands, I often met families or bodies of people travelling to the ports. They generally edged off the road, and hurried along as if shy of an interview; which, upon the other hand, I was equally desirous to procure, though I neither could speak the erse, nor was furnished with that infallible recommendation—a snuff box. Upon finding their flight thus interrupted, not by a hostile or dangerous force, but a single individual, without sword, pistol, or spurs, upon a small horse, and in the midst of uninhabited

those who could not pay for their passage, sold themselves to the captains who were to transport them to the new world; and were, by these captains, re-sold upon their arrival at the intended ports.

The Americans beheld this inundation of Britons with astonishment, mixed with contempt of that government, which thus permitted a continued drain of its inhabitants; while the looks, the dejection, the poverty, and the tattered apparel of these unhappy wanderers, touched their feelings, and called forth the exertions of humanity. They could scarcely believe, that a people, whose valour they had so recently extolled, whom Wolfe admired, and whom Chatham applauded, should be reduced to the sad alternative of perishing at home, or embarking with their families, on a voyage of 3000

bited wilds, he who could speak the best English stepped forth, with a dejected countenance, while his companions, and especially the children, seemed to remain in eager suspense. The motive of these interviews, led to enquiries respecting the history of the people, the causes of their emigrations, the state of their finances, and their notions of the country to which they were going. They represented their distresses with great feeling, most generally in tears; and with a strict regard to truth, as appeared in the uniformity of the accounts delivered by different companies, strangers to one another. "O fir, we dinna leave our kintra without reason, great reason indeed, fir. Sometimes our crops yield little more than the seed, and sometimes they are destroyed with rains, or dinna ripen; but some of our lairds mak nae allowance for these misfortunes. They seize our cattle, and all our furniture; leaving us naething but the skin, which would be of nae service to them. They are not Highlandmen—so greedy, fir—but God will judge between them and us, in his own gude time. O fir, can you tell us ony thing about the kintra of America—they say poor fok may get a living in it, which is mair than we can get in our parts. We are driven, fir, with our poor bairns to a far land. We are begging our way to Greenock, and all our clothes, fir, are on our backs, as you see. God forgive our oppressors who have brought us to this pass. We are strangers in the Lowlands; could you advise us, fir, how to mak our bargain with the captain of the ship? They say that those who have no money to pay for their passage, must sell themselves to the captain. This is our case—O fir, what have we done—but it is God's will—blessed be his holy name." Such was, and such is at this day, the language of unmerited distress in many parts of the Highlands.

miles, upon the hope of finding that relief in a strange land, which their native and highly favoured island had denied them.

Thus, what Britain lost, America gained; and it was not long before those very men became the involuntary instruments of punishing the neglect of a country, which hath within itself the means of sustaining a more numerous population.

It is difficult to ascertain what districts have suffered most by emigration; but certain it is, that between 1763 and 1775, above 30,000 people abandoned their habitations, besides great numbers from the Lowlands; and there is reason to believe, that in a few years more, the whole Highlands would have been greatly depopulated, except those districts under the paternal care of an Argyle, an Athole, a Breadalbane, and a few other patriotic chieftains. But while the rage of emigration was thus depopulating the north, an order of congress shut up the ports of America, and prohibited, under severe penalties, all intercourse with Great Britain. To this singular event, more than to the fostering hand of government, is owing the detention of those people, whose calamitous situation hath been the subject of the foregoing pages; and whom to restrain at home by suitable encouragement, will be the subject of what follows.

The Manners of the Highlanders in former Times.

When a barren country is suffered to remain in a state of nature, without arts, manufactures, or commerce, the inhabitants, impelled by the irresistible demands of hunger, seize the cattle, and sometimes the corn of the more fertile plains, which they consider as lawful prey, without ever reflecting on the distresses, which they thereby bring on the injured proprietors.

To such causes were owing the frequent irruptions of armed Highlanders upon the Low Countries, to which they proved a continual terror, notwithstanding all the spirited efforts of the Scottish princes to

check their predatory inroads. Their mountains not affording them the means of subsistence, and being utterly unacquainted with the arts of civil life, they partly lived by plunder and the spoils of the unprotected frontiers. Having concerted the plan of operations, they issued forth in the night time, slept amidst the heaths and rocks through the day, and thus reaching the scene of action, while mankind were at rest, they drove off the cattle and sheep into the defiles and labyrinths of the mountains, far beyond the reach of pursuit, with any prospect of success, or personal safety.*

Those habits having been handed down from father to son, were considered as laudable industry, the incumbent duty of the young and the brave, the achievements of valour, by which lovers recommended themselves to the favour of their mistresses; and so far were the Highlanders from having any idea of criminality in such practices, that prayers were made to heaven for success to every intended enterprize, and for the safe return of those who were to embark in them. The parent who could not bestow much dowry with his daughter upon her marriage, consoled the bridegroom with the produce of the next full moon, and thus he portioned off his family. †

Such were the manners and modes of life in the Highlands, so late as the year 1748, when the le-

* These irregularities were not, however, universal in later times. The estates of Argyle, Breadalbane, Athole, Gordon, Sunderland, and other great proprietors, were plundered equally with those of the Low Countries.

† A Rob Roy, Glengyle, and other petty lairds, countenanced these practices amongst their tenants, in order to extort a contribution from their neighbours, on pretence of protecting their cattle. They collected their tribute annually in money and meal, and were remarkably faithful to their engagements.

† "The law hath come the length of Rosshire," said one neighbour, by way of news, to another; "O ho!" replied he, "if God doth not stop it, you will soon have it nearer home." Every clan had, however, laws of their own enacting, to which they paid implicit obedience. These laws were few and general, and strongly mark the simplicity of rude ages.

gislature wisely dissolved the most obnoxious feudal tenures, broke the authority of the chieftains over their vassals, and vested the produce of the forfeited estates in trustees, for the establishment of charity schools, and civilizing the people. The beneficial effects of these measures greatly exceeded the expectations of those who had proposed them; inso-much that, throughout the annals of mankind, there is scarcely an instance of a great body of people having been reclaimed so rapidly, from barbarism to inoffensive, peaceable subjects. The transition was almost instantaneous, and strongly marks the discernment and good sense of the inhabitants, as well as the pious, indefatigable labours of the few clergymen who were appointed, upon very slender salaries, to reclaim their manners, to superintend their morals, and to enforce, by precept and example, obedience to divine and human laws.

Thus far, the legislature were entitled to the tribute of applause; but after having made a successful beginning in the great work of provincial reformation, they at once abandoned the Highlanders; civilized indeed, but otherwise in a more distressful situation than while under the immediate controul of their chieftains. No villages, magazines, or harbours were formed, or manufactures introduced, by which the people might be usefully employed, and a permanent, valuable colony established. Succeeding administrations have seen, and acknowledged, their fidelity and importance; but have taken no effectual steps to meliorate their distresses, to reconcile them to their inhospitable shores, to give protection to the injured, bread to the hungry, employment to the industrious; nor hath the smallest ray of hope been held out, whereby they might expect to see better days.* On the contrary, it seems to be a political maxim with many persons, that the Highlands of Scotland are to be considered merely

* When this part was first printed, in 1782, no measures had been proposed or spoke of, by government, or in parliament, respecting the Highlands, and the fisheries.

as a nursery for soldiers and seamen; that the inhabitants, formed admirably by nature for the fatigues of the campaign and the ocean, are to be employed in these capacities alone, as the occasions of the state may require; and that, to facilitate the business of recruiting, it is expedient to keep them low. But as every plan of policy which is founded upon wrong principles, must sooner or later defeat its own purposes, so hath government seen itself nearly deprived of those men who were thus devoted to starvation, at home; or to fall by the sword, abroad.

The Character of the modern Highlanders, and their Qualifications for the Arts of civil Life, as well as those of War.

The Highlanders have in all ages been renowned for bravery and fidelity, in the cause which they espoused: strongly attached to their families, their chieftains and country, for whom they braved all dangers, and endured every kind of hardship. At present that barbarous ferocity, which was the offspring of feudal institutions, is completely extinguished; while their native valour, and military character, remain unimpaired. They are intelligent, hospitable, religious, inoffensive in their manners, submissive to superiors, temperate, frugal, grateful, obliging, honest, and faithful. A man may travel in perfect security from one extremity of the Highlands to the other, without taking any precaution whatever in defence of his person or property. * Wherever he goes, he meets with a civility, modesty, and hospitality, which would do honour to the most polished nations; wherever he reposes any confidence, he discovers an attachment and disinterested readiness to oblige, which more opulent subjects, can scarcely conceive in idea. These qualities are the universal theme of travellers of what-

* There is not a murder committed in the Highlands once in seven years upon an average; and robberies on the road are unknown.

ever nation, who have lately visited the Highlands of Scotland.*

To sum up the whole, they are a hardy, brave race of men, equally qualified for the domestic, the naval, and military line; nor is there an instance

* The character of the Highlanders may, by some persons, be considered as too flattering: I have been twice amongst them since it was first printed; and, upon reviewing it over and over, I cannot, in justice, retrench a single word. It is the language of truth, inserted as a memorial of virtues which do honour to the present age, and worthy of imitation by posterity.

Intrepidity.—In rapid marches and sudden attacks, the Highlanders are unequalled. During a long march, a regiment of these men keeps up with the cavalry. If a distant coast is invaded, or a post in danger, the Highlanders are collected at an hour's notice: they set off, and continue their march with incredible swiftness, leaving all other troops, panting and breathless, far behind. The French tremble at the sight of them, calling out, *the English lions!*

Fidelity.—The fidelity of the Highlanders would appear incredible to Christians and Philosophers of more happy climates, were it not fully authenticated by the experience of many ages. Among a variety of instances, the following may be depended upon: Hector Mackintosh having, in 1527, carried fire and sword through the lands of the Murrays and Ogilvies, fled immediately from the hand of justice; 200 of his followers were hanged, and such was their fidelity, even in a bad cause, that, though each of them was separately offered his pardon, if he would discover where Hector was skulking, yet all of them rejected the condition, and submitted to their fate.

A more striking instance of their fidelity happened after the battle of Culloden, when the young Pretender found safety during five months amongst these people, though personally known to some hundreds of the lowest ranks, and a reward of thirty thousand pounds had been offered to any person who would deliver him up. Two persons of the name of Kennedy, not only rejected this immense sum, with disdain, but also hazarded their lives in collecting provisions and linen for the use of the prince, while the Highlands, and the Hebride isles, were over-run with soldiers in pursuit of him.

Hospitality.—“Kindness and hospitality possess the people of these parts. We scarce passed a farm but the good woman, long before our approach, sallied out and stood on the road side, holding out to us a bowl of milk or whey.” *Pennant.*

“It need not, I suppose, be mentioned, that in countries so little frequented as the islands, there are no houses where travellers are entertained for money. He that wanders about these wilds, either procures recommendations to those whose habitations lie near his way, or, when night and weariness come upon him, takes the chance of general hospitality. If he finds only a cottage, he

amongst them, of cowardice, treachery, or flinching, during all the dangers and fatigues of the present and former wars, wherein they have borne a considerable share. "I trusted, exclaimed Lord Chatham in parliament, to the mountains of the north, to carry on the most extensive war in which England had ever been engaged." This was the declaration of the ablest, most impartial, and disinterested minister of the age; one who had penetration to discern, candour to acknowledge, and honesty to reward real merit: whose elevated mind knew no distinction of country or people; no narrow partialities; but, in every respect, was eminently qualified for the great purposes of uniting, more closely, this wide extended empire; by a generous diffusion of *reciprocal* benefits and privileges, throughout the various branches of which it was composed.

Till the days of that great man, the intrinsic value of the Highlanders, like the diamond in the mine, remained in obscurity; some obstructions removed, they shone forth at once a tractable, useful people, who might one day prove a considerable acquisition to the commerce, as well as the internal strength of Britain.

Such being the character, manners, and importance of the Highlanders, in their civilized state, a minute review of their country and shores properly follows. Should these be found irreclaimable, or incapable of answering any valuable purpose to the inhabitants, and the community at large, it would be humane, and also good policy in government, to open an asylum, in some other part of the island, for the overflow of these truly valuable people, in-

can expect little more than shelter; for the cottagers have little more for themselves; but if his good fortune brings him to the residence of a gentleman, he will be glad of a storm to prolong his stay," *Johnson*.

stead of driving them, by hundreds, across the Atlantic ocean.

On the contrary, should the 300 islands of the Hebrides, those within the Firth of Clyde, and the extensive line of coast upon the mainland, their numerous bays, lakes, and rivers, be found capable of being rendered the bulwark of our island, on that side; the great nursery of hardy seamen and soldiers, to defend our settlements abroad; the chief repository of fish, to supply the wants of the labouring people, and to extend the scale of commerce, navigation, and ship-building; should these, and other objects, prove the certain consequence of parliamentary attention, it is to be hoped that government will take that business into consideration, before America shall again open a door for the dissatisfied, from all parts of Britain, but more especially for these hitherto neglected mountaineers.

Comparative State of the Highlands, and the Northern Countries of Europe, in respect of Towns, Commerce, and Navigation.

If we take our stand at the south-west extremity of Cantire, and look northward along the double coast of the continent, and the Hebride islands, towards Cape Wrath, we shall perceive no towns, markets, storehouses, granaries, manufactures, commerce, or shipping of any sort.* If we extend the view from Cape Wrath to Dungsby-Head, the east entrance to that Firth, and from thence southward to

* A few herring buffes, and the village of Stronaway in Lewis excepted, where some Dutch families had been settled, but were unfortunately driven away during the Dutch wars in the last century. These industrious people, during their short stay, extended the fisheries, and established a petty navigation, both of which have been kept up, in some degree, by the natives, who can boast of more traffic than the Hebride islands united. An attempt was also made since 1760, towards a buss fishery, by the natives of the western coasts of Argyleshire, but which failed through the same causes that ruined the buss fishery in general,

the Firth of Cromarty, we shall perceive a few places, dignified indeed with the high-sounding appellations of royal boroughs, but which, in reality, are nothing more than ruinous villages, exhibiting all the symptoms of decay, poverty, and distress.*

Climate and soil, it hath been admitted, are greatly against that country; but this circumstance, instead of discouraging government, ought to excite the most speedy, vigorous measures, towards such objects as nature points out to be both practicable and expedient.

Every member of the British parliament knows, that the countries of Europe which lie under the same latitudes as the Highlands of Scotland, and even beyond these latitudes, exhibit the strongest proofs of public attention. Those countries have generally, by dint of art, been rendered the seats of industry, and a happy mediocrity of fortune which enables the great body of the people to live comfortably, under severities of climate, which a Highlander can scarcely comprehend in idea.

They abound in large mercantile cities, and in capacious harbours; the works of incredible labour and expence; numerous shipping; and the various produce of the four quarters of the globe; as

Archangel, formerly the only port of	}	Deg. Min.
Russia, and still a large commercial		
town, lying in — —		64 30
Drontheim, a trading city in Norway,		63 15
Bergen, capital of ditto, — —		60 10
Abo, a city of Sweden, — —		60 5
Petersburg, capital of Russia, —		60 0
Cronstadt, the arsenal and station of the	}	60 0
Russian fleet, — —		
Stockholm, capital of Sweden, —		59 30
Christiana, a large trading city in Norway,		59 5
Revel, ditto in Russia, — —		59 0

* These are Wick, Dornoch, Tain, Dingwall, and Fortrose.

Narva,

Narva, a large trading city in Ruffia, situated a few miles beyond the latitude of Dunnet-Head, the most northern part of the continent of Scotland,	}	59	○
Gottenburgh, ditto in Sweden, —			
Riga, ditto in Ruffia, lying near the medium latitude of the Highlands of Scotland, — —	}	57	○

The climate of those countries admits of two seasons only, viz. the summer, which begins in May, and ends in September; and the winter, which instantaneously binds up the earth in one continued frost, shuts up the ports, and covers land and water with frozen snow, on which all manner of travelling is performed by means of sledges. In this season the inhabitants dress in furs or skins, which, however, do not prevent the frequent loss of hands or limbs, through the intenseness of the cold. *

It is therefore to the attention of their respective governments, more than the advantages of nature, that so many commercial cities have gradually arisen in the north of Europe, within the space of a few centuries, and that places hitherto obscure are daily increasing in wealth and magnitude.

With those cities may be enumerated the Seven United Provinces, a country, which, though situated in more southern latitudes, furnishes no material articles for commerce, and scarcely a sufficiency

* "Whenever, says Maupertuis in his journey through the northern parts of Sweden, we would taste a little brandy, the only thing that could be kept liquid, our tongues and lips froze to the cup, and came away bloody: in a cold that congealed the fingers of some of us, and threatened us with still more dismal accidents. If we opened the door of a warm room, the external air instantly converted all the vapour in it into snow, whirling it round in white vortexes. If we went abroad, we felt as if the air was tearing our breasts in pieces. At the beginning of June, winter yielded up the earth and sea; and we prepared for our departure to Stockholm."

of grain for home consumption. In extent of territory, those provinces do not exceed the Hebride isles, and their winters are more severe. But such is the influence of an active, vigorous government, on manufactures, commerce, and population, that the Seven Provinces contain 113 cities, 1400 towns and considerable villages, and upwards of two millions of inhabitants.

This swampy country produces no raw materials for manufactures; yet the inhabitants are continually engaged in fabricating an endless variety of articles for sale, at home and abroad. They have no minerals, metals, or timber; yet their yards and warehouses are ever prepared to supply the demands of Europe, and both the Indies, in those articles. The coast is extremely dangerous, and the harbours are few; their shipping is however to be found in all the maritime parts of the world, while their own ports are the grand emporiums of European commerce. Their shores afford little or no fish for exportation, but they nevertheless forestall the European markets in those fishes which are in most esteem. They owed their first rise to the herrings taken on the coasts of Scotland, which they exported to all parts of Europe; bringing in return the produce of those nations, and thus gradually became the greatest mart in the known world.

It is to the influence and example of these industrious people, that I am enabled to give two instances, nearer home, of the benefits resulting from a proper attention to commerce and the fisheries.

Kirkwall, capital of the Orkney islands, though situated 140 miles north of the medium latitude of the Highlands, contains above 300 houses, most of them built of stone and lime, slated, and accommodated with kitchen gardens. The gentlemen also have good houses on their estates, and enjoy most of the conveniencies of life, in considerable abundance. The farmers are, for the most part,

better lodged than those on the continent, or the Hebrides. The inhabitants of Kirkwall export some grain, malt, meal, beef, butter, feathers, skins of calves, otters, and seals; herrings, kelp, linen yarn, and cloth, fine worsted stockings, and coarse woollen goods.

By means of these articles, they traffic with the Dutch, Danish, and other buffes which frequent their coasts, during the fishing seasons, when Kirkwall hath all the appearance of a continued fair. The inhabitants also carry on a petty commerce with Edinburgh, Newcastle, London, Norway, Hamburgh, Spain, and Portugal, thereby supplying themselves with a variety of necessaries, and a small balance in cash.

One degree further north, are the Shetland isles, still less indebted to soil and climate. Here the shortest day does not exceed five hours, and the winters continue till April, during which season the winds are so high, and the sea is so agitated, that those islands are almost inaccessible for several months, when the natives are cut off from all intercourse with the world. Yet, even here, in lat. 60. 8, and amidst barren rocks, stands the town of Lerwic, containing upwards of 300 handsome houses, and is every year increasing. In the neighbourhood, there are many genteel families lodged in strong, well-built houses, commodiously furnished, and whose tables are well supplied. These islands being the great theatre of the Dutch fisheries, carry on a considerable trade with those people, and some foreign commerce, chiefly by means of white fish that abound on their coasts.

Thus the northern rocks of the Orkney and Shetland isles, animated and instructed by the Dutch, presume to trade with London, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean; while the more extensive and southerly islands of the Hebrides, and the whole western coast of the continent, are not masters of a single manu-

manufacture, or vessel beyond the size of a fishing buss. The Orkneys contain one provincial synod, three presbyteries, twenty-eight parishes, and eighteen ministers. In Sky, one of the Hebride islands, double the size of all the Orkneys, there are only seven parishes; and, of late, the slated houses did not exceed three, though stone and lime abound in the island, and slate, at no great distance.

As a conclusion to this comparative review, it may be remarked, that the town of Kirkwall in the Orkneys is rated higher in the tax roll, than all the towns of the Highlands united.

The Produce of the Highlands by Sea and Land.

Throughout the globe, nature seems to have distributed her favours with a very impartial hand. To some parts she hath assigned mildness of climate; to others, luxuriance of soil, the precious metals, valuable timber, or the riches of the ocean. If we except the frozen extremities of the earth, towards the poles, her gifts will be found admirably adapted to the various species of the animal creation, particularly man, who holds the highest rank in nature, and who fancies himself entitled to the unlimited use of whatever it contains. In conformity to this universal law, those districts of Scotland, called the Highlands, though little indebted to climate and soil, abound in riches, which put them upon an equality with the most fertile regions of the world. Gold, silver, wine, silks, spices, and the finer fruits, they have none: but the produce of the Highlands; of their seas, lakes, bays, and rivers; may, with proper management, obtain an influx of those valuable articles, and whatever is necessary for the support and comfort of life.

Grain is raised, though at present with much difficulty, sufficient to maintain one third of the people; and, whenever the more fertile parts shall
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be inhabited by men of property, and knowledge in agriculture, the harvests will be earlier, the autumnal rains partly avoided, and that valuable article of life greatly increased. The unexpected success in the Low Countries, of late years, should at least induce the people in the Highlands, to try the same experiments. *

Roots, vegetables, salads, and common fruits, being less hurt by the rains, can be raised in any quantity; their potatoes, turnips, kale, and cabbages, are more delicate and pleasant to the taste than those of England. † Flax is raised in tolerable

* It is difficult to ascertain with precision, what proportion the fertile or improveable lands in the Highlands, bear to those which cannot be brought into any other uses than the raising plantations of pine and fir.

We shall therefore only attempt some general sketches of those districts, where nature may be assisted with success and profit, to the respective proprietors, and the state.

Such in general are the vallies, straths, and glens of the interior parts; the banks of the lakes and bays, of the marine parts; the whole western shores of Argyleshire; those of the Pentland Firth; the greatest part of Caithness; both sides of the firth and river of Dornoch, as far as Loch Shin; Cromarty, and the whole eastern coast of Rossshire.

Of the Hebride isles, may be reckoned, Ilay, Giga, Lismore, Colonsay, Tirey, South and North Uist, Harris; with a number of small isles, from two to five miles in circumference. There are also some fertile vallies and shores in the great isles of Jura, Mull, Sky, and Lewis.

From which I conjecture, that the improveable parts of the Hebrides, may, collectively, amount to 700 square miles, or 470,000 square acres, statute measure; being the dimensions of the county of Surry: and, if to this, we add the tracts of the mainland as above enumerated, the whole arable, or improveable portion of the Highlands of Scotland, will amount, at a moderate computation, to 2,500 square miles, or 1,600,000 square acres; being the dimensions of Middlesex, Surry, and Kent, which compose a twentieth part of England and Wales.

In this calculation are included not only the plains, and what is called arable or meadow lands, but also, the rising grounds, and sides of the hills, which, by the present management, form valuable sheep walks.

† The people in the Lowlands have of late years been at great expence

ble plenty, and might be improved: Hemp in great abundance, and in high perfection.

Small, but hardy horses, admirably suited to the labours of that rugged country, and which require little support. They run wild among the mountains till they arrive at a proper age for labour, when some thousands are annually driven to the south, chiefly to the coal-pits at Newcastle.*

But the above-mentioned articles are only secondary considerations to the immense numbers of small black cattle which this country sends to the south, some of them as far as London, where, after being fed in rich pastures, they sell at a high price. It is by the breeding of cattle, that many farmers inhabiting the interior country are enabled, in good seasons, to pay the high rents imposed on them; but this species of property is, in the Highlands, so precarious, as sometimes to involve whole districts in one general scene of distress.

These indigent people are materially affected, whether the cattle die through want, or fall in their price, which is always regulated by the English markets. In either of these cases, the farmers, (many of whom having no other resources) are under the melancholy necessity of removing elsewhere for support. The size and condition of the Highland cattle might be greatly improved, by the introduction of clover, rye-grass, lucerne, and turnips, for winter provision; as lately practised in the Low Countries.

expence in erecting high garden walls of stone and lime, whereon to raise peaches, apricots, and other fruits, in the natural way, which never can be brought to any degree of perfection in that cold climate, or in England beyond the Trent. The fruits raised in Scotland with success, are strawberries, gooseberries, currants, plumbs, cherries, pears, and in warm seasons, apples of some flavour, though scarcely bearing a distant resemblance to those of Middlesex.

* There is a species of the horse, in Barra, whose height at full age is from thirty to thirty-six inches.

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The raising a better breed of sheep, hath of late years become an object of considerable attention in the Highlands, and with very great success in the quantity and quality of the wool, as well as the size and condition of the sheep. But this agreeable prospect is checked in the reflection, that the deep, and sometimes long-continued snows, destroy, upon an average of years, from 1 to 200,000 annually, besides enfeebling, or reducing to skeletons, those which survive. Could any method be devised for preserving these valuable animals, between the end of November and the beginning of March, the Highland mountains would become, in importance, nearly equal to the vallies. The sheep only require shelter, and fitches, or turnips; of the latter, any quantity could be raised in the Highlands, and which, at the same time, would improve the soil. The number of sheep in Scotland, is calculated at 3,000,000, of which one half may be raised in the Highlands and isles.

The height of some mountains in Tibet, a large country joining the Mogul empire on the north-east, is 8000 feet above the level of the sea; and the height of the Andes in South America is 15,000 feet. The sheep fed on those mountains produce wool of the finest quality.

The highest mountain in the Highlands of Scotland, is only 4200 feet above the sea; and, in general, the ridges of hills in that country, do not exceed 2000 feet.

The Highland mountains have also the advantage of tall heath, which serves instead of whins for shelter and other purposes. Argyleshire hath of late years become the greatest sheep country in the Highlands; while the northern parts are chiefly occupied in raising black cattle.

Goats are numerous in the Highlands. Also, various species of deer and game. The earl of Fife hath a park in Aberdeenshire, of fifteen square miles,

miles, called Mar Forest, which is reserved entirely for deer and game, of which there is the greatest plenty and variety.

Water-fowl, particularly solan geese, abound in such immense quantities, that it is difficult to give credit to the accounts which have been given of them, by modern, as well as antient writers, who have visited the Hebrides. *

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* They are thus described by the Rev. Mr. Macaulay, who was appointed missionary, by the general assembly of the church of Scotland, to the island of St. Kilda, a rock of three miles in length, surrounded by sundry lesser ones, and situated 18 leagues due west of the Long Island.

“ These rocks are in summer totally covered with solan geese and other fowls, and appear at a distance like so many mountains covered with snow. The nests of the solan geese, not to mention those of other fowls, are so close, that, when one walks between them, the hatching fowls on either side can always take hold of one’s cloaths, and they will often sit until they are attacked, rather than expose their eggs to the danger of being destroyed by the sea-gulls; at the same time an equal number fly about, and furnish food for their mates that are employed in hatching; and there are, besides, large flocks of barren fowls of the different tribes that frequent the rocks of St. Kilda.

“ The solan geese equal almost the tame ones in size. The common amusement of the herring-fishers shew the great strength of this fowl. The fishers fix a herring upon a board which has a small weight under it, to sink it a little below the surface of the sea: the solan goose, observing the fish, darts down upon it perpendicularly, and with so much force, that he runs his bill irrecoverably through the board, and is taken up directly by the fishers.

“ The solan geese repair to St. Kilda in the month of March, and continue there till after the beginning of November. Before the middle of that month, they, and all the other sea-fowls that are fond of this coast, retire much about the same time into some other favourite regions; so that not a single fowl belonging to their element is to be seen about St. Kilda, from the beginning of winter down to the middle of February. Before the young solan geese fly off, they are larger than their mothers, and the fat on their breasts is sometimes three inches deep. Into what quarter of the world these tribes of wild fowl repair, after winter sets in, whether into the northern ocean, the native country and winter quarters of herrings, in general, or into some other region near the sun, or whether they be of the sleeping kind, they who pry into the mysteries of natural history, or have conversed much with writers of voyages, can best explain. I shall only pretend to say, that these different

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The western coasts of the continent, particularly the banks of the lakes, are generally fringed with natural woods, rising beautifully from the shores, towards the summits of the mountains. These woods are composed of oak, chesnut, ash, elder, elm, aspine, hazel, larches, pine, and fir. In some parts of the interior country upon the river Dee, as Brae Mar, the pines are from ten to twelve

nations of the feathered kind are taught to choose the properest habitations and feeding places, and to shift their quarters seasonably, by the unerring hand of God.

“ From the account given above of the multitudes of sea-fowls that seek their food on this coast, we may justly conclude, that there must be inexhaustible stores of fish there. Let us for a moment confine our attention to the consumption made by a single species of fowls. The solan goose is almost insatiably voracious; he flies with great force and velocity, toils all the day with very little intermission, and digests his food in a very short time; he disdains to eat any thing worse than herring or mackarel, unless it be in a very hungry place, which he takes care to avoid or abandon. We shall take it for granted, that there are 100,000 of that kind around the rocks of St. Kilda; and this calculation is by far too moderate, as no less than 20,000 of this kind are destroyed every year, including the young ones. We shall suppose, at the same time, that the solan geese sojourn in these seas for about seven months of the year; that each of them destroys five herrings in a day; a subsistence infinitely poor for so greedy a creature, unless it were more than half supported at the expence of other fishes. Here we have 100,000,000 of the finest fish in the world devoured annually by a single species of the St. Kilda sea-fowls.

“ If in the next place it be considered, that much the greatest part of the other tribes have much the same appetite for herring, and pursue it from place to place, in the several migrations it makes from one sea to another, the consumption must be prodigiously great. Taking these into the account, and allowing them the same quantity of food, and of the same kind, by reason of their vast superiority in point of numbers, though their stomachs are considerably weaker; we see there are no less than 200,000,000 of herrings swallowed up every year by the birds of a very small district of rocks, which occupy so inconsiderable a space in the Ducaledonian ocean.

“ Should all the articles of this account be sustained, articles which seem no less just than plain, and should our curiosity lead us into a new calculation, allowing between six and seven hundred to every barrel, it is evident that more than 330,000 barrels are annually carried away by such creatures.”

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feet in circumference, and from sixty to ninety feet in height, without a collateral branch; their age, two centuries. A few have measured sixteen feet. Great numbers of fine trees, of twelve and thirteen feet in girth, have yielded to age and storms; others are successively falling to the ground. Of some trees thus blended with the soil, one end may be cut into peats, the other sawed off and used as good timber. The forest which produces these trees, lies at a distance from the source of the Dee, where no art can bring them to the river. *

Nor is it in natural woods only that the Highlands excel. While the sturdy oak, and the hardy pine, wave their branches over impending precipices, deriving vigour and strength from the boisterous elements of that climate, the vallies and narrow glens underneath give protection and sustenance to plantations of a more delicate quality.

At Taymouth, the seat of the earl of Braedalbane, there is a double row of straight lime trees, whose branches, at the height of eighty feet, unite so closely, and with such regularity, as to form one of the most magnificent arches in the world. This astonishing effort of nature assisted by art, is, however, lost amidst extensive plantations, containing many millions of trees of various species, and all in

* The river Dee runs above 70 miles due east, in a straight line, from its source to Aberdeen, where it falls into the sea, after contributing its tribute of salmon to that city, and to London. Along its banks, and in its neighbourhood, there are many pleasing vallies, abounding in timber, and well inhabited. Gentlemens seats are also numerous. Deer and hare are so plentiful, and destructive to agriculture, that the farmers kill them at pleasure. The people in general have a remarkable turn for industry; every person, from childhood to the age of 80 or 90, is constantly employed in domestic affairs; in spinning yarn, or knitting stockings for sale at Aberdeen, the capital of the north. These circumstances seem to suggest the utility of a market town towards the head of the Dee, similar to the manufacturing, thriving towns of Huntley and Keith, upon the banks of the Devron.

the utmost perfection. The Tay, which glides gently through this valley, is almost hid from the eye, while the lofty hills on each side exhibit a view which astonishes every beholder. These were the works of the late earl of Braedalbane, who thereby set an example worthy the imitation of all those who wish to improve their lands, and ornament their country.

Contiguous to this estate, is that of the duke of Athole, equally obligated to the two last proprietors, for every assistance which nature can receive from art. The works of those illustrious patriots begin to appear some miles above Blair, and are continued, without intermission, to Birnam Wood below Dunkeld, the whole length measuring near thirty miles. In this extensive valley, the beautiful meanders of the Tay and the Tumul, are everywhere shaded with exotic, as well as native trees, and all of them in a thriving condition.

Thus, in a country where nature hath denied the means of successful agriculture, that kind parent points out to the inhabitants a progressive, inexhaustible source of wealth, which cannot be injured by unpropitious seasons, the events of war, or the revolutions of empire. Nor doth it require the expence, and labour, so necessary for the raising of those scanty crops of oats and barley, which neither enrich the landlord, nor supply the wants of the tenant. On the contrary, a gentleman selects the most barren tracks of his estate; rocks, sands, gravel, and other waste grounds, unfit for agriculture or grazing. On these wilds he plants firs, pines, and larches; which, at the expiration of thirty years, are used for various purposes, and when arts and commerce shall be introduced into these parts, the value will be trebled, as appears from recent instances in the neighbourhood of trading towns, where trees of this age have brought
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from one shilling and six-pence, to three shillings each.

Few gentlemen in Scotland are unacquainted with the value of that small species of oak, which grows spontaneously upon the hills and rocks. The bark supplies the tanner, the net, and sail-maker; the wood is consumed in various works of glass and metal, and is also extremely proper for making red herrings. These oaks are cut down every 20 or 25 years. The price is regulated by the demand; and the demand, by the progressive state of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in these kingdoms: consequently the value of this timber is continually advancing, insomuch that a wood, which would bring only £. 1000 twenty-five years ago, now sells at £. 1500. The oaks allowed to come to a more advanced age, are used in the building of buffes and coasters.

This branch, therefore, opens a new field of action to all those who have wisdom to avail themselves of it. By thus attending to such objects as nature dictates to be both practicable and profitable, the Highlands will become an immense forest, enriching the landlords, and giving employment to the hitherto starved commonality, in the various occupations of enclosing, planting, cutting down, peeling the bark, sawing, and transporting both timber and bark to distant markets.

It is well-known that Norway, a country bound up in frost and snow nine months in the year, loads many vessels annually with masts, planks and deals, the produce of the fir.

In England, the full grown oak, and other timber, constitute a considerable portion of the landed property of that kingdom. The lesser timber is sold in faggots or by the cart-load, and used for a variety of purposes. The large trees, many of which bring five pounds and upwards, are conveyed to the capital and elsewhere, by an incredible number

ber of barges which navigate the rivers and canals, besides the cargoes sent coastways.

But these supplies, though great, are far from answering the demands of a kingdom, whose villages are rising to the magnitude of cities, and where the shipping is continually upon the increase. * The forests of the Baltic, Poland, Germany, and North America, load some hundred ships annually for the British ports, though burthened with insurance and high freight, which must unavoidably enhance the price. † Here therefore the produce of the Scottish mountains and vallies will always find a good market, and an inexhaustible vent. Instead of a petty traffic from one island to another, in little open boats,

* Ship building in England would have been carried to a still greater extent, had we not found a powerful rival in North America, which we encouraged in the growth of the materials, the purchase of their ships, and allowing them a free trade with the West Indies. "Of 679 vessels which were required to transport the great West Indian cargo of 1772 to Britain, much more than two thirds had been built in our colonies. To so great an extent had we resigned the most useful of all our manufactures to our colonists, contrary to the remonstrances of the wisest men of their time. We have been sufficiently solicitous about the manufactures of wool, of hats, and of iron, in the colonies; but we have cared little, during the last century, for the more important manufacture of ships. This had been a melancholy remark, were it not that we derive consolation from reflecting, how much the public wisdom may convert misfortunes into benefits. We may now regain the business of ship-building to no small extent, which our imprudent kindness had given away: Our safety requires, that we ought to retain every advantage, which a signal revolution has happily thrown in our way."—*Mr. Chalmers's Opinions on interesting Subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy; arising from American Independency.* See also, *Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States.*

† The timber imported from Holland, Hamburgh, and the Baltic, comes chiefly from the interior parts of Germany, Poland, and Russia, by means of large rivers, and is become both scarcer and dearer of late years, as appears from the report of fundry merchants and ship-builders, to the house of commons. The coasts of America begin also to feel a scarcity of timber; what we now receive from that country is brought down the rivers in floats to the ports, from whence there is a voyage of 3000 miles. All these circumstances are in favour of British timber. The Scots build their busses.

boats, these western shores, as soon as the proposed canals shall be opened, will contribute their quota to the supply of the capital, in timber, slate, lead, and fish; while that city will, in return, supply the necessary wants of those shores; thus opening new channels of commerce and navigation to the mutual benefit of individuals, and giving, at the same time, additional strength to the British navy.

Copper hath been discovered in the Highlands of Scotland; iron-stone is found in many places; and lead mines have long been wrought with success.

Some islands, as Eisdale, and others in its neighbourhood, are composed entirely of slate, of which many cargoes are exported; besides quarries through the interior parts of the main land, which, from the want of commerce and towns, cannot be brought into use.

The island of Lismore, eight miles in length, is one continued rock of lime-stone. Ross-shire and Sutherland abound in mountains of marble resembling the Parian; but this treasure is of no benefit to the proprietors, on account of the distance from water carriage, and the almost uninhabited state of those remote regions.

Freestone, granite, marble, silver sand, shells, kelp, potters clay, fullers earth, and fern, are common throughout the Highlands.

Rivers and inland lakes are extremely numerous in the Highlands; they contain salmon, trout, char, eels, poans, and other delicate fishes; and, as it is well known that fish may be transported from one country to another with success, these lakes might be rendered of still greater utility. The Chinese pedlars carry on such business throughout the various provinces of that extensive empire.

In Switzerland, a country resembling Scotland in the magnitude of its mountains, and the number of

and coasters chiefly with Welch timber, which is extremely proper for their purpose. Many cargoes have been had from that country since the late peace, of which the landholders feel the benefit, besides the giving employment to the poor natives.

its fresh-water lakes, there are one or more towns on each; and, says bishop Burnet, it is generally computed, that an eighth part of the inhabitants live by the produce of their fishing. Mr. Ray observes, that in the lake of Zugh, which is not very considerable, there are at least fifty different species of eatable fish, all in great plenty, and some of the most delicate sorts, such as trout, grayling, char, perch, and others, most of which had been brought thither from distant parts. But all the above enumerated articles, though they might be rendered extremely favourable to commercial purposes, are lost in the comparison with the riches of the seas which environ the Highlands of Scotland.

Through the openings, between the bases of the mountains, flows the great Western Ocean, in various directions, forming one continued succession of bays and lakes, from five to forty-five miles within land; which, with the sounds and channels formed by the Hebride islands and the banks interspersed upon these shores, contain the greatest repository of fish hitherto discovered in any part of the known world, and of excellent qualities. The most useful are turbot, cod, ling, hake, tusk, sturgeon, HERRINGS, whittings, haddocks, skait, soals, phinocs, mackarel, salmon, trout, char, pike, eels, and poans; various species of shell-fish, as lobsters, oysters, crabs; also all kinds of cetaceous fish, from whales of every denomination down to the grampus; seals, sea-dogs, and other amphibious animals, which frequent the caverns, in great abundance.

Of all these fishes, the herring is the most important, not only on account of the incredible shoals which annually present themselves in the Scottish seas, but also their superior quality, in those parts, as appears from the descriptions given of them by Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, and other writers of the last and present century.

H I S T O R Y

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FISH, and the FISHERIES.

Of Fish.

THE ocean is the great receptacle of fishes. It hath been thought by some, that all fish are naturally of that salt element, and that they have mounted up into fresh water by some accidental migration. A few still swim up rivers to deposit their spawn; but of the great body of fishes, of which the size is enormous, and the shoals are endless, those all keep to the sea, and would quickly expire in fresh water. In that extensive and undiscovered abode, thousands reside, whose manners are a secret to us, and whose very form is unknown. The curiosity of mankind, indeed, hath drawn some from their depths, and their wants many more: with the figure of these, at least, he is acquainted; but for their pursuits, migrations, societies, and manner of bringing forth, these are all hidden in the turbulent element that protects them.

The number of fish to which we have given names, and of the figure, at least, of which we know something, according to Linnæus, are above 400. Thus,

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to appearance, the history of fish is tolerably copious; but when we come to examine, it will be found that of the greatest part of these we know very little. Those qualities, singularities, or advantages, that render animals worth naming, still remain to be discovered.

Most fish offer us the same external form; sharp at either end, and swelling in the middle; by which they are enabled to traverse the fluid which they inhabit with greater celerity and ease. That peculiar shape which nature hath granted most fishes, we endeavour to imitate in such vessels as are designed to sail with the greatest swiftness; however, the progress of a machine moved forward in the water by human contrivance, is nothing to the rapidity of an animal designed by nature to reside there. Any of the large fish overtake a ship in full sail with great ease, play round it without effort, and outstrip it with pleasure. Every part of the body seems exerted in this dispatch; the fins, the tail, and the motion of the whole back-bone, assist progression; and it is to that flexibility of body, at which art cannot arrive, that fishes owe their great velocity.

The chief instruments in a fish's motion, are the fins; which, in some fish, are much more numerous than in others. A fish completely fitted for sailing, is furnished with, at the least, two pair; also three single fins, two above and one below. Thus equipped, it migrates with the utmost rapidity, and takes voyages of 1000 leagues in a season. But it does not always happen that such fish as have the greatest number of fins have the swiftest motion; the shark is thought to be one of the swiftest swimmers, yet it wants the ventral or belly fins; the haddock does not move so swift, yet is completely fitted for motion.

But the fins serve not only to assist the animal in progression, but in rising or sinking, in turning, or even leaping out of the water. To answer these purposes,

purposes, the pectoral fins serve, like oars, to put the animal forward: they are placed at some little distance behind the opening of the gills; they are generally large and strong, and answer the same purposes to the fish in the water, as wings do to a bird in the air. With the help of these, and by their continued motion, the flying-fish is sometimes seen to rise out of the water, and to fly above an hundred yards; till, fatigued with its exertions, it is obliged to sink down again. But the tail, which in some fishes is flat, and upright in others, seems the grand instrument of motion: the fins are but subservient to it, and give direction to its great impetus, by which the fish seems to dart forward with so much velocity.

The sense of touching, which beasts and birds have in a small degree, the fish, covered up in its coat of mail, consisting of various substances, can have little perception of. The sense of smelling, which in beasts is so exquisite, and among birds is not wholly unknown, seems given to fishes in a very moderate proportion. Of tasting, they seem to make very little distinction; the palate of most fish is hard and bony, and consequently incapable of the power of relishing different substances. Hearing, in fishes, is still more imperfect, if it be found at all. Seeing, seems to be the sense fishes are possessed of in the greatest degree; and yet even this seems obscure, if we compare it to that of other animals.

From all this, it appears how far fish fall behind terrestrial animals in their sensations, and consequently in their enjoyments. Thus nature seems to have fitted these animals with appetites and powers of an inferior kind; and formed them for a sort of passive existence in the obscure and heavy elements to which they are consigned. To preserve their own existence, and to continue it to their posterity, fill up the whole circle of their pursuits and enjoyments;

to

to these they are impelled rather by necessity than choice, and seem mechanically excited to every fruition. Their senses are incapable of making any distinctions; but they drive forward in pursuit of whatever they can swallow, conquer, or enjoy.

A ceaseless desire of food seems to give the ruling impulse to all their motions. This appetite impels them to encounter every danger; and indeed their rapacity seems insatiable. Even when taken out of the water, and almost expiring, they greedily swallow the very bait by which they were allured to destruction. Some that have very small mouths feed upon worms, and the spawn of other fish: others, whose mouths are larger, seek larger prey; it matters not of what kind, whether of another or their own. Those with the largest mouths pursue almost every thing that hath life; and often meet each other in fierce opposition, when the fish with the largest swallow comes off with the victory, and devours its antagonist.

Thus are they irritated by the continual desire of satisfying their hunger; and the life of a fish, from the smallest to the greatest, is but one scene of hostility, violence, and evasion. But the smaller fry stand no chance in the unequal combat; and their usual way of escaping, is by swimming into those shallows where the greater are unable, or too heavy to pursue. There they become invaders in turn, and live upon the spawn of larger fish, which they find floating on or near the surface of the water; yet there are dangers attending them in every place. Even in the shallows, the muscle, the oyster, and the scallop, lie in ambush at the bottom, with their shells open, and whatever little fish inadvertently approaches into contact, they at once close their shells upon him, and devour the imprisoned prey at their leisure.

Nor is the pursuit of fishes, like that of terrestrial animals, confined to a single region, or to one effort:

effort: shoals of one species follow those of another through vast tracks of ocean, from the vicinity of the pole even down to the equator. Thus the cod, from the banks of Newfoundland, pursues the whiting, which flies before it even to the southern shores of Spain. The cachalot, a species of whale, is said, in the same manner, to pursue a shoal of herrings, and to swallow hundreds in a mouthful.

This may be one cause of the annual migration of fishes from one part of the ocean to the other; but there are different motives, which come in aid of this also. Fishes may be induced to change the place of their residence, for one more suited to their constitutions, or more adapted to depositing their spawn.

All sorts of fish, a few of the larger ones excepted, multiply their kind, some by hundreds and some by millions. There are some that bring forth their young alive, and some that only produce eggs: the former are rather the least fruitful: yet even these are seen to produce in great abundance. The viviparous blenny, for instance, brings forth 2 or 300 at a time, all alive and playing round the parent together. Those who exclude their progeny in a more imperfect state, and produce eggs, which they are obliged to leave to chance, either on the bottom at the edge of the shore, or floating on the surface of deep water, are all much more prolific; and seem to proportion their stock to the danger there is of its consumption. Of these eggs thus deposited, scarce one in an hundred brings forth an animal: they are devoured by all the lesser fry that frequent the shores; by aquatic birds near the margin, and by the larger fish in deep water. Still, however, there are enough for supplying the deep with inhabitants: and, notwithstanding their own rapacity, and that of the fowls of various tribes, the numbers that escape are sufficient to relieve the wants of a very considerable part of mankind. Indeed, when we
consider

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consider the numbers that a single fish is capable of producing, the amount will seem astonishing.

Among other writers, Mr. Harmer hath investigated this subject with uncommon attention; and the following table gives the result of his enquiries. The weights he used were avoirdupoise, and he reckoned $437\frac{1}{2}$ grains to an ounce. See Phil. Trans. vol. 57, for 1767, art. xxx, page 280.

Abstract of the Table.

<i>Fish.</i>	Weight.		Weight of	Fecundity.	Time.
	oz.	dr.	spawn.	Eggs.	
			Grains.		
Carp	25	8	2571	203109	April 4.
Cod-fish	—		12540	3686760	Dec. 23.
Flounder	24	4	2200	1357400	Mar. 14.
Herring	5	10	480	36960	Oct. 25.
Lobster	36	0	1671	21699	Aug. 11.
Mackarel	18	0	$1223\frac{1}{2}$	546681	June 18.
Perch	8	9	$765\frac{1}{2}$	28323	April 5.
Pike	56	4	$5100\frac{1}{2}$	49304	April 25.
Prawn (127 grains)	—		—	3806	May 12.
Roach	10	$6\frac{1}{2}$	361	81586	May 2.
Shrimp (39 grains)	—		7	6807	May 3.
Smelt	2	0	$149\frac{1}{2}$	38278	Feb. 21.
Soal	14	8	$542\frac{1}{2}$	100362	June 13.
Tench	40	0	—	383252	May 28.

Such an amazing increase, if permitted to come to maturity, would over-stock nature, and even the ocean itself would not be able to contain, much less to provide for the half of its inhabitants. But two wise purposes are answered by this amazing increase; it preserves the species in the midst of numberless enemies, and serves to furnish the rest with a sustenance adapted to their nature.

All fishes, except the whale kind, are entirely divested of those parental sollicitudes which so strongly mark the manner of the more perfect terrestrial animals.

mals. They have different seasons for depositing their spawn; some, that live in the depths of the ocean, are said to choose the winter months; but, in general, those with which we are acquainted, choose the hottest months in summer, and prefer such water as is somewhat warmed by the beams of the sun. They then leave the deepest parts of the ocean, which are the coldest, and shoal round the coasts, or swim up the fresh-water rivers, that are warm as they are comparatively shallow. When they have deposited their burdens, they then return to their old stations, and leave their progeny to shift for themselves.

The spawn continues in its egg-state in some fish longer than in others, and this in proportion to the animal's size. In the salmon for instance, the young animal continues in the egg from the beginning of December till the beginning of April; the carp continues in the egg not above three weeks; the little gold fish from China is produced still quicker. These all, when excluded, at first escape by their minuteness and agility. They rise, sink, and turn much readier than grown fish; and they can escape into very shallow waters when pursued. But, with all their advantages, scarce one in a thousand survives the numerous perils of its youth. The very male and female that have given them birth, are equally dangerous and formidable with the rest, forgetting all relation at their departure.

Such is the general practice of these heedless and hungry creatures: but there are some in this class, living in the waters, that are possessed of finer organs, and higher sensations; and have all the tenderness of birds and quadrupeds for their young; that nurse them with constant care, and protect them from every injury. Of this class are the *cetaceous* tribe, or the fishes of the whale kind. There are others, though not capable of nursing their young, yet that bring them alive into the world, and defend them with courage and activity. These are the *car-*

tilaginous

cartilaginous kinds, or those who have gristles instead of bones. But the fierce unmindful tribe we have been describing, that leave their spawn without any protection, are called the *spinous*, or bony kinds, from their bones resembling the sharpness of thorns.

Thus there are three grand divisions in the fish kind: the *cetaceous* the *cartilaginous*, and the *spinous*; all differing from each other in their conformation, their appetites, in their bringing forth, and in the care of their young. These three great distinctions are not the capricious difference formed by a maker of systems, but are strongly and firmly marked in nature. These are the distinctions of Aristotle; and they have been adopted by mankind ever since his time.

As on land there are some orders of animals that seem formed to command the rest, with greater powers and more various instincts, so in the ocean there are fishes which seem formed upon a nobler plan than others, and that, to their fishy form, join the appetites and the conformation of quadrupeds. These all are of the *cetaceous* kind, which are raised as many degrees above other fishes in their nature, as they are in general in their size. This tribe is composed of the whale, and its varieties, of the cachalot, the dolphin, the grampus, and the porpus. These fish never produce above one young, or two at the most, at a time; and this the female suckles entirely in the manner of quadrupeds; her breasts being placed, as in the human kind, above the navel.

It is not only upon land that man hath exerted his power of destroying the larger tribes of quadrupeds; he hath extended his efforts even in the midst of the ocean; and hath cut off numbers of those enormous animals that had possibly existed for ages. We now no longer hear of whales from 200 to 250 feet long, which were often seen about two centuries ago. They have all been destroyed by the skill of mankind, and the species is now dwindled
into

into a race of diminutive animals, from 30 to 80 feet long.

The northern seas of Spitsbergen and Greenland were once the region to which the largest of these animals resorted; but so great hath been the destruction of whales since the reign of queen Elizabeth, that they begin to grow thinner every year; and those that are found there, seem, from their size, not come to their full dimensions. The greatest whales resort to places where they have the least disturbance; to those seas that are on the opposite side of the globe, near the south pole. In this part of the world, there are still to be seen whales above 160 feet long; and perhaps even longer might be found in those latitudes near the south pole, to which we have not as yet ventured.

Though this magnitude be wonderful, yet still greater wonders may possibly be concealed in the deep, which we have not had opportunities of exploring. The whales are obliged to shew themselves in order to take breath; but who knows the size of those animals that are fitted to remain forever under water, and that have been increasing in magnitude for centuries?

We have seen that fishes of the cetaceous kind bear a strong resemblance to quadrupeds in their conformation; those of the cartilaginous kinds are more than one remove separated from them; they form the shade that completes the imperceptible gradations of nature.

Cartilaginous fish may be divided,

1. Into those of the shark kind, comprehending the great white shark—basking shark—blue shark—balance fish—horned fish—smooth horned fish—monk fish—dog fish—cat fish—sea fox—the zygaena—the tope—and the porbeagle. These are all of the same nature, and differ more in size than in figure or conformation.

L

2. Flat

2. Flat fish, comprehending the torpedo—the skaiter—the sharp-nosed ray—the rough ray—the thornback—and the fire flare.

3. The slender snake-shaped kind: as the lamprey—the pride—and the pipe fish.

4. The sturgeon and its variety—the isinglass fish.

5. A variety of fish of different figures and natures, that do not rank under the former divisions; as the sun fish—the lump fish—the tetrodon—the sea snail—the chimæra—and the fishing frog.

The third general division of fishes is into that of the spinous or bony kind.

Of this class are already known above 400 species, of which the following are a part, viz. the eel, cod, ling, hake, tusk, haddock, whiting, pollack, doree, holybut, salmon, trout, herring, mackarel, pike, perch, charr, mullet, carp, shad, tench, dace, roach, gudgeon, pilchard, small sprat, tunny, turbot, plaise, soal, flounder.

The fourth division consists of the shell kind, as the tortoise or turtle, lobster, crab, prawn, cray-fish, shrimp, oyster, muscle, and cockle.

Of the Fisheries.

The origin of the Scottish herring fisheries is lost in the obscurity of antiquity. Boethius mentions Inverlochy at the head of the Linnhe Loch, having been a town of considerable magnitude, a seat of the Scottish kings previous to the conquest of the Picts; and to which both French and Spaniards resorted, on account of trade, but most probably to purchase herrings and salmon. At the south entrance of the Loch stood the antient Beregonium, supposed to have been the largest town of the western Caledonians.

Its situation was remarkably favourable for the fisheries, being almost surrounded with lakes and small bays. It stood in the neighbourhood of Dunstaffnage, another royal seat, of which a considerable part
still

still remains, but the towns of Beregonium and Inverlochry were totally destroyed by the Danes.

It is recorded, in the Batavian annals, that the Scots sold their herrings to the inhabitants of the Netherlands as early as the ninth century. This traffic laid the foundation of a commercial alliance between both countries, which subsisted to their mutual advantage, during many ages, but is at present of very little consequence.

We have already mentioned the attention paid to this great national concern in later periods, by the Scottish monarchs and legislature, in order to recover the fisheries of the eastern side of the kingdom, which the Dutch had long engrossed, greatly to the prejudice of the rightful owners.

The frequent laws which were enacted in the reigns of James III. IV. and V. discover a steady, determined zeal for the benefit of the native subjects, the full restoration of the fisheries, and the splendour of the kingdom, and do honour to the memory of those patriots whom modern times affect to call barbarians.

The expedition of James V. to the Hebrides and western parts of the Highlands, and his assiduity in exploring and sounding the harbours, discovered a fixed resolution in that active prince, to civilize the inhabitants, to promote the valuable fisheries at their doors, and to introduce general industry. His death, at an early period, and the subsequent religious and civil commotions in the kingdom, frustrated those wise designs, and the western fisheries remained in their original state of neglect. At length, 1602, James VI. resumed the national purposes which had been thus chalked out by his grandfather. " Three towns, (says Dr. Robertson) which might serve as a retreat for the industrious, and a nursery for arts and commerce, were appointed to be built in different parts of the Highlands; one in Cantire, another in Lochaber, and a third in

the Isle of Lewis; * and in order to draw the inhabitants thither, all the privileges of the royal boroughs were to be conferred upon them. Finding it, however, to be no easy matter to inspire the inhabitants of those countries with the love of industry, a resolution was taken to plant among them colonies of people from the more industrious countries. The first experiment was made in the Isle of Lewis; and as it was advantageously situated for the fishing trade, *a source from which Scotland ought naturally to derive great wealth*, the colony transported thither was drawn out of Fife, the inhabitants of which were well skilled in that branch of commerce. But before they had remained there long enough to manifest the good effects of this institution, the Islanders, enraged at seeing their country occupied by those intruders, took arms, and surprising them in the night-time, murdered some of them, and compelled the rest to abandon the settlement. The king's attention being soon turned to other objects, we hear no more of this salutary project."

The great object which engaged the king's attention, was his succession, in 1603, to the crown of England, which gave a severe blow to the prosperity of Scotland, and improvements in that country.

The Scottish fisheries were, however, resumed by Charles I. of which there are many evidences. "I confess, says Sir William Monson, this fishing is a business I have taken into consideration. My lord of Northampton, if he were now living, was able to witness how much it was solicited and desired by me, and no less wished and desired by his lordship. But by the death of my lord, it rested unthought on by me, till the late duke of Richmond revived it, and importuned me once more to it. His death in a like manner made it die, till his majesty (Charles

L. Scampbletown, Inverlochy, now Fort William, and Strona-

I.) of late, out of his princely care for the good of his loving subjects, for the renown of his kingdoms, and desire of the unity and equal benefit of his two realms of England and Scotland, took more than an ordinary care how to effect it, well becoming so benign and blessed a prince."

I have been favoured with a manuscript copy of a commission of that monarch, relative to a committee for the fisheries, which begins thus; "Our Sovereign Lord ordains a commission to be expedite under his majesty's great seal of the kingdom of Scotland, making mention, that whereas his majesty by his two several charters, under the great seal of his kingdoms of Scotland and England, respectively, hath ordained an association to be of both the said kingdoms, comprehending Ireland under the said kingdom of England, for a general fishing within the hail seas and coasts of his majesty's kingdoms, except such as are reserved in the said several charters; and for the government of the said association, hath ordained, that there should be a standing committee chosen and nominated by his majesty, and his successors from time to time, of equal number of both the said kingdoms, comprehending Ireland under the kingdom of England as said is, whereof the one half shall be Scotsmen, and the other to be English and Irish. And his majesty being perfectly informed of the stability and good affection of his majesty's subjects of either of the said kingdoms after specified, to undergo the charge of the said general committee for the fishing; therefore his majesty hath given, and by these presents gives full power and commission to the said persons after following, &c." Signed, Thomas Hope.

Several persons of distinction embarked in the design, which the king honoured with his patronage, and encouraged by his bounty. He also ordered *Lent* to be more strictly observed; prohibited the importation of fish taken by foreigners; and agreed

to purchase from the company his naval stores, and the fish for his fleets. Thus the scheme of establishing a fishery in the Hebrides began to assume a favourable aspect; but all the hopes of the adventurers were frustrated by the breaking out of the civil wars, and the very tragical death of their generous benefactor. The company had built two store-houses or magazines; one on the small island of Hermetra, on the north side of North Uist; and the other upon a small island in Loch Madie, a celebrated bay of the above mentioned North Uist. Martin, who visited the Hebrides in the reign of Queen Anne, saw the foundations of those houses, and was informed by the natives, that Charles I. had a share in the fishery upon their coasts.

De Witt, in his book called *The Interest of Holland*, says, "That when England had set on foot a herring fishery, in the reign of King Charles I. and had taken their herrings at one and the same time and place with the Hollanders, and sent them to Dantzick, in the years 1637 and 1638, the Dutch herrings were there approved as good; but the English herrings, to the very last barrel, were esteemed naught." It appeared, upon a subsequent enquiry, that the company had sustained sundry losses and wrongs by their servants, throughout the whole business.

In 1654, a number of persons of distinction in London, seemed earnestly to set about the herring fishery; and for their encouragement, the English commonwealth granted them an exemption from the duties on salt, and on naval stores, to be used in their said fishery. Collections were likewise made at London, and other parts, toward the erecting of wharfs, docks, and store-houses; and for the purchasing of ground for the making and tanning of their nets. The attempt being frustrated through Cromwell's usurpation, nothing was done except the destroying the old fortification at Stronaway, by Cromwell, and his building another to bridle the inhabitants, who
notwith-

notwithstanding this precaution, cut off his garrison to a man.

In 1661, Charles II. the duke of York, lord Clarendon, and other persons of rank or fortune, resumed the business of the fisheries with greater vigour than any of their predecessors. For this purpose the most salutary laws were enacted by the parliaments of England and Scotland, in virtue of which, all materials used in, or depending upon, the fisheries, were exempted from all duties, excises, or imposts whatever. In England, the company were authorised to set up a lottery, and to have a voluntary collection in all parish churches; houses of entertainment, as taverns, inns, ale-houses, were to take one or more barrels of herrings, at the stated price of thirty shillings per barrel;* also two shillings and six-pence per barrel was to be paid to the stock of this company on all imported fish taken by foreigners.

Some Dutch families were also invited, or permitted, to settle at Stronaway; the herrings cured by the royal English company gave general satisfaction, and, as mentioned above, brought a high price for those days. Every circumstance attending this new establishment seemed to be the result of a judicious plan, and thorough knowledge of the business, when the necessities of the king obliged him to withdraw his subscription or bounty, which gave such umbrage to the parties concerned, that they soon after dissolved.

In 1777, a new royal company was established in England, at the head of which was the duke of York, the earl of Derby, &c. Besides all the privileges which former companies had enjoyed, the king granted this new company a perpetuity, with power to purchase lands; and also twenty pounds

* The present average price of Scotch herrings, at the port of London, though burdened with a duty of three shillings and four pence per barrel.

to be paid them annually, out of the customs of the port of London, *for every dogger or buss* they should build and send out for seven years to come. A stock of £10,980 was immediately advanced, and afterwards £1600 more. This small capital was soon exhausted in purchasing and fitting out busses, with other incidental expences. The company made, however, a successful beginning; and one of their busses or doggers actually took and brought home 32,000 cod-fish; other vessels had also a favourable fishery

Such favourable beginnings might have excited fresh subscriptions, when an unforeseen event ruined the whole design beyond the possibility of recovery. Most of the busses had been built in Holland, and manned with Dutchmen; on which pretence the French, who were then at war with Holland, seized six out of seven vessels, with their cargoes and fishing tackle, and the company being now in debt, sold, in 1680, the remaining stores, &c. A number of gentlemen and merchants raised a new subscription of £60,000, under the privileges and immunities of the former charter. This attempt also came to nothing, owing to the death of the king, and the troubles of the subsequent reign.

Soon after the revolution, this business was again resumed, and upon a more extensive scale, the proposed capital being 300,000*l.* of which 100,000*l.* was to have been raised by the surviving patentees, or their successors, and 200,000*l.* by new subscribers. Copies of the letters patent, the constitution of the company, and terms of subscription, were lodged at sundry places in London and Westminster, for the perusal of the public, while the subscription was filling. It is probable, that King William's partiality to the Dutch fisheries, the succeeding war, or both of these circumstances, frustrated this new attempt, of which we have no further account in the annals of that reign, or since.

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The Scottish parliament had also, during the three last reigns, passed sundry acts for erecting companies and promoting the fisheries; but the intestine commotions of that country, and the great exertions which were made for the Darien establishment, enfeebled all other attempts, whether collectively, or by individuals, within that kingdom.

¹⁴In 1749, his late majesty having, at the opening of the parliament, warmly recommended the improvement of the fisheries; the house of commons appointed a committee to enquire into the state of the herring and white fisheries, and to consider of the most probable means of extending the same.

All ranks of men were elevated with an idea of the boundless riches that would flow into the kingdom from this source; a subscription of 500,000*l.* was immediately filled in the city, by a body of men who were incorporated for twenty-one years, by the name of *The Society of the Free British Fishery*. Every encouragement was held out by government, both to the society and to individuals, who might embark in this national business. A bounty of thirty six shillings per ton was to be paid annually out of the customs, for fourteen years, to the owners of all decked vessels or busses, from 20 to 80 tons burthen, which should be built after the commencement of the act, for the use of, and fitted out and employed in the said fisheries, whether by the society or any other persons. At the same time numerous pamphlets and news-paper essays came forth, all pretending to elucidate the subject, and to convince the public with what facility the herring fisheries might be transferred from Dutch to British hands.

This proved, however, a more arduous task than had been foreseen by superficial speculators. The Dutch were frugal in their expenditures and living, perfect masters of the arts of fishing and curing, which they had carried to the greatest height and perfection. They were in full possession of the European

ropean markets, and their fish, whether deserving or otherwise, had the reputation of superior qualities to all others taken in our seas.

With such advantages, the Dutch not only maintained their ground against this formidable company, but had also the pleasure of seeing the capital gradually sinking, without having procured an adequate return to the adventurers, notwithstanding various aids and efforts of government from time to time in their favour, particularly in 1757, when an advance of twenty shillings per ton was added to the bounty.

Such hath been the fate of all the spirited efforts of the Scottish and British governments for these last four hundred years, to recover the fisheries from the hands of foreigners; and if ever this national object shall be accomplished, either wholly or in part, it will be solely owing to the encouragements given, not to companies, but individual adventurers, and the abilities of those adventurers to persevere in that business against all the accidents, discouragements, and misfortunes that attend it, both in the capture, and the sale of the fish. Even the frugal Dutch, who have reduced all the branches of the fisheries into a regular system, founded upon long experience, judged it necessary, after repeated attempts in favour of societies, to relinquish that mode, and to direct their attention indiscriminately to the fisheries in general. This is also the practice of all other states whose subjects embark therein. They are encouraged by exclusive privileges and exemptions, suited to the various cases and circumstances of their respective situations; and this leads to a minute investigation of the Scottish herring fisheries, as carried on at the present time, by foreigners, as well as natives.

Migration of the Herrings.

THERE are some fishes, as the herring, cod-fish, haddock, whiting, mackarel, tunny, and pilchard, that may be called fish of passage, and bear a strong analogy to birds of passage; both from their social disposition, and the immensity of their numbers. Other fish live in our vicinity, and reside on our coasts all the year round; or keep in the depths of the ocean, and are but seldom seen: but these, at stated seasons, visit the more southern shores with regular certainty, generally returning the same week in the succeeding year, and often the same day.

The herrings are found, in the greatest abundance, in the highest northern latitudes within the arctic circle. In those inaccessible seas, that are covered with ice during a great part of the year, the herring find a quiet and sure retreat from all their numerous enemies: there neither man, nor their still more destructive enemy, the fin-fish, or the cachalot, the most voracious of the whale kind, dares to pursue them.

The great colony of herring sets out from the icy sea about the middle of winter, composed of such numbers as to exceed the powers of imagination, but they no sooner leave their retreats, than millions of enemies appear to thin their squadrons. The sun-fish, and the cachalot devour hundreds at a time; the porpus, the grampus, the shark, cod-fish, haddocks, pollacks, and the whole numerous tribe of dog-fish find them an easy prey, and desist from making war upon each other: but still more the unnumbered flocks of sea fowl, that chiefly inhabit near the pole, watch the outset of their dangerous migration, and spread extensive ruin.

In this exigence, the defenceless emigrants find no other safety but by crowding closer together, like sheep when frightened, and leaving to the outmost bands the danger of being first devoured. The main body begins at a certain latitude to separate
 ↓ into

into two great divisions, one of which moves to the west, and pours down along the coasts of America, as far south as Carolina, and are so numerous in the Chesapeak bay, as to become a nuisance to the shores. The other division takes a more eastern direction, towards Europe, and falls in with the great island of Iceland about the beginning of March; upon their arrival on that coast, their phalanx, which hath already suffered considerable diminutions, is nevertheless found to be of amazing extent, depth, and closeness, occupying a surface equal to the dimensions of Great Britain and Ireland, but subdivided into columns of five or six miles in length, and three or four in breadth, each line or column being led, according to the idea of fishermen, by herrings of more than ordinary size. The herrings swim near the surface, sinking now and then then for ten or fifteen minutes. The fore-runners of those who visit the British kingdoms appear off Shetland in April or May, and the grand body begins to be perceived in June. Their approach is known to the fishers by a small rippling of the water, the reflection of their brilliancy, and the number of solan geese, or gannets, and other aerial persecutors, who feast richly upon this offered bounty; and who, with the marine attendants, may be a concurrent cause of driving the shoals into bays and creeks. Here new enemies await these Heaven-directed strangers. Whole fleets of Dutch, French, Flemish, Prussian, and Danish vessels, with all the apparatus of netting, are in readiness on a fixed day, to drag the ocean, thereby snatching from the shoals, not hundreds, but hundreds of thousands, every night from June till September.

The Shetland islands, where the herrings meet with the first interruption in their progress southwards, lie at the distance of 100 miles due north from the mainland of Scotland, and extend almost a degree in length. Though these islands break,
and

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and separate the grand body of the herrings into two parts, these wanderers still continue their course to the southward; one division proceeds along the east side of Britain, pays its tribute to the Orkneys, the Murray Firth, the coasts of Aberdeen, Angus and Fife; the great river Forth, the coast of Scarborough, and particularly the far projecting land at Yarmouth, the antient and only mart of herrings in England, where they appear in October, and are found in considerable quantities till Christmas. During this season they send a considerable supply to the London market; and passing down the channel, they pay a slight visit to the north coast of France, but so exhausted and impoverished, that they are very improper for commercial purposes, though sometimes cured for exportation.

The other brigade take their course from the Shetland islands, along the west side of Britain, and are observed to be larger and fatter than those on the east side. After passing the Shetland, and the Orkney isles, they crowd in amazing quantities into the lakes, bays, and narrow channels of the shires of Sutherland, Ross and Inverness; which, with the Hebride isles, especially the Long Island, compose the greatest stationary herring fishery in Britain, that upon the coast of Shetland excepted. Sometimes, as in 1784, this shoal, in its southern progress, edges close upon the extensive coast of Argyleshire; fills every bay and creek; visits, in small detachments, the Firth of Clyde, Lochfine, and other lakes within the entrance of that river; the coast of Airshire, and of Galloway, to the head of the Solway Firth. Having performed this friendly office to the western shores of Scotland, the shoal proceeds towards the north of Ireland; where, meeting with a second interruption, they are again divided into two brigades; one shoal passes down the Irish Channel, visits the Isle of Man, and affords an occasional supply
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to the east coast of Ireland, and the west coast of England, as far as the Bristol Channel. The other shoal skirts along the west coast of Ireland, where after visiting the lakes of Donnegal, it gradually disappears, and is finally lost in the immensity of the Atlantic. So bountiful is providence to the inhabitants of the British isles, in one article of food only.

“ Were we inclined, says a well-known writer, to consider this partial migration of the herring in a moral light, we might reflect with veneration and awe on the mighty power which originally impressed on this most useful body of his creatures the instinct that directs and points out the course, that blesses and enriches these islands, which causes them at certain and invariable times to quit the vast polar deeps, and offer themselves to our expecting fleets. That benevolent being has never, from the earliest records, been once known to withdraw his blessing from the whole, though he often thinks proper to deny it to particulars; yet this partial failure (for which we see no natural reason) should fill us with the most exalted and grateful sense of his providence, for impressing so invariable and general an instinct on these fish towards a southward migration, when the whole is to be benefited, and to withdraw it only when a minute part is to suffer.

“ This impression was given them, that they might remove for the sake of depositing their spawn in warmer seas, that would mature and vivify it more assuredly than those of the frigid zone. It is not from defect of food that they set themselves in motion, for they come to us full of fat, and on their return are almost universally observed to be lean and miserable. What their food is near the pole, we are not yet informed; but in our seas they feed much on the *oniscus marinus*, a crustaceous insect, and sometimes on their own fry.

“ They are in full roe to the end of June, and continue in perfection till the beginning of winter, when

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when they begin to deposit their spawn. Though we have no particular authority for it, yet as very few young herrings are found in our seas during the winter, it seems most certain that they must return to their parental haunts beneath the ice, to repair the vast destruction of their race during summer, by men, fowl, and fish."

Review of the Herring Fisheries.

The whole coast of Scotland may be considered as one continued fishery, distinguished however, by various names :

1. The Shetland, or Northern Fishery.
2. That on the east side of the kingdom, from the Pentland Firth to Berwic.
3. The Western, or Loch Broom Fishery.

The Shetland, or Northern Fishery.

The Shetland Isles are situated between 60 and 61 degrees of north latitude, about one degree north from the Orkney Isles, 100 miles from the mainland of Scotland, and nearly the same distance from the coast of Norway. Of these islands forty-six are inhabited, besides a number of lesser ones, which afford a little grass, and are called holms; others are mere rocks, the residence of voracious sea fowls, which, like the human species, resort hither after the herrings and other fishes that abound on these shores. The principal island of this division is called *Mainland*; and it extends about sixty miles from north to south, is in general very narrow, and much intersected with bogs or openings, some of which penetrate almost from side to side. The surface of these islands is rock, or moss, and in the valleys, a scanty portion of clay soil, which produces small crops of barley and black oats, but

but very unequal to the wants of 20,000 inhabitants, who in bad seasons experience all the distresses of poverty, and famine. Nature, however, hath been more liberal to their shores, not only in herrings, but in various species of white fish, the constant attendants of the herrings in their annual migrations from north to south.

The principle town on these islands is called Lerwic, situated upon a narrow channel of the mainland, called Braffa Sound. Here the Dutch and other foreigners resort to the fisheries at the appointed seasons, when Lerwic hath all the appearance of a continued market or fair.

We have, in the annals of Scotland, traced the origin of the Dutch fisheries on the shores of that kingdom, which have proved so beneficial to the latter, that the relation thereof would be considered as fabulous or chimerical, were it not fully authenticated by the joint testimony of Dutch and British writers, as well as by the statutes and archives of both countries.

Sir Walter Raleigh relates, That, in 1603, the Dutch sold to different nations as many herrings as amounted to 1,759,000*l*. That, in 1615, they at once sent out 2000 buffes, and employed in them 37,000 fishermen. That, in 1618, they sent out 3000 buffes, with 50,000 men, to take the herrings, and 9000 more vessels to transport and sell the fish; which, by sea and land, employed 150,000 men, besides those first-mentioned. All this wealth says he, was gotten on our coasts; while our attention was taken up in a distant whale fishery.

Sir William Monson, after taking a review of the great commerce carried on by the Dutch, in various parts of the world, which he ascribes chiefly to their fisheries, proceeds thus; "There needs no repetition of any former relation; for truth has spoke it, which is so glorious of herself, that it needs no shade to give it better gloss: in what follows I will demonstrate

strate by the particular proceedings of the Hollanders, in their pinks and buffes, what certain gain they yearly raise out of them; and when experience, the mother of knowledge, shall make it apparent to you, I hope you will remember what you are, and how easy you may make yourself and country by it.

“ From the Texel in Holland to Brasound in Shetland, an island belonging to his majesty’s dominions in Scotland, is two hundred thirty and odd leagues, whither there resort the 22d or 23d of June well nigh 2000 fishing vessels. The 24th they put to sea, being prohibited till that day, and a penalty upon the breaker thereof, holding the herrings till then unseasonable to salt, for their fatness.

“ Every one of these vessels that day directs its course to find out the shoal of herrings, like a hound that pursues the head of a deer in hunting: when they have laden their buffes, which is sooner or later, as they find the shoal of herrings, they presently return home for Holland, and leave their herrings ashore to be there repacked, and from thence immediately to be sent into the Sound (the Baltic), where they receive them for a great dainty.

“ The buffes having thus disburthened themselves in Holland, once more furnished with victuals, casks and salt, they repair to sea to look out the shoal they had formerly left; and then finding them, and filling them once again, they do as they did before, return to Holland.

“ Nor thus ceasing, the third time they repair to the shoal, as aforesaid; and in their three fishings, computing with the least, they take to the number of 100 lasts of herrings, which being valued at ten pounds the last, which is not seventeen shillings a barrel, will amount to 1000 pounds sterling each ship.

“ Many times this fishing fleet is attended with certain vessels called yawgers, which carry salt, cask, and victuals, to truck with the buffes for their herrings, and carry them directly into the Sound, without returning into Holland; for it is a matter of great consequence and gain, to bring the first herrings into the Sound; for there they are esteemed as partridges with us, at their first coming: but now of late years the Hollanders are prohibited by the state, carrying or trucking away their herrings, till they first land them in Holland; which will prove the more commodious to us.”

Sir William proceeds next, to state the expence of a buss of seventy tons from the stocks, with the price of her nets, tackling, salt, victuals, casks, mens wages, and other particulars; likewise, of a pink of forty tons, for the white fishery. He also draws a comparison between the West India trade and the British fisheries, wherein he uses various arguments to prove, that the latter branch is, upon the whole, more important than the former, and merits the first attention of the British government. “ You will wonder, says he, being born a subject of England, and casting your eyes upon the gainful soil of the land, that you never conceived what the sea afforded: I confess it were impossible for you to live in that ignorance, if it did not appear by the ensuing discourse, how you, your country, and especially the princes of these realms, have been abused, and the profit thereof concealed.

“ What better light can we have for this work, than from our nearest and intimatest friends the Hollanders? who, by their long travels, their excessive pains, their ingenious inventions, their incomparable industry, and provident care, have exceeded all other nations in their adventures and commerce, and made all the world familiar with them in traffic; whereby we may justly attribute to them, what the Chinese assumed to themselves, that only they have two eyes,
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the Europeans but one, and all the rest of the world none. How can this better appear than out of their labours and our fish only?

“ They have encreased the number of vessels; they have supplied the world with food, which otherwise would have found a scarcity; they have advanced trade so abundantly, that the wealth of subjects and the customs of princes have found the benefit of it; and lastly, they have thus provided for themselves, and all people of all forts, though they be impotent and lame, that want employment, or that are forced to seek work for their maintenance.

“ And because their quantity of fish is not to be vended in their own provinces, but to be dispersed in all parts of Europe, I will give you an account of it, as it hath been carefully observed and taken out of the custom-house books beyond the seas. *

“ In four provinces within the Sound, viz, Korningsberg, Melvin, Stetin, and Dantzick, there is vended in a year betwixt 30 and 40,000 lastts of herrings; which will amount to more than 620,000 pounds; *and we none.*

“ Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Leifland, Rie, Regel, Narpe, and other towns within the Sound, take off above 10,000 lastts, worth 160,000 pounds.

“ The Hollanders send into Russia above 1500 lastts of herrings, sold at 27,000 pounds; *and we not above thirty or forty lastts.*

“ Stode, Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden, and upon the river Elbe, in fish and herrings above 6000 lastts, sold at 100,000 pounds; *and we none.*

“ Cleveland, Juliers, up the river Rhine, Frankfort, Cologne, and over all Germany, in fish and herrings near 22,000 lastts, amounting to 440,000 pounds; *and we none.*

* This account is equally curious and interesting, as it points out the markets then existing, and which still remain, though in a lesser degree.

“ Gelderland, Artois, Hainhaut, Brabant, Flanders, and the archduke’s countries, 8 or 9000 lasts, sold at eighteen pounds the last, amounts to 160,000 pounds; *and we none.*

“ At Roan in Normandy, 500 lasts of herrings, sold at 10,000 pounds; *and we not 100 lasts*; there commonly sold for twenty, and sometimes thirty pounds a last.

“ Besides what they spend in Holland, and sell there to other nations, the value of many hundred thousand pounds.

“ Now having perfected the valuation of the Hollanders fish, caught in our seas, and vended into foreign countries, our shame will manifestly appear, that of so many thousand lasts of fish, and so many hundred thousand pounds in money made by them; we cannot give account of 150 lasts taken and vended by us.

“ The Hollanders are no less to be commended, in the benefit they make of the return of their fish; for what commodity soever any country yields in lieu thereof, they transport in their own vessels into Holland, where they have a continual staple of all commodities brought out of the south, from thence sent into the north and the east countries: the like they do from out of the north into the south, their ships continually going and bringing inestimable profit; like a weaver’s shuttle, he casts from one hand to another, ever in action, till his gain appear in the cloth he makes.

“ But the greatest navigation of theirs, and of most importance to their state, for maintenance of ships of burthen and strength, is into the Streights, from the port of Marseilles, along the coast as far as Venice. During these eighteen years last past they have so increased their navigation, whereas before they had not above two ships to five of ours within the Streights; within the said eighteen years they are able to shew ten of theirs to one of ours, and merely by the trade
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of fish; for true it is, that there is no commodity in the world of so great bulk and small value, or that can set so many ships of burthen to work.

“ The principal work I am at, is how to undertake the Hollanders with our own weapons, and how to equal them with pinks, buffes, and other vessels, till we be made partners with them in the fishing: not out of envy to their labours; or to revenge discourtesies: only we will seek to do what nature dictates, viz. *to enjoy and make use of our own*, by the countenance of our blessed king, that in justice gives all people their right and due.

“ I present you not with toys to please children, or with shadows of untruths; for I know truth to be so noble of itself, that it makes him honourable that pronounces it; and that an honest man will rather bear witness against friendship than truth. I have made it appear with what facility the Hollanders go through with the *golden mine* of theirs, which they so term in their proclamation extant: I make proof that their buffes and pinks are built to take fish; that they fill themselves thrice a summer with fish; that this fish is vended and esteemed as a precious food in all the parts of Europe; and that the return thereof gives them means to live and breathe; without which they could not.

“ It is manifest that fish has brought them to a great strength both by land and sea, and fame withal, in maintaining their intestine war against so great and potent an enemy as the king of Spain.

“ And if all these benefits appear in them, and nothing but shame and scorn in us, let us enter into the cause thereof and seek to amend it; let us labour to follow their example, which is better than a schoolmaster to teach us. Nothing is our bane but idleness, which ingenders ignorance, and ignorance error; all which we may be taxed with; for to a slothful man nothing is so easy, but it will prove difficult, if it be not done willingly.

“ There are but two things required in this work; that is to say, a will to undertake it, and money to go through with it, which being found we will place charity to begin at home with ourselves, before we yield it to our neighbours; and then this business will appear to be effected with more benefit, more strength, more renown, more happiness, and less expence, than Hollanders have or can go through withal. Time is the most precious experience; and you shall find that time will cure our carelessness past, that reason could not hitherto do.

“ The instruments by which the Hollanders work, are their vessels of several kinds, as I have declared, not produced out of their own country; for it yields nothing to further it, but their own pains and labour.

“ Their wood, timber, and planks to build ships, they fetch out of divers other places; and yet are these no more available to undertake their fishing and navigation, than weapons are without hands to fight. Their iron, hemp, cordage, barrel-boards, bread and malt, they are beholding for to several countries; and if at any time out of displeasure they be prohibited the transportation, they are to seek a new occupation, for the state fails.

“ Comparing their casualties and inconveniencies with ours, you shall discern the advantage and benefit God has given us, in respect of them; for all the materials formerly repeated, that go to their shipping, England yields most of them, or in little time the earth will be made to produce them in abundance; so that we shall not need to stand upon the courtesy of our neighbours, or to venture the hazard of the sea in fetching them.

“ Whereas all manner of people, of what degree soever in Holland, have commonly a share, according to their abilities, in this fishing; and that the only exception amongst ourselves, is the want of money to undertake it, you shall understand how God and nature have provided for us; for I will apparently

rently answer the objection of money, and cast it upon the sluggishness and ill-disposition of our people, who if they will take away the cause of this imputation, they shall take away the offence due to it, and by which we are scandalized.

“ In the objection of lack of money to set on foot this work, it would seem ridiculous to strangers that behold the wealth and glory of this kingdom, with the sumptuous buildings, the costly inside of houses, the mass of plate to deck them, the daily hospitality and number of servants to honour their masters, and their charitable alms distributed out of their superfluities. And to descend to people in particular, if they behold the bravery of apparel vainly spent, the rich and curious jewels to adorn their bodies, and the needless expences yearly wasted, they would conclude, that it was not want, but will, that must be our impediment.”

After enumerating the various natural productions raised in England favourable to the fisheries, Sir William enforces his favourite theme, by sundry nautical remarks, all of them proving, beyond a doubt, the superior advantages which the natives enjoy from their local situation; and the riches yet in store, from this inexhaustible source, to all British subjects, who shall search after them.

“ All the shoals (says an anonymous author), appointed by the immutable decree to possess the firths and bays on the east shore of Britain, come into the German sea by the east side of Shetland, and that not many leagues from the shore; as those appointed to spawn on our north and west bays of Scotland, which are much the greater numbers, swim by the west side of it.

“ But these natives of our Scots bays in the German sea swim close by the shore, which is the reason they cannot escape, and are so broken that they never come in confirmed shoals, or great bodies, to their spawning beds, any year the Dutch can constantly

keep at sea the months of June and July. For how is it possible to escape 5 or 600 miles of nets that every night strains every foot length of water five or six leagues from the shore?

“Every Dutch buss has a large mile leng of very deep nets dragging after him every night from sun-set to sun-rising. There are about 6 or 700 of them come now generally out; the constant station of all these is the east coast of Shetland; they never go further than four or five leagues from the shore, yea I have seen them fish within half a league. The nearer the shore, so that there is water deep enough to keep their nets from the bottom, they fish the better: for the herrings that make their course to the east coast swim close by the shore: for no compass more justly directs the ship to her port, than the leaders of that innumerable army of herring guides their body to the particular bay or firth natural to them, and they directly make for.

“They many years make two or three loaded returns; and this last summer (1728) though our few busses came home almost empty, I am credibly informed, the Dutch, after ours came away, carried two or three freights home, though it is certain the storminess of the summer hindered their fishing the true right herring on the coast of Shetland; but the latter end of the year, by their good patience, they staid out the bad weather, and though they did not fish the good fat herring they commonly used, in the proper station for such herring, they followed the herring, picked up their loadings of spent big-bellied ones on the coasts of Caithness, Buchan, Banff, and all the Murray Firth. Any was better than going home empty handed.

“It was happy for our shallow waters, or firth-fishing, the summer was so bad, that the Dutch could not fish on the east coast of Shetland, to take, break, or divert the shoals, that by the command, and unalterable decree of the first omnipotent *fiat*,
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are appointed constantly to keep that very route to come to our shores and propagate their kinds. For since the French, in queen Anne's reign, burnt 5 or 600 Dutch buffes in one day, we had not so many herrings in our firths and bays on the east coast of Scotland, as we had this year."

Mr. Grossett, a gentleman of Dutch descent, hath the following remarks, in a pamphlet on the growth of the Dutch States, and the causes thereof.

"If we pay the least attention to the original state of the Dutch fisheries, or by what means they raised themselves to their present state of opulence, we shall find that they were absolutely nothing more than mere fishermen, who had collected themselves into a small body, from different quarters, and lived in huts, erected upon a spot then called Damfluys, which still retains its name; but to the astonishment of travellers, when enquired for, will be found in the centre of the famous city of Amsterdam; which though originally nothing more than a poor fishing hamlet, now pretends to dispute consequence with the first trading city of the known world—London.

"Early in the twelfth century, their progress was so great, that the Harlemer and Waterlanders became jealous of them, embraced a frivolous opportunity of joining John VI. Count Florent, attacked the poor fishermen, and totally destroyed their habitations to the very foundations. In 1300, they found themselves re-assembled in a considerable body, on the old spot; and in 1342 they obtained a renewal of their privileges from the then reigning Count Florent, William IV. In 1346, the lordship of that domain devolved to the Earls of Holland by marriage, since which they have increased by degrees to their present pitch of undoubted opulence.

"The great increase of people, in process of time, obliged them to seek new fields of employment.

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Of course, none could be more eligible than the fishery which they discovered on the coasts of Ireland, and western islands of Scotland. This branch* they stuck closely to, till the English discovered the Whale Fishery, in Queen Elizabeth's time. From 1598 the English carried on that branch unrivalled till 1612, when the Hollanders sent their first ship to Spitsbergen, or Greenland, in hopes of reaping a part of the benefit of that most beneficial discovery. The English claimed the property as the first discoverers, and would not allow the Dutch to fish thereabout, or have any share in so profitable a trade. The contest ran high, and fundry bickerings ensued between the ships of both nations. At length the states general, unwilling to give offence to king James, sent a deputation to England, to treat upon the subject of the freedom of the fishery; the king avoided giving any absolute decision in point of right; yet at the same time his majesty not encouraging the English merchants to disturb the Dutch, it remained a matter undetermined, and both parties went on fishing as before. Soon after, the Danes, Hamburghers, and French, began, and have ever since continued to fish in those seas.

“The Dutch have found so essential an interest in the continuance of fisheries, that they do give

* Mr. Groffett is under a mistake in making the west side of Britain the seat of the Dutch herring fisheries. A few families were permitted to settle, as before observed, on the Lewis Island, and were afterwards driven away. The great Dutch fishery was formerly, as it is at present, carried on upon the east side of the Shetland Islands, from whence the bussés sometimes follow the herrings down the channel, till want of stores or other circumstances, obliges them to return to the grand rendezvous, off Brassa Sound, in Shetland.

If the north-west coasts of Scotland be unfavourable for a Dutch fishery, that of Ireland is much more so. Voyages from Holland by the Pentland Firth to the coast of Donnegal would require, upon an average, three or four weeks, besides unavoidable dangers; while those to the Shetland Isles may be performed, almost with any wind, in ten or twelve days at farthest.

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every possible encouragement to the prosecution of them. By inattention, we lost the sway in the Greenland fisheries, though the first discoverers: and, by negligence, we have suffered the Dutch to raise immense fortunes from our shores, by the herring fisheries. Their uninterrupted possession of that lucrative branch of traffic, was what originally gave birth to their now general commercial intercourse, and consequence, with every trafficking quarter of the world. OUR SEAS WERE THEIR ORIGINAL MINES, as acknowledged by the Dutch, and may be seen on the face of one of their proclamations for the encouragement of the fisheries, bearing date, anno 1624; they there call it their GOLDEN MINE, from which they have long derived a staple commodity, to barter against articles which other nations had to spare."

Sir Lucius O'Brien justly observes, "that since the first establishment of the herring fishery, the Dutch have enjoyed the principal part of it; to this they stand indebted for their freedom, having thereby been enabled to contend successfully with the richest monarch and most powerful nation in Europe, and not only to defend themselves, but during the course of a long war to beautify their country, fortify their cities, establish a powerful marine, and fix colonies in the most distant parts of the world; and in the midst of all these expenses to encrease daily in wealth and splendour; and therefore it is not without reason that, by order of the states, it is inserted in the daily prayers offered up in their churches, that God would be graciously pleased to bless their land, and to preserve to them the great and small fisheries.

"The French too have benefited themselves exceedingly by this trade, and yet these nations are obliged to seek their fish on our coasts, by a long and expensive navigation in large ships, while providence bringeth them even to our doors;

doors; it might be expected we should be able to take them at a much less expence by boats, and cure them more perfectly on our shores; and yet his majesty's subjects have not yet been able to establish this fishery effectually, probably from the poverty and neglect of the north-west parts of Scotland and Ireland, to both of which countries every year comes as great an abundance of herrings, as to any part of the world, while the wretched inhabitants have neither a stock of salt sufficient to save even what they can catch, nor a sufficient number of barrels to pack them in."

Of the Eastern Fisheries.

The herring fisheries along the eastern shores of Scotland, though less considerable than those on the coasts of Shetland, would, with proper attention, be of great national benefit. The northern fishery is almost entirely engrossed by foreigners; that upon the eastern shores might employ our own people, afford relief to the inhabitants, and become a considerable article of foreign commerce.

A fishery near home may also be carried on with greater expedition, and with less expence and hazard, to the parties concerned.

But, though the whole line of coast from Caithness to Berwick is the occasional resort of herrings, in their autumnal voyage southward, yet there is not, in this course of 300 miles, (including the Murray Firth) a fixed or stationary fishery, such as that at Yarmouth, Donnegal, and Gottenburgh, where the herrings arrive almost to a certainty, and generally at the same period of time. The shores on the eastern side of Scotland, that have been most generally explored, and have produced the greatest quantity of herrings, are those of the Forth, and the Murray Firth. The banks of the Forth, and
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the shores of that great river where it falls into the sea, were in antient times the chief theatre of the Scottish fisheries. The coasts of Fifeshire, and the Lothians, were full of towns, inhabited by a race of experienced fishermen, and intrepid seamen, who navigated the mercantile trade of the kingdom, who manned its short-lived navy, fought the English with desperate bravery, and rendered their country respectable amongst foreign nations. But those populous districts being ruined by Cromwell, the inhabitants, thus deprived of their property, shipping, stores, and utensils, lost their spirit, as well as their abilities; the fisheries, the towns, and the coasting trade, gradually declined, and all resemblance of former times vanished from the eye.

The white fisheries were carried on by small buffes, from 15 to 30 tons burthen, with close decks, and one mast that struck; upon this mast one of their nets lay drying in the night-time, while they rode by the other; put out in head to catch herring for bait, when they were at the white fishing, and thus, during moderate weather, lay snug in the water.

About the beginning of March, these buffes went to the white fishery, on the coasts of the Orkneys; they salted their fish in the hold; and, when the weather was dry, they put them ashore, and dried them on the beeches and rocks. They returned in May to the Firth, and washed the salt out of their mud-fish, and dried them on their own beeches and stages at home, then sold them, partly for home consumption, and partly for exportation. About the eighth or tenth of June they took in their large nets, salt and casks, and set out to the fishing of deep water herrings, in the seas frequented by the Dutch. When they had catched as many as their small holds could conveniently stow, besides their fishing equipage and stores, they run to the coast, put these ashore, took in a fresh supply of nets, salt, and casks, and continued fishing till

till the end of July; then returned home, shifted their nets again, and fished across the opening of the Forth from Fifeness to Eyemouth, so long as the season continued. Here they generally met with success, and gave certain intelligence to the open boats (of which they were usually sharers) where to lay their nets for the herrings, near the shore in shallow water. When this fishing was over, the same buffes, with a fresh stock of nets, sailed by the Pentland Firth, to the Hebride fishing, and there remained among the lochs and bays of Sutherland, Ross and Inverness shires, till Christmas, then returned home, and laid up their buffes to be repaired: while these bold men, who had undergone incredible fatigues and dangers, instead of loitering idly at home, went out immediately in open boats, fished upon the coast till March, and thus, by constant practice, incredible fatigues and danger, became the hardiest and most expert fishers in Europe.

The herring-fishing in the Forth, by open boats, was thus conducted. The boats belonged partly to the buff fishermen above mentioned, but the greatest number belonged to ship carpenters, and other persons on shore, who built and equipped them purposely to become adventurers in the trade. Two or three fishermen collected six or seven landmen, to make up the crew for this fishing, which was called a dreve, which signifies a drove. Every fisherman had, for the most part, one net of his own; but the rest of the nets were taken in from the net-makers, and other individuals, as sharers in profit and loss during the season. One person was appointed to keep their stock-purse, to lay in provisions, and to receive the money for all the herrings sold. When the fishery was over they made up their accounts: the expenditure on provisions, stock, and accidents, was deducted from what

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what they called the whole head, and the remainder was divided into eight or nine shares, called deals. The proprietor of the boat drew one deal, every man half a deal, and every net half a deal; and if there happened to be a layman or two in the boat, who never were at the fishing before, these were called boys, and drew only the quarter of a deal, for their first year.

From 6 to 800 boats were thus employed in the Forth, and many thousand barrels of herrings were annually exported, besides supplying the home demand. The coast fishing on the Murray Firth was conducted on the same plan, governed by the same regulations, and proportionably beneficial to that populous, though remote part of the kingdom. It employed from 5 to 700 boats of a less construction than the former, and each boat had six or seven men. The general utility of these two fisheries may be thus stated: They gave employment to a considerable number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages, as seamen, landmen, ship-builders, coopers, net-makers, (which is chiefly performed by women, children, and old people, incapable of any other work) rope-makers, sail-makers, blacksmiths, salt-makers, colliers, carters, day labourers, &c. They supplied the neighbourhood with cheap food, extended commerce to the amount of 60 or 100,000*l.* annually, and employed shipping to various parts of Europe.

As a nursery of seamen for the royal navy, we shall suppose the Forth to have employed, upon an average, 700 boats, having nine men each. - 6300
 And, that the Murray Firth employed }
 600 boats, having seven men each } 4200

Experienced seamen, and men advancing in
 that line, — — — 10500

These fisheries, though at present in a low state,
 barely deserving the name of a national object,
 † may

may, I have been informed, through various respectable channels, be extended to any degree,* and also the deep water fishery, to the distance of
 twenty

*Among the many obligations Scotland owes to the learned and humane Thomas Pennant, esq. may be reckoned his stimulating a spirit of enquiry into such works of nature and art, as tend to illustrate the history of that country, and to assist the antiquary in his investigations. Of the numerous correspondents who thus embarked in the laudable design of communicating their observations through the channel of Mr. Pennant's publications, was, the Rev. Mr. Cordiner, minister of the English chapel at Banff; and that gentleman, encouraged by the respect paid to his communications and drawings, published, in 1780, a most entertaining work, entitled, *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, in a Series of Letters to Thomas Pennant, Esq.* The favourable reception of this volume by the public, prompted the author to circulate proposals, for publishing in numbers, *Views of Remarkable Ruins, and Romantic Prospects in the North of Scotland.* I had received so much satisfaction in perusing the former work, that on seeing the first number of the latter, I transmitted some observations to the author, which I thought might be useful to him in the progress of his work. His answer came to my hands while I was drawing up the above account of the eastern fisheries, and as he had perused what I had formerly published on these subjects, he favoured me with the following interesting and seasonable intelligence.

“ In the Murray Firth, herrings, at times, make their appearance in such plenty, as might become a valuable acquisition to the coast, could the fishermen afford to have nets in readiness against the periods of their arrival; and, had they knowledge of the methods of ascertaining, more accurately, their being on the coast, it is probable we should find it more frequently the case than it is at present apprehended. In some seasons, off Troup-head, about six miles east from this, the shoals of herrings have been found so crowded, that the fisher-boys, by putting several hooks back to back, and sinking them with a bit of lead, in pulling them up through the shoal of herrings, seldom failed to bring up numbers.—What a treasure would a herring net have been to them!—

“ There was another thing which I proposed to the board of trustees, and which they were inclined to favour, had they not been abridged of their power and finances, by the restoration of the forfeited estates. In examining the progress of manufacturers in this and the neighbouring counties, I found that their perfection in the weaving of damask or figured linen, was greatly retarded by their total ignorance of the principles of drawing, and want of taste for elegance of design. At the same time the tradesmen
 were

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20 miles from the coast, where the herrings are larger and fatter than those taken in the Forth, or near the shores, and are nearly equal to the herrings taken in deep lochs of the west Highlands. This eastern fishery is therefore to be considered as producing herrings of two different qualities, the large and the small, and requiring two different modes of regulation. The deep water fishery is to be carried on by buffes or decked vessels, from 20 to 80 tons burthen, who ought to be at the Shetland islands early in the season, and attended by quick sailing vessels to run with their first prime herrings to Edinburgh, London, Hamburgh, Bremen, Copenhagen, and other cities where such herrings bring a high price. While their first cargoes are thus in the market, the buffes may continue the fishery down the channel till the end of the season, and in this manner the markets will be constantly fed with fresh supplies, greatly to the benefit of the merchant, the fishers, and the labouring poor, along the whole coast.

I have not been able to discover any register or authentic list of the number of decked vessels fitted out from the eastern coast, previous to the year 1750; those sent out on the bounty since that period have been very inconsiderable. There is no data, therefore, on which to form a conjecture respecting the number that might be successfully employed from this part of the kingdom. Were certain impediments removed, and encouragements given, the adventurers would be enabled to meet the Dutch and Swedes at foreign markets on equal terms, or nearly so, by which the sale would be considerably encreas-

were altogether unable to be at any expence in teaching even the most ingenious children to draw; and young artists might be found among them, who afterwards would probably be able to make a figure in advancing the finer parts of manufactures, such as printed lincens; the above mentioned damasks, &c."

ed: men possessed of adequate capitals, relying on the aid of government, and the prospect of a permanent demand, would cheerfully embark in the business, and pursue it with firmness, through all its vicissitudes of profit and loss. Upon this supposition I conjecture that three hundred busses would, in a short time, ornament these eastern shores: diffusing unspeakable benefits amongst half a million of people.

Respecting the number of boats that might at the same time be employed in the shallow water fishery, a more positive calculation may be formed, not only from former estimates, but also from the absolute certainty of an inland sale, which would increase proportionably to the extension of manufactures, population, and foreign trade, for which these coasts are most admirably adapted, in the comparative fertility of the country, the abundance of coal, salt works, and harbours; the easy communication with London, the Baltic, Germany, Holland, and Flanders; but especially from the very singular industry of the people, was that industry permitted to expand, instead of being depressed; which every real friend to his country most devoutly wishes. Supposing therefore, that all obstructions to the fisheries, and manufactures, shall be removed, the number of stout boats may very soon amount to 3000.

Consequently, the eastern fisheries will employ.

300 busses from 20 to 80 tons, navigated upon an average with 15 men each, for the most part, able seamen	—	4500
3000 large boats, built after the Scarborough manner, each carrying upon an average 5 men and a boy	—	18,000
<hr/>		
Experienced seamen, and persons advancing in that line	—	22,500
Of obstructions, bounties, foreign markets, and other particulars, which equally concern the fisheries		

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fisheries of the kingdom in general, I propose to speak hereafter. One circumstance however, requires to be mentioned in this place. Though the arrival of the great body of herrings on the coasts of Shetland be certain, and almost to a day, yet the movements of the lesser bodies or detachments, and their arrival on the southern shores, are, as before observed, extremely uncertain. Some years they seem to forsake the coast almost entirely; other years they arrive in such quantities as to occupy a space of several miles; but the time and place afford matters for speculation only. During this suspense, a few small boats venture out, in all kinds of weather, to explore the shore—they return unsuccessful—set out again on the same design—and are again unfortunate in having seen no herrings. The towns on the coast begin to despair—fresh attempts are made with no better success—the fishermen having lost much time in these fruitless pursuits, return chagrined to their starving families, and finally abandon the business for that season.

But these disappointments of the poor fishermen are comparatively trivial to the distresses of those persons who have provided a stock of salt and casks, in the sanguine hope of a successful fishing. Great, also, is the loss sustained by the labouring people, especially in seasons of scarcity, which are frequent in that country. At such times, herrings and potatoes would be a seasonable relief to thousands of numerous families, whose joint earnings at the wheel and the loom, do not exceed 6 or 7 shillings weekly, upon an average of the whole year.

Here therefore, the community, the merchant, and the state, sustain a negative loss, not from natural causes, but an ill-judged parsimony by which a few hundred pounds are saved at the expence of tens of thousands.

The herrings, though frequently undiscovered by the poor people who paddle along the shores, con-

tinue invariably their course southward, as appears from their periodical arrival on the coast of Yarmouth, a land which projects far into the sea, and thus intercepts both the shallow and deep water shoals, where they may be taken every season in great abundance.

Therefore, to insure a certain annual fishery on the eastern coasts of Scotland, it would be expedient to station a double line of cutters from one extremity of the kingdom to the other; viz. four small cutters to be employed, without intermission, in dragging the sea to the distance of six miles from the shore; and four larger vessels employed in the same manner, and to extend the line from the small vessels to the distance of thirty miles due east from land.

The herrings usually keep at some distance from the coast in July and August, and it is at this time only that the fishers follow them in the open sea. About the end of August, and until the middle of September, they come into shallow water, where they remain for some time in the bays and inlets of the coast, and this is termed the ground drave.

These circumstances being authenticated by the Dutch and Scottish fishermen, would facilitate the business of the cruisers, and render the escape of the shoals almost impossible. The stations of the vessels might be off the Murray Firth, Peterhead, Montrose, and Dunbar. Every discovery should be immediately communicated in writing, signed by the master, with the particulars and dates, to the magistrates of the town that could be first made, though such town should lie beyond the line of their cruise southward or northward. Such intelligence should also be notified to the inhabitants by the town bell, and expresses sent in writing, and signed by the magistrates, to all the adjacent towns on the coast.

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Of the Western Fishery, including a Review of the Regulations as the Law now stands, with their Operations and Effects upon the Fisheries, and those concerned therein. Also, a Retrospect into the Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Scotland; their Interpretation of the Law in certain Cases; and the Fees imposed on the Fisheries; with other Particulars.

Of the Non-payment of the Bounty.

Having brought down the history of the eastern fisheries to the present time, it is now proposed to resume the subject of the western fishery, from the period when the British company abandoned their enterprize, and sold their vessels and materials.*

It hath been observed, that in the years 49-50, government, to encourage the herring fisheries, whether carried on by companies or individuals, granted a bounty of 30 shillings per ton on the buffes employed therein; and that, in 1757, it was found expedient to extend that bounty to 50 shillings. Upon the strength of such encouragement, and relying on the punctual payment thereof, the enterprizing spirit of the west country exerted itself to the utmost; strained every nerve; bid defiance to the inclemencies of the severest weather; the dangers of the turbulent Atlantic; and thus maintained their ground, and extended the fisheries, after all attempts in other parts of Scotland had totally failed.

The number of buffes increased with astonishing rapidity; the nets, and all the apparatus of the fisheries, were every year improved; the men became more expert in navigating those difficult seas, and in taking, and curing the herrings.

The demand to Ireland, the West Indies, and for home consumption, was great. A fishery thus carried on by a persevering people, stimulated by quick

* Which brought them only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their capital.

sales, and supported, apparently, by liberal bounties, assumed for a time, every appearance of national, and individual benefit. But these flattering appearances were of short duration: the incitements held out by government proved fallacious and ruinous to all those who had turned their attention and capital to that business.

The bounty granted by parliament was tolerably well paid till the year 1766, and the adventurers, whose circumstances in general admitted of no delay, had till then, either obtained payment in a few months, or got their bounties disposed of to bankers at 5 to 7½ per cent. discount. But, on the return of the fleet in January 1766, such of their owners as had the misfortune to reside in Scotland, were thunder-struck on finding they could neither receive payment of the bounties, nor prevail on any banking companies to discount them at any price; while their companions in the same fishery from the western coasts of England, were paid at sight.* The Scottish adventurers were told that the fund appropriated for paying the bounties within that kingdom was already anticipated for some years, and no money could be paid till the prior bounties were discharged.

These persons had, by their industry, perseverance, and the assistance of friends, increased the number of buxses between 1762 and 1768, from 17 to 261. The aggregate burden amounted to 12,476 tons; the number of persons whom they had drawn into their service, from idleness, indigence, the spade or the plow, and who were now become expert seamen, was 2881.

From this deduction and statement, the reader may easily conceive the bad policy of thus overturning a business of such consequence to the state,

* The English bounty was paid from the general revenue of the nation; while the payment of the Scottish bounty was issued from one branch only of the revenue in Scotland; which, falling short of the demands made upon it, left the poor fishers of that kingdom without remedy.

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to the sugar islands, and to thousands of persons who now depended upon this branch, at home. The shock occasioned by the disappointment was not only felt severely by persons immediately concerned in the fishery, and who had stretched their credit to their utmost limits; but also by their neighbours, friends, and kinsmen; by merchants, coopers, blacksmiths, and other persons who had assisted them in the various operations and disbursements of the business. The unexpected stroke fell particularly heavy upon those classes of men, who build and navigate our ships; who fight our battles, protect our commerce, and defend our coast. From the same cause, also, hundreds of persons, whose industry would otherwise have been lost to the public, now saw themselves deprived of that comfortable subsistence which their labours had recently procured. The old and the young, persons of both sexes, and at either verge of life, who, though unable or unqualified for other labours, found employment in spinning hemp, net-making, gutting, packing, and other branches which the fishery affords.

Such were some of the consequences to various descriptions of people, from inattention, or ill-judged policy, in withholding the trifle which those industrious and useful members of the community had a right to expect. But the mischief did not end here. The nature of a fishery requires a long preparation in a variety of expensive articles, as shipping, boats, nets, casks, and salt. Nearly 261 busses had in 5 years been raised, through an exertion scarcely to be exceeded by any body of people in those stations of life, and under the same scanty circumstances. These vessels being in 1766 engaged in a promising fishery, and the bounty, till then, having been well paid; a new fleet was consequently on the stocks; timber, pitch, tar, sails, cordage, and salt were provided, commissioned, or on ship-board.

The coopers had made, and were employed, al-

most day and night in making, from 50 to 60,000 barrels; every department were busily engaged in their respective branches.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the channels of expenditure into which the adventurers, and all persons depending on that business, had further embarked for extending the fishery; neither can we form an estimate of the aggregate amount. But though we cannot ascertain, with precision, the positive expence of works then going on, we may draw some inference, and form a probable conjecture, from a statement of the expences of 261 buffes already afloat.

The building a bufs of 60 tons, and equip- ping her for the fishery in boats, net- ting, &c. costs the owners, exclusive of casks, salt, provisions, and mens wages, 709l. consequently, the prime cost of 261 buffes, besides occasional repairs, and fresh sets of nets, amounted to	}	185,049
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As preparations were then making for prosecuting the fishery with redoubled vigour, and upon the most extensive scale, we cannot conjecture the positive disbursements, and the engagements in which those venturous men had again embarked, at less than —	}	100,000
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£. 285,049

To this statement may be added the real or apparent loss, sustained by the indivi- duals of Campbeltown, who, from the year 1750, when the bounty was first granted, had upon speculation, built many expensive houses of stone, lime, and slate; which loss, operating in va- rious ways amongst a great number of persons, could not be less than	}	50,000
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£. 335,049

Here therefore was a sum far exceeding general conjecture, of which one part was positively sunk, and the other part in a train of being expended on a property wherein the proprietors had sufficient reason to rely, till the stoppage of the bounty; when this property suddenly fell in value, became a dead stock, and could neither be sold nor transferred on any conditions.

Universal dejection, complaints, and murmurs pervaded the whole western coasts of the kingdom; a general suspicion, every man of his neighbour, friend, or brother, succeeded to mutual confidence and reciprocal good offices. The payment of the bounty, even at any distant period, became doubtful. In the mean time, numbers of those men who had unfortunately embarked in expensive undertakings upon the faith of parliament, unable any longer to pacify their creditors, found themselves reduced to the sad alternative of public bankruptcy, a jail, or of flying to a country destined to become the asylum of the unfortunate, the injured, and the oppressed from all parts of these kingdoms, and of Europe.

The more affluent or fortunate number, who had been able to discharge their engagements, seeing themselves still in possession of the vessels and materials, were obliged to struggle with the fishery against all impediments, or suffer the buffes to rot in the harbours. The intreaties of the idle, the indigent, the widow and the fatherless, who depended on this business for daily support, contributed also to quicken the resolves of the owners, who, during the four succeeding years, fitted out the following number of buffes, on the supposed Scottish bounty, besides a number of vessels who repaired to Whitehaven, to clear out on the English bounty, then regularly paid.

In 1767	—	—	—	263
1768	—	—	—	202
1769	—	—	—	89
1770	—	—	—	19

The

The patience and abilities of the adventurers being now completely exhausted, and the old bounty still unpaid, the scene of distress which operated amongst all orders of persons exceeded that of any former period.

Every man was eager to transfer his property, upon any terms, to avoid the horrors of a jail; many vessels were attached and sold at half their value; and happy was he who could assign over his bounty certificates at a discount so low as 30 per cent. Many of the adventurers thus ruined and undone, found it necessary to contemplate new objects whereby themselves and their families might be supported. In this manner, the British fishery begun in 1750, under the vigorous support of government, was at the expiration of 20 years, almost annihilated, with the loss of 4 or 500,000*l.* to the subjects of the two kingdoms, while foreigners were gaining that sum annually by the fisheries of the Scottish seas, with which they supplied Europe and the West Indies.

During this melancholy state of the business, certain persons thought of an expedient which soon after took place, and again revived the hopeless, dejected mind. Experience had convinced the fishers that a small bounty well paid, was preferable in its operation, to a nominal large bounty, withheld for a series of years, and at length producing only 70 per cent. They accordingly made a proposal to accept 30 shillings per ton instead of 50; which being agreed to by government, the 50 shillings bounty was declared to cease, and in lieu thereof, a bounty of 30 shillings was to commence in 1771, and to be punctually paid from the Scottish revenue at large, upon producing authenticated certificates that the respective claimants had in all cases faithfully conformed to the regulations specified in the statute.

The effects of regular payments may be seen in the annexed table, wherein it appears that between 1770, and 1776, the number of buffes on the Scot-

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tish bounty had increased from 19 to 294. The fishery was carried on in summer, as well as in winter. The money received from the merchants and the exchequer circulated through every bay, lake, and channel; extended to the cabins of the interior parts, and reached the most distant islands, when an unexpected event, co-operating with the scantiness of the bounty, once more involved these devoted men in a series of hardships and misfortunes. This was the American, and afterwards, the French, Spanish, and Dutch wars; a severe and unexpected stroke, unparalleled in former wars, and it is hoped will never again happen at any one period of time. All supplies of staves, tar, salt, and other materials, were nearly cut off, and rose to an exorbitant price; which, with the necessity of an enlarged capital, rendered the bus's fishery a losing trade to all those, without exception, who were unhappily engaged in it.

The rise in the price of certain articles was thus,

	Before the war.	During the war.	
Spanish and Portugal salt } per bushel —	0 1 6	0 3 0	
Barrels for herrings	0 2 6	0 5 3	
Tar per barrel —	0 8 0	2 2 0	
Best hemp per cwt. weight	1 14 0	2 6 0	

While seamens wages, provisions, and various materials, rose to a height unknown in any former period. The fishery of course declined, and though we are now at peace with mankind; though the bounty is now regularly paid; the number of busses fitted out in 1783, amounted only to 153; and this leads to an enquiry whether there do not exist certain obstructions to this, and all other Scottish fisheries, which it would be expedient to remove.

Of the Time of Clearing Out.

It hath been observed, that the arrival of the herrings on the coast of Shetland is certain and almost to a day, on or before the 22d of June, when the buffes and yawgers of various nations are ready to receive, and forward them without delay, to their respective countries.

Such hath ever been the foresight, expedition, and wise policy, of the Dutch in particular; while, on our part, the nature and business of the fisheries have been so little understood, or so shackled by misrepresentation and unnecessary restraints, that almost every statute relative to the Hebride fishery, however well intended by the legislature, has, in a greater or lesser degree, defeated its own purpose.

We have also observed, that the Dutch follow the eastern shoals without ceasing, in their migrations from the Shetland islands southward; and we have likewise recommended the same practice to the British buffes fitted out on that side of the kingdom, by which we may, as Sir William Monson observes, "undertake the Hollanders with our own weapons; and equal them with pinks, buffes, and other vessels; till we be made partners with them in their fishery." It is now proposed to state the distinction between the eastern and western fisheries, and to suggest such amendments as seem best adapted to the latter, the conveniency of the adventurers, and the merchants trading to the West Indies.

The passage to Shetland from Holland, Ham-
burgh, Denmark, and the eastern side of Great
Britain, is through an open sea, uninterrupted with
islands, rocks, or far projecting capes; infomuch,
that

that in moderate weather, it is usually performed in a few days. On the other hand, the passage from Greenock, Port Glasgow, and other towns on the Clyde, is attended with such hazards, expences, damages, and delays, that it is seldom attempted; and therefore the adventurers, instead of proceeding to the North Seas, which, upon an average, would take up more time than a voyage to Newfoundland, wish to clear out for the Hebrides, Loch Broom, and other openings upon the coast of Inverness and Ross shires, where, in the summer and autumn, they would fall in with the shoals, as they advance towards the south. It might, therefore, be supposed that the laws had been so framed or explained, as to enable the western fisheries to be on the spot in due time to avail themselves of the offered bounty, and to follow the shoals through all their wanderings, amidst that Archipelago of three hundred islands. The people understood, that the statute passed in 1771 had this in view, and that these words, “and shall be at the place of rendezvous of the said fisheries, *on or before the twenty-second day of June, for the east coast; and on or before the first day of October, for the west coast,*” gave them a discretionary power of clearing out at such times, between the twenty-second of June and the first day of October, as might be most suitable to their respective circumstances. They accordingly prepared to clear out, and be at the place of rendezvous agreeable to the express conditions of the statute; but great was their surprize, when they were informed by the commissioners of the revenue at Edinburgh, that those who failed *before the first day of October,* would forfeit all title to the bounty. The whole coast was alarmed; every man advised with his neighbour upon a proceeding so singular and extraordinary. They referred to the act; pleaded upon
the

the obvious interpretation thereof; represented the distresses, should the bounty be withheld, to their families, their creditors, and all the descriptions of people who had depended upon the words of the legislature. Still greater was their surprize, when an explanation of the words *on or before* was demanded from council, and they were answered, that *on or before*, meant *on and not before*.*

In this manner were those useful members of society thwarted and perplexed by the servants of the public, contrary to the intention of government, and the spirit of the law. But, however justly they might ridicule this explanation, there was no remedy or redress. "Sir, if you do not comply with the law, as explained by our council, you shall not be entitled to any bounty," was the language, or rather the jargon of oppression, under which this fishery struggled till 1779, when the adventurers triumphed over these persons, by virtue of an act, empowering them to be at the place of rendezvous any time between the first day of August, and the first of October in each year.

But even the law itself is still defective in this respect. Experience and observation have discovered that the herrings are fish of passage; that at one time they direct their course by the mainland, and at another, by the islands; that the period and place of their appearance, depend much on the state of winds and weather; that as they swim near the surface, the other elements as well as the sea, have great influence upon their motions, as thunder and lightning, by which they are greatly affected. These considerations, therefore, afford unanswerable arguments in favour of a free, discretionary power to

* Printed memorial of the adventurers in the British white herring fishery.

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the fishers respecting the time of clearing out, and the destination of the buffes. Those men are, and ever will be, the best judges of time and place.

The herrings in their movements pay no regard to acts of parliament; they are governed generally by the laws of nature, and partially, or accidentally, by the elements and seasons. They come and go, appear and disappear, agreeable to these circumstances. Their movements are also governed in some measure, by the tides, currents, bays, and headlands of the Hebrides. By these they are hurried on, kept back, and driven from shore to shore; sometimes filling the lochs of the mainland, at other times crowding upon the coast of the Long Island, at the distance of forty miles westward. As they invariably follow a southern course, after leaving the Shetland Islands, they reach the Hebrides in July, and keep pressing forward amidst this intricate labyrinth, till the beginning of September, when they go into deep water; or in other words, when the great body of the herrings have reached the Irish seas.

Fresh shoals appear in November, and continue till January, when they become useless for commerce; but whether these herrings be the remains of the former shoals in their return from the circumnavigation of Britain and Ireland, or a new migration from the frozen regions, is a matter of uncertainty.

The knowledge of real importance to mankind, respects the time of arrival, of sojourning, and departure of the herrings. Those circumstances being fully ascertained, it is, or should be, the object of the buffes to be on the fishing grounds before the shoals have reached the Hebrides; completely equipped for taking and curing; accompanied, at the same time, with quick sailing vessels, for the purpose of conveying the herrings to the ports of the Clyde, where the West India ships wait impatiently

tiently their arrival. Therefore, instead of limiting the departure of the buffes to the first of August, it would be expedient to say, *any time after the first of June*, and totally to abolish all distinctions of a summer and winter fishery, leaving the buffes in full possession of the seas, and in the free liberty of following the herrings from place to place; of returning home, going out a second time, and in all respects a discretionary power to act as their respective views, and circumstances may dictate.

Of the Places of Rendezvous.

By the statute of 1750, the buffes, after being examined at the respective ports from whence they cleared out for the Hebride fishery, were to rendezvous on or before a stipulated day, at the port of Campbeltown; a restriction without an object, though attended with inconveniencies, expence, and frequently great delays in the outward-bound voyage, by which the season was wasted or lost, the adventurers injured, and the West India vessels unnecessarily detained from prosecuting their voyages. The port of Campbeltown; lies at the distance of sixty miles from Greenock, and though in the track of the buffes to the Hebrides, no vessel would stop there unless driven thither by storms or contrary winds.

After a ship hath got her clearance, and is fairly in the open sea, she spreads and adjusts her sails to the winds then blowing, and to all the variations thereof, eagerly embracing every favourable gale, and thus stretches on towards the destined port, without the loss of a day or even an hour, on the part of the mariners. This scrupulous regard to time, is not always owing to the importance of an hour or a day, which in some voyages is of little consequence, but to the hazards of unfavourable winds or weather, by which a vessel that goes into a port with a view to turn out next morning, may be detained in
such

such port, during a period equal to the time in which she might have completed a short voyage, had she kept in the open sea. This is particularly the case with all vessels which put in at Campbeltown. The bay is capacious, safe, and abundantly deep for vessels of any burden; but the entrance is so remarkably narrow that no vessel can get out with a strong head-wind, and consequently the whole fleet of buffes, by putting in at that place, are obstructed in their voyage; and should the wind check about before next day they run the chance of being detained from one to two or three weeks. In the mean time 1000 men or upwards are living in idleness, consuming the provisions, and otherwise incurring expences, to the detriment of their families and the owners; while the season is exhausted, and the herrings are moving from the shores.

The inconveniencies of limiting the place of rendezvous to this port were, consequently, represented to government, and in the statute of 1778, it was left to the option of the adventurers to rendezvous either at Campbeltown or Stranrawer. From the latter place vessels can get in or out almost with any wind, and the bay or loch is also commodious and safe. But notwithstanding the natural advantages of this bay, (known by the name of Loch Ryan) the buffes found no great relief therefrom.

Their course to the Hebrides is by the Cape of Cantire; which having doubled, they proceed due north. Campbeltown, the place of rendezvous appointed by the former act of parliament, is situated near the extremity of this cape, and consequently in the direct track of the buffes to the place of their destination. Whereas Stranrawer lies at the distance of forty miles south-east of the cape, and the same number of miles out of the course of all vessels bound from the Clyde to the Hebrides. To make this intelligible to our English readers, let us suppose that a number of vessels cleared out annually

O. from

from London to the herring fishery off Yarmouth, upon a bounty—that to be entitled to this bounty, they were required to rendezvous upon a fixed day in Ramsgate harbour, at the mouth of the Thames; but, upon a representation of the difficulties and delays in making that harbour, and also in getting out of it, parliament should pass an act whereby the vessels might have it in their option to rendezvous at Ramsgate, or if the winds did not serve for that harbour, they might steer for the port of Calais, on the opposite side of the channel, shew themselves to the custom-house officers of that port, and from thence return to the fishing grounds off Yarmouth.

The case of the buffes from the Clyde is exactly similar; they must either stop their course, however fair the winds, and put in at Campbeltown, or bear away to the extent of forty miles out of the track of the fisheries, to which they must again return through the same navigation. Whoever, therefore, advised government in the framing these laws, knew little of the nature of maritime affairs; neither were those laws necessary in any respect whatever. The vessels fitted out at Campbeltown and Stranrawer, rendezvous at those places only; may not also, the vessels fitted out at Greenock, Port Glasgow, Rothsay, and other ports of the Clyde, rendezvous at their respective ports, each of which being accommodated with a custom-house. If the rendezvous of the buffes hath any meaning or object, it is this; that the custom-house officers shall have free permission to go on board, examine the size of the respective vessels, their nets, and number of men; which is nothing more than a repetition of what had been done upon clearing out, and is therefore unnecessary, or may be rendered so by an amendment in the act, ordering a second examination by his ma-

jefty's cutters, at any time or place while the vessels are upon the fishing grounds, as at Braffa Sound, Loch Broom, or the Long Island; by this all evasion of the law would be impracticable, and the purposes of government effectually answered, at no expence or delay to the parties concerned. It is therefore proposed, that the practice of a general rendezvous at Campbeltown, or elsewhere in the West Highlands, do cease, and that every vessel after having cleared out, shall be permitted to proceed directly to the fisheries.

Of the Delays, Dangers, and Losses arising from the Passage by the Mull of Cantire.

But all the various inconveniencies and discouragements above enumerated are trivial, when compared to the delays, hazards, damages, loss of vessels, cargoes and men, in the outward and homeward navigation by the Mull of Cantire. By Cantire is meant, a narrow peninsula, which stretches forty miles from the mainland of Scotland, in a southern direction, till it approaches within twenty miles of the county of Antrim in the north of Ireland. By this narrow passage between the two kingdoms, all the shipping of the Clyde pass to and from the West Highlands, the Hebrides, and the Atlantic.

The distance from Greenock to the promontory or cape, which terminates this peninsula, usually called the Mull of Cantire,* is above sixty miles in a south-

* *Mull*, or, as it is called by the Highlanders, *Moil*, seems to be the Gallic term for cape, and hath been adopted by the Lowlanders in two instances only, viz. the Mull of Cantire, and the Mull of Galloway, the two southern extremities on the west side of the kingdom.

west direction; but if we include the course of shipping thither, the islands to be avoided, the tacks and evolutions occasioned by contrary winds, and lee-shores, we may estimate the voyages from Greenock upon an average, at eighty miles each; which eighty miles, being a circuitous navigation, that must be made good on the opposite side of the cape, till the vessels have got so far northward as to be on a line with Greenock, the place from whence they set out, occasions an extra navigation of 120 miles; or 240 miles outward and homeward, to every vessel or boat passing from the Clyde to the West Highlands. The loss of time, the expence in provisions and seamens wages in performing this voyage, must be obvious to every reader; while a consideration of still greater importance remains to be mentioned. As there are no lands between this cape and America, and the prevailing winds being generally from that quarter, across an ocean of 3000 miles, the collective force of these winds, and the weight of the Atlantic, fall with the most tremendous and awful velocity on the cape; which, had it not been composed of solid rock, must have yielded, long since, to those raging elements. Vessels, therefore, whether outward or homeward bound, but more especially the former, are frequently under the necessity of taking shelter in some commodious port, creek, or bay, till the storms abate, till the winds prove favourable, and the passage becomes practicable. For, unless the wind be moderate as well as fair, the buffes and other small vessels dare not proceed, and those who are hardy enough to make the attempt in rough weather, frequently founder in the cross and rapid tides that run at the cape, and add very considerably to its dangers.

Nor are these the only difficulties that the buffes have to encounter in this navigation. The wind that favoured the voyage down the Firth of Clyde, becomes,

becomes, consequently, adverse, after having doubled the cape, when the vessels have to steer in an opposite direction, and to encounter new toils and hazards.

Thus, the Hebride fishery, though an object of great importance, not only to that country, but to the support of the sugar islands, labours under every possible difficulty; and as all the hopes of the adventurers, depend on a speedy fishery, and a quick sale, nothing can prove more discouraging than the impediments and uncertainty of this circumnavigation; Was the western navigation shortened, and these dangers and delays cut off, the adventurers would be enabled to bring their fish to market in proper time, which, from the above mentioned causes, cannot be accomplished at present with any degree of certainty. Ships, it is well known, often wait several weeks in the ports of the Clyde for the arrival of the herrings, and are frequently obliged to sail without them. Thus the adventurers lose their market for the season; the merchants lose their freights, the planters their supply of provisions, and the unhappy negroes their regular support. Soon after the departure of these ships, the buffes which had been detained on the west-side of the cape by unfavourable weather, arrive, not singly, but in fleets, which occasions a glut in the home market, greatly to the prejudice of the adventurers in general; while some are totally disabled from continuing the business.

Against such a multiplicity of evils, nature hath fortunately provided a remedy, in forming a short isthmus across the peninsula of Cantire, which admits of an inland passage, whereby this long and difficult navigation may be avoided.

Of the Restriction which prohibits the Busses from purchasing Herrings from the Highland Boats.

It seems evident, from tradition and history, that the French and Spaniards frequented the Hebrides in very early times, where they trafficked with the natives for fish. By this, may be understood that the Scots were the fishers, and that foreigners were the carriers.

It is probable, that this fishery was carried on by little open boats or birlins, such as the Highlanders generally use at the present day. The Scottish legislature, in later times, laboured to enforce a more effectual and extensive mode of carrying on the fisheries, by obliging not only the royal boroughs, but also the nobility and principal gentry, to fit out busses and pink boats for the fisheries throughout the whole kingdom. Though the Hebrides and the opposite shores, far removed from the seat of government, were, it may be supposed, scarcely within the reach of those laws, yet we find certain regulations in the reign of James III. respecting the Hebride fishery. Each boat in Scotland paid a certain quantity of fish to the crown, which composed a part of the hereditary revenue. Part of this duty was farmed by the family of Argyll, who also had a jurisdiction annexed, for regulating the fishing, between the Pentland Firth and the Mull of Galloway, and punishing those who trespassed against the laws.

This jurisdiction included what is properly named the Hebride or Western Fishery, the thoroughfare, if it may be so called, of the great western shoal of herrings, in their annual tour from the Shetland islands to Ireland, which, in the opinion of some writers, they environ, and from whence they return by the opposite channel, in the same manner as the eastern shoals environ Great Britain, and return north by the western channel.

There

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There was also an inland fishery on this side the Mull of Cantire, promiscuously called the Clyde, or Lochfine fishery, because these copious waters communicate with each other, and with fundry inferior lakes, as Loch Long, Loch Strevan, Gare Loch, the Hele Loch; the whole being the occasional resort of small detachments of the herrings from the main body in their southern course.

This inland fishery was chiefly carried on by the inhabitants of Glasgow, Dunbarton and Airshire, till the reign of Charles II. when the royal British company, of which the king was a partner, built a large house and cellars at the bay of St. Lawrence, now called Greenock, situated 22 miles below Glasgow, which they made the seat of their trade and exports. When the company dissolved in 1684, their buildings at Greenock were purchased at public sale by the magistrates and town council of Glasgow, who were prosecuting the Clyde fisheries with great spirit and perseverance, by boats built after the manner of little galleys: each boat had four men, and twenty-four nets, every net being six fathoms long, and one and a half in breadth, which nets being joined together, made a considerable length for such narrow waters. Of these boats 900 were frequently employed. The fishing began on the 25th of July, when the herrings were observed to come from the sea, and continued till the 25th of December. The boats or draves, being under no restrictions whatever, generally made three fishings in the season. A part of the herrings were sold to the inhabitants, some were made into red herrings; but the greatest quantity was exported to different parts of Europe, particularly to France, the antient ally of the Scottish nation. In 1674, there were exported to Rochelle 1700 lasts, or 20,400 barrels, besides considerable exports to other towns in France, to Sweden, Dantzick, and different parts of the Baltic. One Gibson, a merchant at Glasgow, cured and packed in one year 3600 barrels.

which he sent to St. Martins in France, and brought brandy and salt in return. Another merchant of the name of Anderson, first imported white wines into Glasgow, which he procured in exchange for his herrings. But the Clyde fishery decayed after the union, owing partly to the duties on imports and exports, custom-house fees, and other clogs upon commerce, in consequence of that treaty, by which the French market was lost, and the friendship of that nation alienated. Other causes may also be assigned for the decay of this fishery; particularly the failure of the herrings, which are now seldom found in any considerable quantity; the growth of the Newfoundland fishery; and lastly, the rise of the trade to America, which diverted the capitals of the merchants to new channels, and gave full employment to the seafaring and labouring people on the Clyde. The demand, however, from Ireland, Stockholm, and the West Indies, kept the fishery alive, though in a very limited degree, and in this state it remained till the year 1750, when government adopted a new method of reviving the British fisheries in general, by means of bounties. This encouragement would have ensured success to the busk fishery, had not the liberality of government been counterpoised by the checks before stated, as well as those that remain to be mentioned.

By the bounty laws, the busses were prohibited from purchasing herrings from the Highland boats, on penalty of forfeiting the bounty; and instead thereof, they were to fish for the herrings themselves, till the expiration of three months from the time of their clearing out, unless they had sooner completed their loading. This restraint was a grievous hardship to the poor natives, whose fisheries were thus limited to their own consumption; and the supply of the thinly inhabited wilds of their neighbourhood. It ruined their fishery, discouraged industry, and left these unhappy people solely at the mercy of every

every superior who might choose to oppress them in all their operations by land and water.

This law, which seems to have been dictated by persons of no nautical knowledge, was equally discouraging to the proprietors of the busses on the western side of the kingdom. The object which government had principally in view by these bounties, was the raising a numerous body of intrepid, hardy seamen, skilled in the principles of practical navigation, who might be ready upon every emergency to man the royal navy. With this view it was judged expedient to oblige the busses to remain on the fishing grounds during a given period, and there to be employed in the exercise of fishing.

It hath already been observed that there are two methods of taking the herrings. First, the floating fisheries, by constantly dragging the sea, under sail, as practised by the Dutch. Secondly, the stationary or ground fisheries, upon the shores, bays, or lakes, where the busses cast anchor, and remain passive during the whole period of the fishery, which is performed in the following manner. Every buss hath one, two, or three small boats and a proportionable number of men and nets. From these boats the nets are suspended and hauled in successively, between sun-set and day-light next morning, when the men, fatigued and drenched in wet, board their respective busses.

This method of fishing, therefore, instead of training seamen, subjects the men to unnecessary hardships, the vessels to various accidents, the owners to burdensome expenditures in provisions, liquors, and wages, while the merchants or purchasers are equal, if not greater sufferers, by the delays occasioned through this tedious method of procuring cargoes. And, it is also certain, that though the busses are thus detained upon a sedentary fishery, they seldom return home with more than half their loading ;
whereas

whereas a permission to purchase herrings, as well as to fish, would enable the vessels to return earlier, and with better cargoes, to the mutual benefit of all parties concerned, from the poor half-starved Highlander upon the shores of the Hebrides, to the equally wretched being who toils under the burning sun of the West-Indies.

Since therefore, the mere act of fishing, while the vessel lies at anchor, is extremely discouraging to that branch in every respect, as well as to individuals of all descriptions; and, since it is likewise evident, that this restraining method answers no beneficial purpose to government, it would be expedient to allow those people a free discretionary power to take, to purchase, or do both; and in every respect to act as circumstances may dictate for their own interest.

All the purposes of government are effectually answered *in the voyages to and from the fishing grounds*. No seas between the two extremes of the earth are better adapted for training mariners; insomuch, that the Hebride fishery may be justly styled the school of navigation. In a voyage to America, or the Cape of Good Hope, the vessel follows one course; and as the winds keep mostly in one direction, the sails are set, and the men remain inactive, or nearly so, after leaving Ireland, till they approach the distant land. But in a voyage from the Clyde to the usual resorts of the herrings on the north-west shores of Scotland, the vessel no sooner clears one cape, than another appears; which, to weather, is most generally attended with difficulties and hazards: the helm must be in the hands of an experienced seaman; the sails and rigging require unremitting attention; the men are constantly in motion, struggling and toiling without ceasing, day and night: and so hazardous and fatiguing is this navigation through the winter, when the frequent hurricanes threaten destruction on every side, that the safe return of the buffes seems miraculous to

men who have spent their lives in the mercantile service, or the royal navy.

The seamanship acquired in these narrow channels would be still further promoted by permitting the vessels; instead of lying at anchor in the lochs, to load and carry home at pleasure, because the same vessels would have a chance of making two or three voyages in the season, instead of one. This is the method observed by the Dutch: Some vessels send home their cargo by yawgers that attend the fisheries for that purpose; while others, are their own carriers.

“The instant the buffes have discharged their cargo, they are refitted for sea; and as the herrings make an annual tour round Great Britain, experience has taught the Dutchman where to proceed on his second voyage, and to be sure of his game. While the buffes are out on their second voyage, the proprietors on shore are busy in taking out the fish packed at sea, and repacking them with fresh pickle for exportation.”

This is also the practice of the Irish buffes, who being under no restraints, frequently make their cargoes in a few days, which they land at Belfast, Dublin, or Cork, from whence they return immediately for another cargo, and are again loaded with surprising dispatch.

Thus the Irish, Dutch, and all nations who engage in the fisheries, are enabled to go to market early, and successively, while the Scots are detained at anchor in the lochs of the North Highlands till the markets have been supplied by their neighbours.

I shall close this subject with a recent circumstance which adds considerable weight to the arguments in favour of an unlimited fishery. The winter herrings generally frequent the coast of Donnegal in Ireland during the months of October, November, December, and part of January; but in

1784, they did not appear till the 30th of December, and then in one place only. Had the Irish fishery been under the same restrictions as that of Scotland, confined to a bus fishing only, no great capture could have been made during the few remaining days of the fishing season. But by means of 450 country boats, 300 buffes were nearly loaded between the 30th of Dec. and the middle of January, which from the failure of the Scottish and Swedish fisheries, brought an extraordinary price, both for home and foreign demand.

Of the Restraints respecting the Irish Fishery, by the Commissioners of the Customs at Edinburgh, contrary to the Statutes.

As the great western shoal of herrings falls upon the north coast of Scotland, and continues its course southwards till interrupted by the coast of Donnegal in Ireland, nature seems to have intended this shoal for the joint benefit of both kingdoms, and consequently, the respective inhabitants being the constituent members of the same empire, should be allowed to follow the fishing from place to place, and in all respects to enjoy the same privileges and protection in their persons and property.

This being the idea of the Scottish adventurers, they resolved to follow and to take the herrings upon any part of those extensive shores; but the construction put by the commissioners of the customs, upon the present existing laws for regulating the herring fisheries, involved those devoted men in new and unexpected calamities. It was declared that no herrings could be admitted to entry, either for home consumption or exportation, that did not appear upon the oath of the master or owners to have been caught on the coast of Scotland, excluding by this means, all herrings taken or procured upon the coasts of Ireland and the Isle of Man.

The adventurers on the other hand, upon look-

ing into the laws relative to the fisheries, could not discover upon what grounds the distinction was made between herrings taken on the coasts and bays of Scotland, and the coasts and bays of Ireland and the Isle of Man; nor were they able to trace the causes of this restriction, to any sources in the least degree connected with the security of his majesty's revenue, or calculated to promote the increase of seamen, or any other political advantage connected with the honour or interest of the state. But all remonstrances in favour of the fisheries, however well grounded, were in vain. The commissioners, who seemed to have set their faces against that branch, remained inexorable.

In consequence of this persevering obstinacy, a paper was drawn up in 1783, under the following title: "To the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury; The humble petition of the convention of the royal boroughs in Scotland, in behalf of the merchants and others concerned in the white herring fishery."

This spirited conduct of the convention had the desired effect, and in 1784, the commissioners of the customs at Edinburgh issued a circular letter, acknowledging that the acts of parliament, the xi. and xix. of his present majesty, gave the most unlimited scope for carrying on the herring fishery in any part of the British seas.

The words of the law are these: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every person or persons employed in the said fisheries, may fish in any part of the *British seas*, and shall have and exercise the free use of all ports and harbours, shores and forelands, *in Great Britain, or the islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain*, below the highest high water mark, and for the space of 400 yards on any waste or uncultivated land beyond such mark within the land, for landing their nets, calks,

casks, and other materials, utensils and stores, and for erecting tents, huts, and stages, and for the landing, gutting, pickling, and re-loading their fish, and in drying their nets, without paying any foreland or other dues, or any other sum or sums of money, or other consideration whatever, for such liberty. And if any person or persons shall presume to demand or receive any dues, sums of money, or other consideration whatever, for the use of any such ports, harbours, shores, or forelands within the limits aforesaid, or shall obstruct the fishermen, or other persons employed in the taking or curing of fish, or drying their nets, in the use of the same, every person so offending, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of 100*l.* to be recovered and levied in manner herein after directed. Provided always, that nothing in this act contained, shall extend to exempt the vessels or boats employed in the said fisheries from the payment of such harbour or pier dues as are, and by the law ought to be demanded for ships, vessels, or boats, in piers or harbours which are built or artificially made; but that such harbour or pier dues shall be paid, in like manner as the same were liable to be paid before the passing of this act."

The above extract is then fully inserted for the information of all persons concerned directly or indirectly with the fisheries, and who have no opportunities of perusing the acts of parliament at large. It shows the ardent zeal and attention of government, for promoting, by every possible means, that great national object; which, on the other hand, it hath been the uniform practice of certain revenue officers to depress; even to the counteracting the law itself, though expressed in such plain terms that a child of ten years old would comprehend it on the first glance.

One statute expressly says that the buffes shall be permitted to depart for the fisheries *on or before the*
1st

1st day of October. The revenue officers declared, *That, on and before, meant, on, and not before.*

Another statute expressly says, *That all persons employed in the fisheries, may fit out for any part of the British seas, or the islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain.* But the licences granted by the revenue officers to the buffes on clearing out, bore, *that such a vessel was to proceed to the North-west Highlands;* and the oaths administered on the sufferance inwards, was, *that the herrings were caught on the coasts of Scotland.* Those who could not take this oath had the mortification to find themselves deprived of the parliamentary bounty, as well as the drawback on exportation of the herrings, which government allows in lieu of the duty upon salt used in curing the fish. There was a wanton cruelty in these restrictions which those only, who are acquainted with the western coasts, and the nature of the fisheries, can fully comprehend. The herrings for some years past did not appear in such quantities as formerly. In 1782, the coast seemed to be totally abandoned by the shoals; yet during these years they crowded upon the north coast of Ireland and the Isle of Man, where the Scots were precluded from following them. Thus, though the statutes are clear and decided, it would seem that their spirit evaporates in a journey of 400 miles; and the fishers are obliged to struggle for a time under the spurious decrees of subordinate officers. Upon the whole, the losses and injuries, positive and negative, sustained in consequence of these restrictions, by the merchants, adventurers, carpenters, coopers, and thousands of labouring people, cannot be estimated at less than 100,000*l.* besides the injury done to the public, in thus counteracting the exertions of government for raising a body of men, on whom our commerce, our colonies, and even our existence, as a free, imperial empire, depend.

Fees exacted by the Revenue Officers—Expensive Journies, and Attendancies of the Owners or Masters of Busses, to, and at, the Custom-Houses, with other Particulars.

It hath ever been the policy of states to form their fishery laws on the simplest principles; to adapt them to circumstances and local situations; and, particularly, to guard against unnecessary expences, vexatious attendancies, and custom-house impositions.

The forms and papers at these offices in Scotland are, however, so numerous, perplexing and expensive, to the owners or masters of the busses, that many persons who could fit out small vessels from 20 to 40 tons are discouraged from the attempt; and even those who embark in larger undertakings are full of complaints on this head.

The fees on a buss of 64 tons are thus:

To the collector and comptroller out-wards and inwards	—	—	1	10	0
Bounty bond	—	—	0	7	6
Duty on provisions or stores	—	—	0	2	11
Land-waiter and surveyor	—	—	0	10	6
Coast coquet to Greenock with the herrings for sale	—	—	0	2	6
Certificate of salt and herrings being landed	—	—	0	1	6
Coast-bond	—	—	0	7	6
Land-waiters at Greenock	—	—	0	2	6
Upstair fees at ditto	—	—	0	4	6
Fees upon a cargo of 300 barrels, at 2d. each barrel	—	—	2	10	0
Salt-bond on exportation	—	—	0	7	6
Certificate for cancelling	—	—	0	1	6
Settling salt accounts annually	—	—	0	10	6

£. 6 18 11

Brought

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Brought over	—	—	6	18	11
Cumbra light-house	—	—	0	5	6
Greenwich hospital	—	—	1	8	0
			£. 8 12 5		

To this we are to add the expences in journeys and attendancies at the offices; particularly the journey to Edinburgh for payment of the bounty, viz. from

	Miles.
Dunbarton	58
Port Glasgow	64
Greenock	66
Irwin	69
Air	76
Saltcoats	76
Rothfay	80
Invereray	115
Stranrawer	126
Cambeltown	177
Oban, and the South Hebrides upon an average	} 150
Stronaway, and the North Coast upon an average	} 250

Besides the expences of these journeys, or commission paid to agents, the person who receives the bounty at Edinburgh is probably subject to a payment of additional fees; which, with all the before-mentioned disbursements, may be estimated at 15*l.* and if to these we add the expences in the rendezvous, at Campbeltown or elsewhere as before stated, the total sum of petty expenditures cannot upon an average be less than 20*l.* exclusive of the bonds, &c. for salt from year to year, exceeding credibility.

Importance of the Western Busb Fishery—Difficulties of the Adventurers, arising from natural Causes—Expediency of increasing the Bounty—Plan of a Bounty per Barrel on Fish taken, impracticable—A Boat Fishery recommended—The Means of establishing it.

Having stated fundry restrictions, which in the experiment have proved detrimental to the busb fisheries, and the poor natives of the Highlands, I am under the necessity of proposing a 50-shilling bounty, as essentially requisite to the restoration and permanent establishment of that important fishery; as well as the improvement of the whole line of coast, with all the islands, lying between the Mull of Cantire and Cape Wrath.

This liberal support, with the removal of certain obnoxious restrictions already mentioned, and others which remain to be mentioned, would place the western fishers on an equality with those of the neighbouring nations, and enable them to supply foreign markets as early as their rivals, and sometimes earlier.

The encouragements given by other states, and also the natural advantages which they enjoy, will be the subject of a separate chapter; at present I shall chiefly confine myself to a comparative view of the voyages to and from the respective Scottish fisheries, a subject which hath not hitherto been elucidated.

The voyage from the northern parts of the European continent, and also from the east side of Great Britain, to Shetland, is attended with no great difficulty. The course is in a straight line, through an open sea, and the sails being set, require no alteration (storms and change of wind excepted) till the vessel hath reached the fishing ground. This voyage being for a summer fishery only, is also favoured by the mildness of the weather, and the length of the day.

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Under these fortunate circumstances a Dutch vessel may set out, and prosecute her voyage with any wind; she hath ample sea room wherein to range at pleasure; and, though the winds may be unfavourable, yet she still proceeds, by means of tacking. All the difference therefore between a favourable, and an unfavourable wind consists, not in time lost by being obliged to take shelter in harbours, but the difference of time occupied in straight, or in cross sailing. The distance between Holland and the coast of Shetland is reckoned to be 600 miles. This, with most winds, may be performed in 6 or 7 days; with a strong wind a-head, it cannot require above 10 or 12 days. The voyage from the east coast of Great Britain is exactly similar, and may be performed from any part of Scotland in half the time: from the coast of Aberdeen, and the Murray Firth, in two days, at the utmost. When a vessel arrives at Shetland, she finds herself amongst an immense body of herrings, sends off her capture to the market, or returns with her cargo, by the same easy navigation.

So favourable for the fisheries is the situation of the eastern ports of Scotland. While those of Ireland, as Strangford, Portaferry, Downpatrick, Carricfergus, Belfast, Lerne, Londonderry, Inverbay, Killybeggs, Tillon, Rosses, Sheephaven, Donnegal, and Sligo, are within 24 hours sailing of the fisheries on the coast of Donnegal. Here also, as at the Shetland islands, the herrings are certain, and the buffes expeditiously loaded.

Very different is the navigation, and fishery, of the West Highlands. This hitherto neglected division of Great Britain, presents a coast, taken in a direct line from the extremity of Cantire to Cape Wrath, of near 250 miles; and if to that extent, we add the numerous head lands to be doubled, the intervening islands to be evaded, the creeks or bays to which a vessel must frequently run for shelter, a

winter voyage from Greenock, may, upon an average, require two or three weeks.

After the vessel hath surmounted the difficulties and dangers of this intricate voyage, she does not arrive at a certain fishery, where, as in Ireland, she may load by her own boats, or those of the inhabitants, in a few days. Though the migrations of the herrings to the North-west Highlands be certain, their arrival in one particular loch, bay, or island, is very precarious.

All have their turns. The loch that was crowded with fish one year, may be quite deserted the following, and for many years after. Sometimes they fall in between the Mainland of Ross-shire and the Long Island; at other times, they take a circuitous passage between the Long Island and the rocks of St. Kilda. When this happens, there can be no boat fishery, especially in winter; neither is there any buss fishery; those vessels not being accustomed to the Dutch method of a floating fishery, by following the shoals through the ocean: thus the Hebride fishery is, of all others, the most uncertain, expensive and hazardous, on which account the parliamentary encouragement should be adequate. In speaking of this fishery, the following particulars may be useful to the adventurers. The young herrings always come in a body some time in June; their stay depends on the winds and weather. Those which fall in between the Mainland and the Long Island, are wrought upon and directed, not only by the winds, but also by the large fishes, and sometimes by the busses, in their cruisers from place to place.

As the season advances, the great shoals of full grown herrings appear on the coasts moving southward. If upon their approach, the weather happens to be stormy, and the winds from south-west to north-west, the shoal, thus interrupted by a strong head wind, crowds into the openings or lochs, and there

there is every probability of a successful fishery, either on the Lewis coast or that of the Mainland. But if the winds happen to be easterly, or within the eastern points, as is often the case towards the end of harvest, there is little chance of a winter fishery, because, as before observed, the herrings keep out in the main ocean. Nature, in this respect, gives the Irish fishers a manifest advantage over the Scots. The shoals, after having cleared the Scottish seas, whether their voyage hath been on this side the Long Island, or on the west side, have to encounter a still more turbulent sea, owing to the great weight and swell of the Atlantic being opposed by the lofty coast of Donnegal; which, with the jarring currents and tides, interrupt the progress of the herrings, who, fatigued and weak, are glad to take shelter in the openings or lochs of that coast. This circumstance gives the Irish an absolute certainty of an annual fishery, and that fishery being drawn towards one point, enables the adventurers to double the gains of their neighbours, and with less trouble, hazard, and expence.

Having thus stated the natural, as well as parliamentary discouragements and difficulties, attending the northern or Hebride fishery, an estimate of the expence and gains properly follows.

*Expences of a Vessel of Sixty Tons Burden, fitted out
as a Busf for the White Herring Fishery.*

To the ship-builder's account for the hold, at 5l. 15s. per ton	-	-	£. 345 0 0
To joiner's account, fitting up the cabin, making pumps, &c.	-	£. 21 10 0	
To blockmaker's account, paint, &c.	-	18 0 0	
To rope work account, for sails, rigging, cables, &c.	-	160 0 0	
To smith's account, for anchors, &c.	-	22 10 0	
To spars for mast, bowsprit, boom, &c.	-	25 0 0	
To three fishing boats, at 7l. 10s. each	-	22 10 0	
To compasses and furniture for cabin	-	8 10 0	
			<hr/> 278 0 0
Cost of the vessel	-	-	<hr/> 623 0 0

*Out-fit of the above Vessel as a Busf to the White Herring
Fishery as follows:*

To 462 bushels foreign great salt, mak- ing 11 lafts, at 4l. 10s. per laft	-	45 0 0	
To 32 lafts herring barrels, at 50s. per laft	-	30 0 0	
To 15,000 square yards of netting, or 156 common herring nets, at 10s.	-	78 5 0	
To tailing for nets	-	4 4 0	
To buoys and bow-stocks	-	4 0 0	
			<hr/> 211 9 0
To provisions for 14 men 3 months, at 8d. per man each day	-	£. 42 10 0	
To spirits for men when at work	-	5 0 0	
To 13 mens wages for 3 months, at 27s. per man each month	-	52 13 0	
To the ship-master's wages, by the run allowed him	-	10 0 0	
To bond, and clearing out at the custom-house	-	0 15 0	
			<hr/> 110 18 0
			<hr/> 322 7 0
Cost and out-fit for the white herring fishery of a vessel of sixty tons	-	-	<hr/> £. 945 7 0

HERRING FISHERIES. 231

Supposing the above Vessel to make one Half of her Cargo of Herrings Yearly, which has not been the Case for these Seven Years back, on an Average, the State of the Account will stand as under.

Voyage to the Herring Fishery, to Owners Dr.

To one half of the salt carried out, consumed on herrings	£. 22 10 0
To one half of the barrels being used with herrings	48 0 0
To tear and wear of 15,000 yards netting, supposing them one third worn	26 1 3
To provisions and spirits consumed as above	47 10 0
To mens wages, including the skipper, ditto	62 13 0
To tear and wear of rigging and vessel, at 5 per cent, per month	30 11 2
To insurance on 957l. for 3 months, at 2½ per cent.	23 16 0
To interest of 957l. for 3 months	11 18 0
To waste on salt and barrels, cellarage, &c. at 10 per cent.	3 10 0
To freight of herrings to Cork, at 2s. per barrel, 192 barrels	19 4 0
To duty of herrings in Ireland, at 1s. per barrel	9 12 0
	305 5 5

Contra - - - Cr.

By sales of 192 barrels herrings, at 20s.	£. 192 0 0
By debenture of the above herrings, at 2s. 8d.	25 12 0
By bounty on 60 tons	90 0 0
	307 12 0
Gain on a home fishery	2 6 7

Extra Expence on such Busses as go to the Irish Fishery.

To duty of 17¾ tons salt paid in Ireland, although neither salt nor barrels are landed in Ireland, the duty paid is 12s. 4d. per ton	£. 10 19 11
To duty paid in Ireland on 32 lafts of barrels, at 3s. per laft	4 16 0
To fees paid in Ireland, at 42s. per boat, for 3 boats	6 6 0
	22 1 11
Loss, if upon the Irish fishery	£. 19 15 4

To these positive expenditures may be added, insurance during the fishery; the various fees inwards and outwards, and upon salt stored from year to year; commission to agents; charges on repacking for exportation; cabin stores, coal, candles, and other petty disbursements, which being added to the general account, leaves the adventurer considerably out of pocket, in the present state of the fishery, after all his anxieties, cares, and labours, besides his loss of time.

The following table shows the revolutions of the busb fishery; and when we consider the magnitude of the expences as above stated, the dangerous seas to be navigated, particularly during the winter fishery; the grievous restrictions, and salt regulations, which the adventurers labour under, while those of other nations have the most ample freedom; and the loss of markets in consequence of those restrictions; it is matter of surprize that the whole fishery on the bounty laws hath not been entirely given up.

HERRING FISHERIES. 233

An Account of the Number of Busses fitted out in Scotland from the Year 1750 to the Year 1783, both inclusive, with the Amount of their Tonnage, Number of Men, and the Barrels of Herrings taken. Extracted from the Custom-House Books at Edinburgh.

Anno	Number of Busses.	Tonnage.	Number of Men.	Barrels of Herrings taken.	Bounty, at 30s. per ton.
1750					
1751	2	148	33	213	
1752	4	301	67	424	
1753	8	518	116	519	
1754	6	403	89	564	
1755	1	77	17	67	
1756	1	77	17	64	
1757	2	103	24	317	
1758	3	181	41	245	
1759	3	181	41	4	
1760	13	554	130	3089	
1761	17	745	174	4046	
1762	49	2056	489	12949	
1763	87	3691	865	3054	
1764	119	5131	1266	8831	
1765	157	7056	1651	39691	
1766	261	12476	2881	21146	
1767	263	12556	2898	28162	
1768	202	9553	2207	15538	
1769	85	3868	899	17822	
1770	19	861	201	1878	
Summer 1771	4	210	47	385	
Winter 1771	25	1039	236	2447	
Summer 1772	95	4029	948	8489	
Winter 1772	74	3373	789	13759	
Summer 1773	86	3621	859	17197	
Winter 1773	104	4718	1094	24858	
Summer 1774	115	4913	1150	25134	
Winter 1774	134	6436	1584	31459	
Summer 1775	101	4277	1003	13396	
Winter 1775	180	8795	2028	40070	
Summer 1776	68	2859	670	7748	
Winter 1776	226	11334	2695	44115	
Summer 1777	64	2663	623	8546	
Winter 1777	176	9064	1977	34767	
Summer 1778	96	4372	1014	9623	
Winter 1778	124	6505	1490	31335	
Anno 1779	206	10191	2343	29367	
1780	181	8963	2061	19885	
1781	136	6449	1494	16625	
1782	147	7291	1667	3457	
1783	153	7272	1687	13595	

Bounties, at 30s. per ton. — Raised to 50s. — Not regu- larly paid. — Average annual amount of bounty paid since the reduction of the bounty from 50 to 30s. in the winter 1771, 13615s.

The

The following important table is inserted for the information of the public, respecting the operation of the now existing bounty laws on the Hebride Isles, and the western shores in general. Here we perceive a dawn of beneficial industry amongst these forlorn natives, and had the bounty been continued at 50 shillings and well paid; had the laws been more liberal, allowing these new adventurers the same scope as the Irish fishers on the opposite coast, it is probable that instead of 9 buffes, to which their number is now reduced, the increase might have amounted to 100 or upwards. When we reflect that the improvement of the Highlands, the bringing forward a people hitherto lost, in a commercial view, from penury and wretchedness, to profitable, well-paid industry; every friend to humanity, and the prosperity of his country, must lament the check thus given to their first attempts, and the destructive consequences to whole islands or districts, whose conjunct abilities had been wholly occupied in raising this little fleet, to bring from their shores a degree of wealth which their healthy mountains never did, and never can afford, to such extent.

Custom-

HERRING FISHERIES. 235

Custom-House Oban, Sept. 25, 1784.

For Mr. K N O X.

From the year 1765, during the continuance of the 50-shilling bounty, and until the year 1772, there was employed in the white herring bufs fishing upon this and adjacent coasts, particularly from the places after-mentioned betwixt the Mull of Cantire and the Island of Sky, the number of veffels following, viz.

	No. of veffels Bounty 50s.	No. of veffels Bounty 30s.
West Loch Tarbert	8	1
Oban, and Lochetive	4	5
Island of Ilay	4	-
—— Gigha	3	-
—— Collonsay	3	-
—— Lunga	3	1
—— Efdale	2	-
—— Mull	3	1
—— Sky	3	1
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
In all	33	9

The principal causes of this decline in the number of veffels employed in the white herring fishery were first the dilatory payments of the bounty during the latter part of the act allowing fifty shillings per ton; and secondly, the reduction of the bounty from fifty to thirty shillings per ton.

The within and above statements extracted from the custom-house books, and are attested by

DUNCAN CAMPBELL, Collector.

JOHN LOVE, Surveyor.

The

236 HISTORY OF THE

The following table will serve to give some idea how far the royal navy, the revenue, and other important matters of public concern, will also be affected, should the busb fishery be abandoned.

	each busb	Total on 300 busb.
Value of a busb 47 tons ready for sea, salt, &c. included	720 0 0	216000
Annual wear and tear	26 0 0	7800
Annual duty paid on materials for repairing wear and tear	2 12 0	780
Annual wear and tear of nets, bark for tanning included	21 0 0	6300
Duty on hemp used annually for new nets	2 0 0	600
Number of men employed on board	11	3300
Pay of 11 men for 4 months, at 27s. per man per month	59 8 0	17820
Expence of provision for 11 men 4 months, at 8d. per day for each man	44 0 0	13200
Number of men annually employed who never were before at sea.	3	900
barrels put on board	240	72000
barrels of herrings got at an average fishing *	180	54000
barrels of herrings exported	135	40500
barrels of herrings consumed in Scotland	45	13500
Bushels of salt consumed in curing and re-packing	320	96000
Gallons of rum imported for 67 barrels of herrings exported	950	285000
Quantity of sugar imported in return for 68 barrels herrings exported cwt.	181 2-3d	54519
Duty payable at 4s. per gallon for 950 gallons of rum imported, exclusive of the excise	190 0 0	57000
payable at 12s. 6d. per cwt. for sugar ditto	114 0 0	34200
payable for 320 bushels of salt near 2d. each	2 10 0	750
paid for 45 barrels of herrings used in Scotland, at 1s. per barrel	2 5 0	675
paid for materials requisite for building and equipping at first outfit	56 0 0	16800
Freight payable for 135 barrels herrings exported, at 7s.	47 5 0	14175
of 950 gallons of rum imported at 6d. per gallon	23 15 0	7125
payable for 181 2-3ds cwt. sugar imported at 4s. per cwt.	36 6 8	10900
Tonnage	47 0 0	14100
Bounty from government at 30s. per ton	70 10 0	21150
Debenture at 2s. 8d. per barrel for 135 barrels of herrings exported	18 0 0	5400

* This table supposes a good fishery in time of peace—but the main average of the fishery in peace and war is only half cargoes; and since 1778, the herrings taken have only occupied 110 of the 240 barrels carried out.

HERRING FISHERIES. 237

Government debtor to 300 buffes, viz.

Duty paid on materials imported for buffes			
repairs annually	—	—	£. 780
— for repairs of nets	—	—	600
— on 285000 gallons of rum, at 5s. 4d.			76000
— 54519 cwt. weight of sugar, at 12s.			
6d. per cwt.	—	—	34200
— 96000 bushels salt	—	—	750
— 13500 barrels of herrings consumed			
in Scotland	—	—	675
Interest of the principal sum paid on duty			
for materials used in building 300 buffes			

Per contra Creditor.

	113005
By bounty to 300 buffes 14100 tons, at	
30s. — — — 21150l.	26550
By debenture on 40500 barrels of herrings	
exported, at 2s. 8d. — — — 5400l.	

Balance in favour of government £. 86455

The greatest number of buffes fitted out in one year, was nearly 294. The estimate, for the sake of even numbers, is made upon 300. The revenue arising from this fleet, after deducting the bounty and debenture, is 86,455l. but admitting this balance in favour of government to be imaginary; or, in other words, that the annual revenue, derived from the buffes, amounted only to the sum total of the expenditure in bounties and debentures, all the concurrent effects would be clear gain to the public, viz.

1. Employing 3300 seamen annually.
2. Ditto carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, joiners, block-makers, painters, salt-works, hecklers, spinners, net-makers, rope-manufacturers, sail-cloth manufacturers, and sail-makers, tanners, and labourers of all kinds.
3. Supplying the labouring part of the nation, as manufacturers, farmers, and servants, with cheap and wholesome food.

4. Preventing

4. Preventing emigration.
5. Giving employment to the industrious, particularly in the Highlands.
6. Diffusing amongst that people a competency of the necessaries of life.
7. Bringing forward a valuable colony within our own island, who, besides defending our shores, and fighting our battles, would extend the scale of manufactures and commerce in both kingdoms, by means of their encreasing opulence.
8. Increase of ship-building, shipping, exports, and freights.
9. Raising the value of barren lands, and natural woods.
10. Bringing into the line of inland trade, various species of fish which abound on the western shores, at present of little or no value, as fundry species of the whale; the grampus, sharks, seals, and dog fish, for oil. Also various kinds of fish, for food, which, from the want of ready markets in the Highlands, bring no price, as turbot, skate, mackarel, * oysters, and lobsters.

These are among the numerous benefits which individuals and the state would derive from an extensive and well-established buss fishery. The wealth of this coast is boundless, presenting to our view an inexhaustible treasure, rising in its importance, and opening new fields to industry, to commerce, and to a comfortable subsistence. On the other hand, by neglecting this mode of carrying on the

* When the fishers find mackarel on their lines instead of white fish, they generally throw them back into the sea with disdain, unless when necessary for bait.

Oysters, in some parts, are chiefly used for manuring the ground. They are brought in baskets to the lime kiln and burnt without being opened. These and other fishes that abound amongst the Hebrides, exclusive of the herring and white fish, would find a ready market at Greenock if the voyage was shortened by means of the proposed canal at Crinan. It is also probable that the Greenock people would cure a part of them for foreign markets.

fishery,

fishery, we shall thereby make a transfer of the whole, to Ireland, Holland, and Sweden, who will be much obliged to us for a favour so signal and unexpected. and it may be positively asserted, that should this fishery be abandoned, the persons who have been brought up in that line of life, will embrace the flattering invitations of the Irish government, and carry their knowledge, their industry, their capital, and shipping, to the contiguous county of Donnegal, where they will be received with open arms by the gentlemen of that coast, who are using every means to invite them thither.

Before I close this part of the subject, it is necessary to suggest the expediency of some amendment in the statutes respecting the size of vessels fitted out upon the bounty. By the present laws, the burden of the busses is not to be under 20 or above 80 tons. In conversing with the adventurers, collectively, it was proposed by some, that the lowest burden should be reduced to 15 tons or 80 barrels; but this was opposed by others in more opulent circumstances.

If to extend the take of herrings, and to give employment to a greater number of people, are objects worthy the attention of parliament, the request of the inferior adventurers should be granted. We have stated the great expence in building and equipping vessels for the fisheries, agreeable to the present standards. It exceeds the abilities of many, who, in other respects, are well qualified for that business. The good effects of this indulgence would operate chiefly among the poor natives on the west side of Cantire, and might, until some regular settlements shall be established on these shores, prove a substitute for a boat fishery. In some respects it would be preferable, particularly in being able to fish at sea, to follow the herrings from place to place, and to carry them to markets, instead of being

being obliged to wait for purchasers at an inconvenient distance from the West India shipping

While this is the request of some persons, others, of more extensive capitals, wish to employ vessels of any size within 120 tons, limiting the highest bounty, however, to 80 tons, as it stands at present. Whoever is acquainted with mercantile affairs will see the utility of this indulgence. Vessels of 120 tons, when not engaged in the fisheries, could be let out in freights to foreign parts, or in the coasting trade, and thus advantageously employed throughout the year, to the mutual conveniency of the owners and camen.

We shall close this subject with a conjectural estimate of the increase of the western buss fishery, supposing the bounty at 50 shillings per ton. Hitherto we have seen nearly 300 vessels employed in this fishery, though labouring under numerous discouragements; and lately a strong rivalship from Ireland and Sweden, who had formerly been their best customers. Let us now suppose the bounty extended to 50 shillings, every restriction removed, the passage shortened, the natives of the Highlands busily employed, the navigation act in full vigour, the adventurers relying on the steady protection of government, and in high spirits; there can be no great hazard in stating the number of busses which in a few years may be engaged in the western fishery at 500. And, though it is proposed to admit into this number, vessels of so small burden as 15 tons, yet this deficiency in tonnage will be qualified by the size of other vessels, which of late it hath been the practice to build upon a large construction. Taking therefore the average number of men in 500 busses from 15 to 80 tons burden, at 14 men each, the amount will be 7000, a nursery which merits every support that the public can bestow. And it is also a consideration worthy of remark, that this nursery is, of all others, the most rapid in its progress.

Vessels

vessels bound for the Baltic, the Mediterranean, America, Africa, the East and West Indies, sail in straight lines, and many of them with trade winds. Having set their sails, no further seamanship is requisite, the men walk the deck, play at cards, and go to sleep.

But when a vessel sails from the Clyde for the north-west Highlands, she embarks on a circuitous voyage of unknown extent and duration. The moment she spreads her sails, she launches into a labyrinth of difficulties, dangers and hair-breadth escapes: she must navigate in every direction, and to every point of the compass; at all times through rapid currents and jarring tides, and frequently amidst hurricanes and storms. No sooner hath she doubled one cape, than another appears, which the men, already fatigued and worn out, must also encounter, and thus are kept in continual motion, terror, and alarm. These outward and homeward voyages, the various cruizes from bay to bay, and from one island to another, in search of the herrings, form the hardy, experienced seamen, so highly valued in the mercantile service, and the royal navy.

Other methods may be devised whereby the fisheries may be considerably extended, and the natives of the shores and islands beneficially employed; but no method can be put in competition with the western busb fishery, considered as a source of commerce, and a nursery for seamen; whoever therefore attempts to undermine this bulwark, whether designedly or inadvertently, acts an injurious part to the general interests of his country, and the state.

Of the Western Boat Fishery.

It would seem as if fate had decreed against the western fishery. The same laws which were intended as a stimulus to exertion, contained among other re-
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strictions,

restrictions, an obligatory clause, whereby the buffes were prohibited from purchasing herrings from the natives, and thus the poor people, who had formerly assisted in completing the cargoes of such vessels as came amongst them, now saw themselves deprived of the advantages which local situation, and the visitations of the herrings upon their shores, held forth. These gifts of Providence were counteracted by a narrow, ill-judged decree of their country, and shows, amongst a thousand instances, the imperfection of human wisdom, when put in competition with the great line of action which distinguishes the works of the Deity.

As the raising and training a number of seamen was a principal object of the legislative bounties, it was deemed expedient to oblige the men to remain a certain time on the fishing grounds, and to load with the herrings taken by themselves only.

It is somewhat singular, that a nation celebrated for knowledge in maritime affairs, did not see the inefficacy of this restriction.

When the men quit their buffes and go on board their long boats, to throw out the nets, and to haul them in, alternately, no seamanship is required; no knowledge is gained. It is the drudgery of common labourers, and requires no qualification whatever. The seamanship consists in navigating to and from the fishing grounds; in researches after the herrings; in adjusting the sails to the various points of the compass, and to all the vicissitudes of weather.

In the mean time, the poor natives, thus deprived of their natural right, and without redress, still kept up a petty fishery for the supply of their families and the neighbourhood, in fresh herrings, having no means of curing for a distant market.

Their little open boats are clinker built, sharp bottomed, and formed upon the construction of cutters, for quick sailing, for doubling head lands, and eluding dangers. Manned by a hardy race of
Highlanders

Highlanders, whose necessities render them desperate, these boats attend the buffes through the most turbulent seas; they will undertake, even in the winter season, voyages round the Mull of Cantire, and to Ireland, though it too often happens that they never return. They are hurried irresistibly by the violence of the winds and the strength of the currents against rocks, and in a moment are broke to pieces; others are swallowed up by the great swell of the ocean, against which their small construction, and the scanty supplies of ropes and sails, are utterly inadequate.*

Each

* The reader will be able to form some idea of these voyages, and the dangers attending them, from the following narrative, by the Rev. Mr. Macaulay; which also contains fundry particulars that tend to corroborate the character given of the Highlands in the course of this work.

On the 6th day of June 1758, I loosed from Harris, a part of that large track of land now called the Long-Island, and formerly the western *Æbuda*. We steered our course for Haw-Skeer, a rock in the ocean, so its name signifies in the Gallic tongue, lying at the distance of seven leagues from the nearest promontory of North-Uist, to which it belongs. As the day was quite sultry, and Haw-Skeer the only resting place in our way, and extremely romantic, the crew found it convenient to rest a little and divert themselves there.

This rock is half a mile in circumference, accessible in a single place only, and though almost totally destitute of grafs, is of some consequence to the proprietor, being at stated periods the constant haunt of a prodigious number of seals, and these perhaps by much the largest upon the coast of Scotland. The manner in which these sea animals are hunted down in this place, the season fit for that profitable diversion, the ferocity and little stratagems of these unwieldly creatures when assaulted, their love dalliances upon other occasions, that violent spirit of jealousy with which they are actuated, if provoked by rivals; these and some other particulars, are circumstantially enough related by Martin in his description of the Western Isles. To his account of the matter I shall only add, that the fat of the seals, is by the people, to whose share that perquisite falls, converted now into oil and sent to market. But in that writer's time, and for ages immemorial before, this, together with the flesh of these animals, was eaten, either fresh or salted; and by those who were used to it, was accounted a pleasant as well as a very salubrious and rich kind of aliment.

Each boat that goes upon the herring fishery contains four men, whose joint stock is far too scanty for the expence of sails, ropes, nets, &c. When the fishing

On the west side of the rock, are two remarkable large caves, of a considerable height: To these a vast multitude of sea cormorants retire every evening. Here likewise they lay their eggs and foster their young. The method practised by the islanders for catching fowls of this kind, while secured within such fastnesses, is far from being incurious, though abundantly simple; nor is the pastime at all disagreeable. A band of young fellows make a party, and after having provided themselves with a quantity of straw or heath, creep with great caution to the mouth of the cave which affords the game, armed with poles light enough to be easily wielded: This done, they set fire to the combustible stuff, and raise an universal shout; the cormorants, alarmed by the outcry, frightened by a glare so strange, and offended by the smoke, quit their beds and nests with the greatest precipitation, and fly directly towards the light: Here the sportsmen, if alert enough, will knock down a considerable number of them, and, together with the cormorants, whole coveys of pigeons.

At Haw-Skeer we found incredible numbers of wild-fowl eggs. After some of my people had made a great, though unnecessary acquisition of these (unnecessary surely to men destined for St. Kilda) we began to pursue our intended voyage, at ten o'clock at night. The wind was at first extremely favourable, as it blew from the south-east, and was little more than a gentle gale. It began to freshen at the end of half an hour, and was gathering new strength every moment: Before we had proceeded above four leagues, the whole face of the sky was overcast with clouds; which, after the severest threatenings, bursted asunder and tumbled down upon us in violent torrents of rain, accompanied with flashes of lightning and peals of thunder extremely terrible. All this was succeeded by a hurricane which would have alarmed the most insensible, and did greatly confound the stoutest seamen among us, men who had imagined they had seen these same mighty waters in all their horrors. To me it was matter of astonishment that a vessel so small and frail, a six-oared highland boat, could have struggled for any time against such enormous billows, without either being overset or dashed to pieces.

The first glimpse of hope my crew had, was from a great flight of sea-fowls, of the diving kind, which was soon succeeded by another, and after short intervals by many more, in still greater numbers. They concluded, from this circumstance, that the hour of their deliverance was at hand; but we found that our hopes were too sanguine and premature, [Virgil ranks this circumstance among inauspicious prognostics, and experience has convinced me,

fishing happens to be successful, they are enabled to carry a small pittance home to their respective families, besides discharging the debts contracted in fitting

me, that this observation, and all the rest he has made on the subject of the weather, are perfectly just,] for the storm continued to rage for about six hours, before we had the almost despaired of happiness of spying a rock, which lies at the distance of a mile from the bay of St. Kilda. The current round about this rock is exceedingly impetuous, and so its name Livinish implies, Lhibb in the old British language signifying a stream or torrent.

In a little after we had doubled the point of Livinish I discovered a strangely formed wall of dreary rocks, which face a part of St. Kilda. These rocks appearing through the medium of a very thick fog, rose to our view, to a stupendous height, though quite inconsiderable, we afterwards found, if compared to others on the same coast.

In a few moments more, we came close to the ordinary landing place, which is nothing else than a solid rock, sloping gradually down to the bottom of the sea, and all overgrown with Lichen Marinus, or the plant commonly called Laver in England, and Slawk in Scotland.

As the wind blew with all its fury into the bay, and as the waves dashed themselves with excessive violence against the rock, just now described, it was impossible to attempt a landing. Reduced to almost the last extremity, we dropped anchor before the Saddle, and made a shift to stand there for five hours more in a most distressful condition, drenched all over, shivering with cold, and under the dreadful apprehension of being swallowed up every moment.

The machine constantly made use of instead of the anchor, by those who make annual voyages to St. Kilda, is a large hamper made of strong wicker and nearly filled up with stones. The foulness of the ground is the argument they bring to justify a practice so uncommon. How far they may be in the right, seafaring men are best able to determine. One thing I am sure of, that we made use of our anchor without suffering the least inconvenience; though the surf rose to such a height that ten fathoms of our cable were alternately buried in the sea, or perfectly visible. The truth is, the ancestors of those men who carry on a sort of commerce with this island, had recourse to the simple expedient of the hamper, before navigation had made any tolerable progress in their country, and for that reason their posterity seem to retain the same custom.

The people of St. Kilda, upon the first notice they had of our arrival on their coast, flew down from the village to our assistance, men, women and children. From their behaviour upon the rock, to which we lay pretty close, it evidently appeared that they have humanity enough to feel deeply for fellow creatures in distress. It

ting out. But when the fishery proves unsuccessful, or barely sufficient to keep them in necessaries, it is easier to conceive than relate, the general distress of whole

was impossible for us to understand the meaning of their cries; only we had reason to believe that they were greatly affected by our danger. From the repeated signals they made, we concluded at last, that in their opinion, we might safely weigh. Trusting to their superior skill, and our patience being quite exhausted, we took the hint without loss of time. But after approaching the Saddle, in spite of our united efforts, we were soon reduced to the disagreeable necessity of sheering off.

A little to the west of this rock, there is a sandy beach, accessible only at low water. Here is a sort of landing-place though extremely dangerous, and for that reason seldom attempted, unless the weather be very favourable. To this beach the people ran in a body, after having directed us to the same place. We obeyed willingly, and they, with an amazing intrepidity flew into the water to meet us; a most desperate adventure, in which any other race of men would hardly think of engaging, were they to see their nearest relations in the same danger. The disposition they made was this: After having divided and formed themselves into two lines, the two ablest men among them marched forward into the sea, each in the front of his own little corps. Those next in strength and stature, seized these two leaders by the middle, and the rest, from one end of each row to the other, clung fast to those immediately before them, wading forward till those who were foremost in the rank, and after them every one else in the order in which he stood, got hold of the boat. Those who go from year to year to St. Kilda, always take the precaution to wrap a strong rope round the stern of their boat, and tie another to the prow. As soon as the St. Kildians have posted themselves round it, they immediately hand about the two ropes from one to another, till the women and children who stand upon the beach come at it, so as to have their share of the work. This operation, which is so very necessary, being soon over, a general signal is given, and every individual exerts himself with all his strength and spirit: The consequence is, the boat and every thing contained in it, are with surprising quickness and dexterity hauled on beyond the reach of the sea.

All the strength of this art was with the greatest alacrity tried upon this occasion, and with a success beyond any thing I could have expected. Without giving time to any one of us to jump out into the water, the St. Kildians hoisted up, almost in a moment, our little vessel, ourselves, and all the luggage that belonged to us, to a dry part of the strand.

In St. Kilda, the miserable may find relief as well as elsewhere. We were received there by a very hospitable race of Barbarians (if any
one

whole districts. A boat arrives with the melancholy tidings of the general failure; of the violence of the storms, and the lives that have been lost. Report, which never sleeps, flies over the mountains, lakes, and morasses, till it hath filled every breast with agony for past misfortunes, and gloomy apprehensions of new disasters.

The fishermen, after having combated the fury of contending elements; after having, in their wanderings from sea to sea, surmounted all the fatigues of a winter's navigation, direct their course homewards; they haul their shattered boats on shore, lodge the nets and tackling; and returning, emaciated and worn out, to their families, they confirm, by dejected looks, and empty pockets, the unwelcome news; while the consideration of debts recently contracted, and which they are utterly unable to pay, gives additional poignancy to the anguish of their minds.

Were there any towns, or any encouragement for labour, on their shores, an occasional failure in the fisheries, might be repaired by industry, and the family kept together; but in the present state of that

one incline to call them so) with the heartiest congratulations, the sincerest professions of friendship, and the strongest demonstrations of a profound respect.

It is thought perhaps by many, that those who inhabit that division of the western Highlands, are much the rudest, the most brutal and merciless, and in one word, the most savage-like men within the kingdom of Great Britain. Whether that opinion be strictly just or not, is submitted to those, and to those only, who have sense and virtue enough to divest themselves of popular or early prejudices. One thing I may venture to affirm without committing the smallest trespass against truth, that those seafaring people, who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked about the western Islands, or are reduced to extreme distress there, are treated with much greater humanity and christian benevolence, than many of their fellow sufferers, whose harder fate drives them to the more barbarous shores of some divisions of Scotland, and England. It is certain, that these unhappy persons would meet with stronger marks of true politeness, or, what is infinitely more valuable, of real compassion and generosity at St. Kilda, than in the more civilized places I now allude to.

country, the man who is unsuccessful, for one season only, is undone.

If this representation be just; if the endless distresses of these our countrymen and fellow subjects, can impress the minds of a great, a just, and a generous nation, this business will be taken into consideration, and such measures adopted as may induce that useful class of men to remain in their native country, with comfort to themselves, and gain to the state.

For this purpose, various propositions have been suggested, suited to the fancies, the partialities, or the interested views of speculative men, whose knowledge of the country and people, of the existing evils, the springs from whence they proceed, and the means of effectual remedies, is too superficial to merit attention.

Some have proposed to give boats and netting to the young men, wherewith to begin the world; a plan totally inadequate to the great objects proposed by government, and which, at best, would only give a temporary spurt to industry. Should the boat and netting be lost, or greatly damaged, the natives would find themselves in their original situation, unless government were to repair the injuries sustained from time to time, and repeat their donations *ad infinitum*. Were this method to be adopted, it would be necessary to have a number of boats always ready at a call, and others on the stocks; with complete sets of nets, rigging, anchors, &c. to be delivered at the discretion of persons in the service of government, supported at a very great expence, and liable to bribery, or collusion.

Another method hath been proposed, with considerable appearances of equity and efficacy, but which, in the experiment, will be found impracticable and fallacious. This is, to give a bounty, not on tonnage, but on the herrings taken, at the rate of 4 shillings per barrel, which, it is supposed, would draw

draw thither adventurers with their capitals, from all parts of the kingdom, to purchase the herrings, to supply the merchants, furnish the natives with provisions, boats, netting, and other necessaries required in the respective districts; and who would also erect buildings for themselves, and the people.

To these suggestions it may be observed, that tho' persons possessed of some property might be drawn thither upon speculation, a greater number would become adventurers without any property. That the former, instead of sinking their capital on house-building in a remote barren country, would reserve it for the more quick returns to be expected from trade; still less would they be disposed to erect quays, warehouses, and other public works, however necessary in the first instance, for the purposes of trade and shipping.

But the principal, and almost unanswerable objection, to this method of establishing a boat fishery in the West Highlands, arises from the great extent of coast on the mainland, and the still more extensive shores of 300 islands, which give the herrings an unbounded scope wherein to range, and renders their arrival at any particular spot extremely uncertain. Let us suppose the new adventurers to have taken their station at Loch Broom, with all the necessary materials of boats, salt, casks, provisions, &c. in the purchase of which they had expended their capital in the expectation of a speedy and profitable return from the quantity of herrings taken, and the magnitude of the bounty to be received thereon. The season approaches; an unfriendly wind carries the shoal by other channels; no herrings appear in Loch Broom, or within 50 miles of it; all the sanguine hopes of the adventurers vanish; they blame their own credulity, and abandon the unfociable heathy deserts,

But

But supposing that the herrings were more certain, affording the traders sufficient encouragement, not only to remain on these shores, but to erect villages or towns; the mode of granting a premium *per barrel* would open a door for boundless frauds upon government, which neither divine nor human laws could prevent. At present, the natives are an honest, simple people; but when intermixed with strangers of loose morals, hackneyed in all the rogueries and mercenary stratagems of the great world, they will become more or less tinctured with the manners of the persons with whom they associate in trade, and *to cheat the king*, as it is called, will be reckoned dexterity in business. Frauds, and abuses, are daily practised, even in the capital itself; in the face of king, lords, and commons; in defiance of all laws, checks, and regulations, that wisdom can devise. It may therefore be supposed, that still greater abuses will become the common practice of persons settled in the most remote parts of our island, far removed from the inspection of superiors, and under the strong temptation of four shillings on every barrel of herrings that can be presented to the view of the resident officers.

Upon the whole, this plan, however feasible in theory, cannot be reduced to practice, unless government shall be able to accomplish the following purposes.

1. To induce the adventurers to build quays, storehouses, and private dwellings, at their own expence, upon the precarious hope of being repaid with interest, on a future day.
2. To persuade the herrings to come annually to these places that they may be taken, salted, and cured, by the inhabitants, instead of rambling from place to place, and thereby eluding the vigilance of the boats.

3. To

3. To enforce honesty, and a strict adherence to the spirit of the law, amongst the claimants of the bounty, as well as the officers appointed by government.

Such being the insurmountable difficulties attending this scheme in the Highlands, we recur to the plan suggested in the former editions of this work: a proposal adapted to the natural state of the country, the seas, the climate, the uncertainty of the herrings, and other circumstances worthy of notice.

The utility of a boat fishery around the whole kingdom, and particularly in the west Highlands, being readily admitted; that plan which can be carried into execution upon the simplest principles, with the least danger of frauds, and consequently the least expence in revenue officers, hath a preferable claim to the attention of the public.

We have considered the buss fishery as absolutely necessary in those seas; the stamina of the whole Scottish fisheries, by which the West India markets are supplied, the mercantile trade assisted in freights, and the royal navy strengthened, though at no expence to government. It hath also been proposed to admit vessels of ten tons burthen within the description of busses, for the conveniency of subordinate orders of men, who have an equal title to the protection of government as those of superior fortune. Let the same munificence be extended still further; to that numerous class of people, whose united exertions are limited to the equipment of open boats. Let these boats be registered, and placed under the same regulations as the busses, respecting the dimensions and construction of the boat, the quantity of netting, and the number of men. Each boat containing five men and a boy, might be entitled to a bounty or premium of 10*l.* or 15*l.* annually; which sum, though small, would, in unsuccessful

cessful seasons, prove a comfortable relief to men of humble views, whose cares are solely directed to the mere subsistence of their families, on the most simple fare, and at the smallest expence.

By this mode of diffusing parliamentary munificence, proportioned to the size of the vessels and the expence of the equipment, the buffes and boats would mutually assist, and be assisting to each other, of which the whole Highlands, and the community at large, would soon feel the benefits. By means of the proposed bounty; by removing all restraints; shortening the channel of commercial intercourse with the Clyde, and the Murray Firth; erecting storehouses or towns, and other regulations that remain to be mentioned, the increase of stout, well-manned boats, would exceed the most sanguine hopes of the public. It hath already been observed, that in old times, 900 boats, built after the form of little galleys, have been engaged in the Clyde fishery only; and I am informed by the person who was inspector, or admiral of the boat fleet, from 1749 to 1757, that he some years reckoned 1600 boats between Lochryan and the sound of Mull.*

When we reflect that these boats composed only a part of the whole out-fit of the western shores; and if we also take into the account, the boats of Ross-shire and the northern islands, we cannot state the whole number employed in favourable years at less than 2000.

Combining this circumstance, with the powerful

* I have seen 8 or 900 boats in the Clyde, as high as Greenock. In September 1784, 500 boats were in Lochfine. The herrings, from the want of salt, were sold at a trifle. The west side of the peninsula was equally crowded. But the fisheries in these parts are casual, owing to some uncommon circumstances of wind and weather. The great fishery lies on the coasts of Ross-shire, and the Long Island.

incentive of 10*l.* or 15*l.* per boat; of a discretionary power at the same time, to supply the buffes, or to fail immediately with their capture, to the Clyde, by means of the proposed canal; judging from the effects of these and other advantages, now in contemplation, there can be no hazard in concluding that the boats may hereafter increase to double the number that hath been on the fisheries without these advantages, or 4000 boats, containing 20,000 men, and 4000 boys.

As a nursery of seamen the boat fishery will consequently exceed that of the buffes in numbers; but, on the other hand, it cannot be put into competition with the buffes in nautical knowledge. It may be considered as the first step towards seamanship; which, without the subsequent experience of the buffes, leaves the men only one degree removed from their original state at the plough.

A young man issues from the glens and wilds of the Highlands, in order to mend his fortune; he engages with the master of a boat, for a season or two; returns home with a little money, expatiates on the wonders he hath seen, the dangers he hath encountered, and fancies himself qualified for entering on board a decked vessel. Here, he is ridiculed as a novice in his trade; but that inherent principle of honour so conspicuous in Highlandmen, aided by the excellent school—a bufs navigation, qualifies him in one season only, to steer by compass, to work the sails, and to perform the various operations of experienced seamen: he now, in turn, ridicules the boat-fishers, whom he calls land-lubbers; and having seen the shipping of the Clyde, he becomes emulous of greater preferment, and embarks upon a voyage to America, or the West Indies, which completes his education. By this gradation, the poor helpless boy, instead of starving with his parents and kindred, amongst unfrequented deserts in the Highlands, becomes a most useful member of the community, qualified,
when

when his country calls, to co-operate with the brave tars of the south, in whatever service that country may require.

And, it may be further observed, that though the boats contribute less to the revenue, in building and repairs, than the large vessels, yet they contribute *a moiety*; which, with the proportionable increase of the fishery, and consequently of exports, freights, wear and tear of shipping, and returns of foreign produce, paying considerable duties, may be supposed to refund in the aggregate, the gratuity received from government.

The boat fishery upon this plan, cannot, however, be fully established until the poor natives shall be accommodated with salt, without the perplexities of custom-house forms, attendancies, and fees, required by the present laws, even supposing all other obstructions were removed.

In the mean time, the boats may be permitted to sell their fresh herrings to the buffes, which would be a relief to both parties, and enable the buffes to load full cargoes, at less expence, and in less time than they can, by the present laws, fish half a cargo. But here a new difficulty occurs. By the Dutch regulations, the herrings should be gutted and cured immediately after they are taken; and by no means remain above twenty-four hours without salt. Any herrings therefore, that cannot be cured within the time stipulated by the law, are thrown overboard.

This very necessary regulation, unless enforced by a special clause, will not be observed on the extensive shores of the Highlands, where the buffes who wish to purchase, and the boats who wish to sell, may happen to be wind-bound at the distance of 50 miles or upwards from each other; thus, the boat cargoes might remain a week or upwards uncured, and the reputation of the Scottish fisheries be thereby

considerably injured. To prevent this abuse, it would be proper to prohibit all fresh herrings from being brought into any loch, bay, or port, for sale to the buffes, then at anchor in such loch, bay, or port; and also to enact, that no herrings shall be sold to the buffes except those taken in company with the purchasers, and within twelve hours after the capture, under certain penalties.

Of the Herring Fisheries by Foreigners, on the Shores of Britain and the Continent; particularly the Dutch, with their Method of curing and packing.

The coasts of Norway, Sweden, Holstein, Germany, Britain, and Ireland, are, or have been, the principal seats of the herring fisheries on this side the Atlantic. Sometimes, however, the herrings, after having frequented certain coasts for many seasons, and even ages, have capriciously abandoned those shores, seemingly never to return. Antiently, the coast of Norway and Sweden abounded so plentifully in herrings, that vessels resorted thither from all the northern parts of the European continent, to the amount of some thousands. Leaving that northern coast, the herrings fell down upon Holstein, and the German shore, and became a valuable prey to the Hanse towns, who thereby acquired a degree of opulence, power, and splendour, till then unknown in the north.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the herrings also forsook the coasts of Germany and Holstein, as appears by the writings of Camden, Raleigh, Monson, and other British as well as foreign historians; and it was during the subsequent period, that the industrious Dutch directed their attention to the
Scottish

Scottish fisheries with such assiduity and perseverance, that it is conjectured they have thereby realized three hundred million sterling, while the infatuated natives were mere dabblers both in taking and curing.

The Dutch have the reputation of being the first who observed the several seasons of the passage of the herrings, and their first regular fishery is, by their own historians, fixed at 1163. They also claim the merit of being the first who discovered the secret of pickling and of drying herrings, which they ascribe to William Benkelen of Biervlet, near Sluys, who died in 1397, and whose memory was held in such veneration for the service he had rendered mankind, that the emperor Charles V. and the queen of Hungary, made a journey on purpose to visit his tomb. Such is the respect paid to those who pickle and barrel with dexterity.

The merit claimed by the Dutch, of being the first in this line, is not however founded in truth, since it is evident that herrings were cured both in Britain and on the continent, long before Benkelen's time, though it is probable that he made some improvements thereon; which his countrymen have carried to the highest degree of perfection, as well as the preparing or qualifying their salt. By their ingenuity and perseverance, they have reduced the whole business of the fisheries into a regular system, which, it would be the interest of other states to follow. They have likewise been wisely aided from time to time, by their respective provincial legislatures, not only in every privilege and support, but also a well-digested body of laws and regulations, extending to the most minute circumstance, from the commencement of the out-fit, to the export of the herrings; and to all persons of whatever profession or denomination, from the day-labourer to the merchant; enforced by oaths, and by penalties, adapted to the
nature

nature of every possible trespass. No field is left for the voluntary exercise of honour and honesty. The upright man and the rogue are put on a level. "This is the law, and this is the penalty," is the language of a Dutch tribunal, to all persons without distinction, who engage in the fisheries. The reputation of their great staple, and the credit of the state are at stake, and he who is not naturally upright, is compelled to practical integrity.

Every person knows his duty, and the consequences of neglect, delay, or fraud; inasmuch, that though the whole body of fishery laws may contain two or three hundred clauses, each individual is so perfect in his own department, and so faithful to his trust, that misconduct seldom happens. The whole business is carried on as it were by mechanism, without noise, bustle, or jealousy; for it may be observed, that almost every Dutchman is a patriot, having the interest of his country at heart, equally with that of his family.

Each of the four marine provinces hath a regular fishing board, established for facilitating whatever relates to that business, called a *Fishing Chamber*, to which there is a conservator, and a certain number of assistants, clerks, &c.

All the laws and regulations committed to the management of these official departments, lead to the perfection, delicacy, and flavour of the herrings, by which the republic may enjoy a preference at foreign markets. Of these laws I have selected a specimen, which may amuse some readers and be useful to others.

1. Each master of a vessel or buss shall declare to the secretary of the port from whence he sails, where he intends to fish, to what port he is to return, and what mark he is to use, that it may be registered, under the penalty of 120 guilders.
2. That no master of a vessel shall be allowed to go to the herring fishery, without the consent of the

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burgomasters of the town from whence he sails. That he shall make oath that he is properly furnished, according to the size of his vessel, with tackle, seamen, barrels, salt, and all other necessaries wanted or used in the herring fishery. That he will not cast a herring net into the sea, or catch herrings before the 24th of June, nor after the 31st of December.*

3. He must make oath that he will separate the herrings taken in one night, from those taken in another night, and that he shall notify in the list of the marked barrels, on what night each were taken, on forfeiture of ship and cargo, and degradation of the master. Farther, he shall not fill up the herring barrels more than once with pressed herrings, taking care that the herrings be laid even in their lays, from the bottom to the top; that the same be not cast with baskets or buckets into the barrel, mixed, wrong laid, or adulterated; and that as little of the bloody pickle thereof be spilt as possible.
4. He must make oath that he will not sell, give in presents at sea, or cure on shore any herrings, under a penalty of 24 guilders for each barrel, and confiscation of the ship. Nor shall any master traffic for herrings with any ships or yawgers but those authorized by the chief magistrate where the herring trade is established in Holland and West Friesland, and who shall produce the proper voucher of consent, having on the top, the representation of a herring bus, being the seal of the great fishery, stamped thereon, and signed by the secretary of the city from whence he comes: to which respective ships he shall be impowered to deliver over his herrings taken between June 24

* By a placart of 1682, the time limited for fishing was not to extend beyond November 20. The above-mentioned period is in virtue of a placart of 1749.

and July 15 inclusive, and no longer; under the penalty of the said herrings, or their value, and a fine of 600 guilders, and the master rendered incapable of ever acting in that capacity for the future.

5. The masters of yawgers shall make oath, that they will not take on board herrings, from any others but subjects of Holland, and West Friesland, observing to get a certificate from the master signed by himself and two or three sailors, with the ship's name and port she sailed from, the quantity delivered, and that they were taken after June 24, salted and laid in barrels in his ship, on penalty of the herrings, or value of them; nor shall any master receive them on board yawgers after the 15th of July on penalty as above.
6. The herring masters shall not mix different sorts together, or sort them as the first sort, which contain full, middle, and small. But the first or full herrings shall be sorted with the first, the second or middle herrings with the second, and the third or small herrings with the third; and in case of an extraordinary capture, the time not permitting to sort them properly, the masters, at their coming on shore, shall be obliged to report them as unsorted herrings to his owners.
7. The first taken herrings are not to be sold, unless they have been ten days in pickle, and not then, till marked by the inspectors between the neck and belly hoop, on penalty of 300 guilders; and, in case of non-payment, to be confined to bread and water for a month; and all herrings brought into the said provinces, without such mark, to be publicly thrown into the sea.
8. That no inhabitants of Holland or West Friesland shall be engaged with others living out of the said provinces, in buffes or yawgers, under the penalty of ship and cargo, and 600 guilders to be recovered,

vered, though the fact hath been committed 20 years past.

9. Any person who cures herrings with French salt, from St. Martins, Olderdame, Borea, Browart, the South of France, the West Indies, or Isle of May, shall forfeit the herrings.
10. No Spanish or Portugal salt shall be put in casks before the cure-master has examined it, on penalty of 25 guilders for every hundred weight; nor shall they carry to sea any other but the above for the herring fishery, and that to be twice examined by the cure-master, who must open each barrel before it is shipped, and stamp them with his mark; in case of failure, the master to forfeit 36 guilders.
11. Full barrels are to be salted in no less a proportion than 4 barrels of salt to every last, or twelve barrels of herrings; the herrings to be properly gutted, and afterwards laid cross-ways in the barrel, under a penalty of 300 guilders. The herrings so improperly salted, viz. the first sort mixed with the second, to be reckoned unsorted, and to be sold with the third sort as third sort, and to be reckoned and paid in that manner by the purchaser, likewise at the charge of the master.
12. The curing of the herrings shall be completed three weeks after they arrive, whether they be sold or not, and shall be repacked more than once, according to the nature of the herring, and custom of the place; if not in the above limited time, the buyer to have no redress.
13. Herrings shall not be repacked or heightened with fresh pickle, but in the public streets, or customary places, with open doors, where any may enter, under a penalty of 240 groats.
14. No herrings shall be repacked or heightened to be sent abroad before the cure-master has inspected them, and ascertained that they are duly packed. Nor are small herrings to be packed up with great, but

- but each shall be filled up with those of a like kind, and taken at the same time and branded with theirs and the city's mark. Each cure-master may make the master of the bufs open his barrels twice in his view, to have two inspections, and at each time to pay half a farthing, the one to be paid by the buyer, and the other by the seller.
15. Herrings taken after July 26, and salted with fine salt, may be exported as wrack westward; the barrel to be bound with sixteen hoops, having the date of the year on the belly, and mark of the purchaser thereon.
16. Herrings taken after August 24, and Bartholomew tide, may be salted with fine salt, boiled with sea water, according to agreement with the city of Cologn.
17. There shall not be sent abroad to the westward, or France, Flanders, and Brabant, any herrings but those taken and packed after Bartholomew tide, and marked with the grand Rouen brand: Nor shall any be sent to Hamburgh, Bremen, Cologn, or other ports, that may be cured with coarse salt, whether they be wrack, or refusal fish, on penalty of 6 guilders each barrel, and naval correction.
18. Herrings once exported, shall not be brought back, or cured anew, on pain of forfeiture of the fish.

To the above regulations of the states since 1749, we shall add sundry laws of the last century, which, though in some parts ambiguous, may be useful.

Instructions by the Magistrates of Rotterdam, to be observed by the Labourers employed in lifting Herrings out of the Barrels, and bringing them to the packing Tubs (called by them Inwerpers).

1. No man shall be admitted to be an inwerper, except such as shall take an oath to observe the following

lowing articles, and be approved of by the magistrates.

2. They shall throw no herring into the packing tub before they have first put into it two and one half or three barrels of clear pickle, which pickle is to be put through a sieve to clean it from scales and other nastiness.

3. They shall not raise up any herrings or carry them to the packing tub before they have first filled up the barrels with clear pickle, and the cure-master as visitor has performed his office.

4. In raising the herrings they shall narrowly notice the sea marks, and observe whether the herrings they take up are of the same sort which ought to be packed for such a burn-mark, viz. the barrels marked I, containing jacobii herrings, to be packed into the circle or jacobii burn-mark; the Bartholomew herrings marked B, to be packed into the Bartholomew burn-mark, and the cross herring marked X shall be packed into the cross burn-mark, and great burn-mark.

5. In case they shall discover any other mixture of herrings than the sort that is appointed for such a burn-mark as they are ordained to be marked with, or have any doubt about them, or find the herrings better in the top than in the middle, they shall immediately carry them off from the packing tub and shew them to the visitors, and take special care that no herrings that are rejected by the visitors shall be fraudulently brought back to the tub or thrown into it.

6. They shall throw no more herrings into the tub at a time than they can handfomely lift up with their hands.

7. They shall raise only seven barrels, and put those herrings into the tubs, and afterwards put the pickle that is in the tubs through a sieve before they offer to throw in more herrings.

8. They shall not allow the boys to take herrings
out

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out of their hands, but out of the tubs, where they must first be plunged, that they may appear clear in the barrels into which they are packed.

9. The tubs are to be filled moderately, to prevent losing of the herrings or pickle, by throwing in too many.

10. They shall be obliged to sort out a parcel of the best middling sort of herrings, which are to be put into a barrel, and made use of by the packers for the upper gangs, and not thrown into the tubs with the rest; the pickle that is in the barrel which holds the said herrings is to be cleaned by a sieve at the same time that the tub is cleaned, which is after the raising of seven barrels, &c.

11. They shall not be frightened or scared from their duties by threats, promises, gifts, or rewards; neither corrupted nor enticed to do any thing that is contrary to the fixed regulations, directly or indirectly; if any such thing shall happen, they are immediately to acquaint the visitors of the same.

12. They shall behave themselves soberly like honest housekeepers, and forbear smoking tobacco during their work.

13. All which articles the aforesaid labourers (inwerpers) employed in raising of herrings and bringing them into the tubs for packing, shall faithfully, honestly, truly, and diligently observe, as also such general ordinances and statutes as are made concerning the great fishery, on pain of being removed from their service, reputed perjured, and punished as such.

Instructions by the Magistrates of Rotterdam, to be observed by the Packers and Upfillers of Herrings.

1. No man shall presume to exercise the office of a packer before he is first admitted thereto, and has

taken the usual oaths required, under pain of discretionary punishment.

2. The aforesaid packers shall not fill up or pack any herrings for the circle, or burn-mark, before they be first visited by the keurmeesters, while they are in sea package.

3. In case the herrings in the middle of the barrel shall not prove so good as in the top, they shall acquaint the visitor with it, and observe his direction about them.

4. And they shall not pack into the aforesaid package, but throw out, all broken herrings, such as are sick in the ran or melt, belly sick, such as have been too long ungutted, spaned herrings, such as have been scrimped of salt, wrack herrings, white ranned herrings, and in general all sorts of herrings that are not merchantable and unfit to be packed.

5. The packers shall lay the herrings as stiff and fast as possible, stretch the gangs, close them, and bring them close to the sides of the barrel, that the mark may be well packed, and as heavy as possible.

6. The packers shall not in one day lay at any tub more than two lasts of herrings of the great burn-mark, 3 lasts of cross burn-mark, and 45 barrels of circle or Bartholomew burn-mark, except it shall be by express order of the visitor.

7. All herrings packed by them in barrels, which are marked with the great burn-mark, shall be lifted out of the packing tub from amongst the pickle, and put into trays or flat tubs that have holes bored in their bottoms for draining, out of that they are to be packed into the barrels, except the two uppermost gangs, which for herrings marked with the great burn-mark, are to be taken out of the flavour barrel, and the upper gang of all other marks taken likewise out of said barrel. They shall likewise draw off or pull away the (bellern) bellies from the herrings laid into those flavour gangs.

8. They shall put their marks upon both heads
within

within each barrel, and likewise upon the broadest stave in the middle of the barrel, which they shall show to the visitors, springers, and coopers being present, under the penalty of three guilders.

9. They shall throw no pickle upon herrings without putting it through the sieve, for which end they shall have with them a small pickle dish, a sieve, and a stick.

10. So soon as the bell of the cure-house shall ring, they shall be obliged to repair thither to serve the merchant, and to pack if they are desired; and before they cast lots amongst themselves who shall be employed on the work, they shall first enquire of the merchant how many herrings he desired to be packed, which he shall be obliged to declare, and those packers, who by lot falls to serve him, shall work at said herrings, neither more nor less, under the penalty of 24 guilders, to be forfeited by him who has caused more to be packed; and the packer that has packed more herrings than are given up by the merchant, before casting of lots who should work, is to be deprived of the privilege of working as a packer for a month, and forfeit three guilders, except it be by express consent of the cure-masters.

11. The aforefaid packers shall not hight or pack any herrings into Deuteltonnen, neither begin to pack or hight herrings before the barrels, out of which they pack, be first filled up with pickle; and likewise, before they begin to pack, they shall take out the undermost and uppermost plugs from the barrels into which they pack burn-mark or circle, that the pickle may run off, under the penalty of 10 stivers.

12. The packers or fillers up of herrings, shall not pack or hight herrings any otherwise than under the open heavens, and for that reason immediately leave work when it begins to rain, all under the penalty of ten guilders, which the cure-master shall exact

act of them, or cause to be exacted from them by the officer, or suspension from their office.

13. The said packers and highters shall not give away any herrings, or suffer that to be done without consent of the merchant, directly or indirectly.

14. They shall be obliged to serve in their births, otherwise not allowed to work next year.

15. They shall work out their work, which they are obliged to do by lots, except being great burn-mark packers, and at the time employed in packing lesser sort of herrings, they shall be called from their tubs to pack great burn-mark herrings, then other packers be put, or shall be put in their room.

16. They shall have for fees or salary, for each barrel of Rouane great burn-mark, 5 stivers, and for half a barrel, 3 stivers, and for the firkin $1\frac{3}{4}$ stiver; for every barrel (ceulse crurs brand) ceulen cross burn-mark, Bartholomew and circle herrings, 4 stivers, and for every half barrel of such herrings, $2\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, and for the firkin, $1\frac{1}{2}$ stiver; for every barrel wracks or insufficient herrings, 4 stivers, for the half barrel, 2 stivers, and for the firkin, $1\frac{1}{4}$ stiver. The said packer shall pay the (inwerper) labourer, that puts the herrings into the packing tubs, 18 pence per diem, their wages proportioned according to the time they work, and likewise to the boy that lifts the herrings out of the packing tub and puts them into trays or flat tubs for draining, 8 pence per diem; to the fillers-up of the herrings named hoogers, 6 stivers per last, including the gangs that are raised by the visitor for trying the sufficiency of the herrings; and the said packers shall pretend to no more salaries or fees, under any name whatsoever, neither claim any herrings under name of drink-money, beergelt, or brandinine, either by themselves, their wives, or any other person whatsoever, but content themselves with the aforesaid fees or salaries only.

17. They shall behave themselves soberly during their

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their work, and refrain from smoking tobacco, under penalty of being discharged from working.

18. The packers and highters of herrings shall be bound to observe the aforesaid directions in every point, obey the cure-masters in the exercise of their office, on pain of being suspended from their employments, and the arbitral correction of the magistrates according to the nature of their crime,

Instructions by the Magistrates of Rotterdam to the Servants attending their Herring Cellars named by them Plaatsknegten.

1. No man shall be admitted or allowed to serve as a labourer or overseer in the herring works, except such as have taken an oath to observe the following articles, and are approved of by the magistrates.

2. All such servants or overseers shall be obliged to take up a faithful and exact account of what herrings they receive, for their masters use, out of the bufses, by writing down the sherman, or master of the buf's mark, adding to it a distinction, what sorts the herrings consist of, or whether they be full herrings cured with great salt, manis herrings which are their fat herrings; herrings caught after St. James's day, St. Bartholomew's day, cruise herrings, or herrings caught after, or in the months of September or October; yelen herrings, or lean spanned herrings; and take care they dont mix them by laying them through one another, on the quay, street, or warehouse, but keep them separate according to their marks

3. When the visitors or cure-masters shall enquire for a sight of any herrings in their custody, the severall overseers of the herring works shall show them to them distinctly, according to their sorts.

4. When herrings are filled up, the aforesaid servants

vants shall take care to keep separate all such herrings as are wracks, have faults, or are insufficient, without mixing them with other herrings, or suffering any other person to do it, keeping every mark by itself as in the second article.

5. In the like manner the aforesaid servants shall not only hinder, but use all possible diligence to prevent the mixing of herrings in repacking them, especially that no gross salt herrings be mixed with jacobi herrings, nor great salt and jacobi herrings amongst Bartholomew herrings or cruise herrings; far less any wrack herrings shall be brought, or suffered by them to be brought to the tubs where the packers are working, but immediately they are to carry them off so soon as the cure is performed by the visitors, by shutting up the barrel and rolling them away.

6. The aforesaid servants shall by no means disturb or molest the cure-masters or visitors in the exercise of their office, neither the coopers and packers; and shall not endeavour to corrupt or bribe them to neglect their duty either by threats, gifts, or promise of reward, or any other manner of way whatsoever.

7. And in case any of said servants shall be desired by their masters to commit any frauds contrary to the said regulations, they shall be obliged to acquaint the directors of the fishery, named penning mectoren.

8. The aforesaid servants shall not endeavour to abuse or deceive the visitors of the herrings, by causing them to put a wrong burn-mark on repacked herrings, viz. a less sort for a greater; far less shall they alter any of the marks after burning, or alter the hooping of the barrels to make herrings less in value, pass for a different mark from what they were designed; and for preventing such frauds and abuse, take care always to keep the mark separate.

9. In

9. In case the aforefaid fervants fhall have occafion for any affiftants, they are to acquaint the vifitors, and to be accountable for all abufes and frauds thefe affiftants fhall happen to be guilty of contrary to the faid regulations.

10. The aforefaid fervants fhall not at any time alter any of the fea-marks, dates, burn-marks, by fhaving or cutting them off from the feaftrikers re-packed herrings, far lefs fhall they put any other marks in place of them, nor fuffer it to be done by others.

11. The fervants fhall faithfully and exactly notice, in conjunction with the vifitors, all the wracks and faults that may happen to be on fea-fheck herrings, taking care that there be an exact account taken of them, as well by them as the vifitors, which they fhall deliver in to their mafters, without feed or favour, and any ways wronging their intereft.

12. Under the general name of herrings made mention of in the aforefaid regulations, is to be underftood, no other forts of herrings than fuch as are dressed and falted, conform to their high and mightineffes their placarts, and conform to the ftatutes of the great fishery of the country; no fervant or plaatfknecht fhall offer to meddle with any herrings caught by foreigners, imported into the provinces, either to pack or re-pack them, far lefs mix fuch herrings with Dutch.

13. Every evening the faid fervants fhall, in conjunction with the vifitors, take up an exact lift how many wracks have happened that day, and whether they be right notted on each mark; alfo that thofe wracks remain; if otherwife, they fhall acquaint the perfon that buys the herrings to prevent any miftake by mixture.

14. The aforefaid fervants fhall, during their work, forbear the fmoking tobacco, behave themfelves diligently, foberly, and faithfully in their mafters fervice, without giving them any unmannerly

nerly offence, neither shall they desert their masters service, except on a lawful occasion.

15. The aforesaid servants shall, so far as it concerns them, faithfully and truly regulate themselves according to the foregoing articles, and the general ordinances that are statute concerning the herring fishery, on pain of being turned out of their service, accounted mensworn, or perjured, and punished as such.

Instructions for the Coopers and Daunters or Springers of Herrings.

1. None shall take upon them to exercise the office of a cooper or springer of herrings before they be admitted and have taken an oath before the magistrates to observe the following directions.

2. The coopers belonging to any herring works shall not be allowed to daunt* any herrings that have the circle or burn mark, but leave that to be done by the coopers and daunters whose turn it is to do that service by lot, and who shall first once daunt the aforesaid circle and burn-mark, and likewise the great burn-mark, which they shall wash off with clear pickle, and afterwards making loose the bulge hoops, tread in the head of the barrel as stiff as possible, taking good notice that the bellen of the two last gangs of the great burn-mark herrings be taken off by the packers, and the bellen of the last gang of the Keuleen brand.

3. The coopers and springers shall not daunt any herrings except such as are salted with refined salt, (according to the order of package) and shall head or suffer to be headed no herrings except such as are full, stiff, and well packed, and when they find

* *Daunting* signifies pressing the herrings, jumping upon them after they are packed. Some of the most experienced fishers in the west of Scotland, think that this practice loosens the herrings from the bone, and is otherwise hurtful.

them

them otherwise, they shall challenge, or charge the packers, upon their oath, that they have taken to make them sufficient, and that they press them better with their hands in laying as they ought, and the packers shall be obliged to hearken to their reproofs and directions.

4. The springers and coopers shall take notice that the packers shall pack no herrings before the barrels out of which they pack are first made full with pickle, and likewise take notice that the packers do not pack or hight herrings in any deutel tonnen, as also that the plugs below and above be first taken out of the barrels that the pickle may run off, those that does otherwise shall be delated to the cure-master, who is immediately to be acquainted with it.

5. The springers shall take narrow notice that the right hand of the barrel into which herrings that have the burn-mark are packed, be marked on the under or inner side with the packer's mark, and they shall not close up or head up any herrings before they have seen said mark distinctly, under the penalty of 20 stivers.

6. No man shall presume or take in hand to cut off, or suffer to be cut off, any circles or marks that are put on the barrels by the cure-masters, and by so doing get a second cure performed on said herrings.

7. The aforesaid coopers shall bind every barrel that is marked with the great burn-mark with 20 hoops, or more, according to the largeness or smallness of the hoops; the warks and outshots of said herrings, with 16 hoops and no less; also the Ceulen brand with 16 hoops, and the warks of them with 16 hoops of the best sort that the merchant has.

After all my enquiries in Holland and Great Britain relative to the Dutch method of fishing and curing the herrings, I was still sensible of a deficiency in the knowledge of that important object.

The

The persons engaged in the Hebride and east country fisheries seemed totally unacquainted with it. Others also who had resided in Shetland differed widely from each other in their reports; and even natives of Shetland, two of whom were examined before the committee of the House of Commons, seemed imperfect on that subject. The first person examined, said, he lived on a remote island, at a considerable distance from Braffa Sound; that he was solely engaged in the white fishery, and could give no account of the herring business. The second person resided at Lerwic, and was more intelligent, but being also engaged in the white fishery, his account of the herring business fell short of my expectations, though I spent some hours with him privately on that head. Soon after, I was seasonably favoured with the following important particulars, by two different channels; which, with the informations communicated in the course of this work, lays open the whole mystery of the business as practised by the Dutch, with such benefit to individuals, and the state.

Copy of a Letter from Lerwic, Capital of the Shetland Isles, March 9, 1785.

The Dutch busses, of all nations, are the best constructed for the herring fishery in the open sea, as they are long round vessels, with a wailte about 30 inches high, which not only makes them warm and comfortable, but safe for the fishermen, while employed in gutting and curing the herrings. A proper vessel for the herring fishing on the coast of Shetland, in summer, if new, should not cost, with her new casks and every other fishing implement, under 1000*l.* of which the nets cost a very large share. The size of the Dutch vessels run from 50 to 70 tons. They have what is called a fleet of 50 nets to each buss. The nets, when strung or made fast to the rope to which they are fixed, measure about 50 fathoms long, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ deep. What they call the buss
rope,

rope, which is the rope that the whole fleet of nets depend upon, and by which the vessel rides when the nets are out, is generally 120 fathoms long, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; and of which the Dutch, Danes, and Prussians always have two, in case of one failing. These ropes are seldom used above three, often not above two years, and are made of the best materials, and great need is for it, as on it depends, in a storm, the safety of the out-fit of nets, buoys, ropes, &c. and perhaps a large haul of herrings. Instances have happened, when, by the failure of this rope, the whole out-fit has been lost, and the vessel obliged to return home.

Altho' it is said, and generally believed, that the herrings in summer are caught near the Shetland coast, yet it as frequently happens that they are caught near the Buchanefs, but it as regularly happens that when they are caught near the Buchanefs, and near Shetland, at the same time, that the latter are of a superior quality, and give a higher price at market.

The fishing vessels are all divided below decks in rooms calculated to hold each its particular part of the out-fit, and the access to each of them is from the deck by a separate hatch.

When they set out, the vessels are quite full of casks, one part of which is filled with salt sufficient to fill the whole cargo. This is always foreign salt, either bay salt or St. Ubes. No British salt has strength to cure the fat herrings caught here in summer.

When the nets are hauled in, and the herrings taken from them, the nets are put immediately below decks into their own room, and the herrings into two equal places, built upon deck, like large meal garnels, with shifting boards, and immediately after all is stowed away, they begin to gut, clean, * and

* The writer must be under a mistake with regard to the cleaning of herrings, there being no such practice, or any cause for it.

pack the herrings into barrels, and whatever remains uncured at the sun's going down, is thrown overboard.

The crew consists of 14 people; the master, mate, cook, five experienced fishermen, two young men who have not full wages, two younger than these, two, at still inferior wages, and two young boys, sometimes poor boys that are taken on board for their victuals without wages.

When herrings are caught, the master, mate, and cook, manage the vessel; the others are all employed in their different stations, in gutting, cleaning, packing, and curing the herrings. The five experienced fishermen must all be coopers, and pack, cure, and cooper the casks, and each must put his particular mark on the casks he coopers, so as to detect him if he works superficially, and for which he often pays by losing part of his wages.

The Dutch never shoot their nets before the 24th of June. They have a certain number of jiggers for carrying of the herrings caught from that time to the 15th of July. The first, go to Holland; the second, to Hamburg; and the third, to Bremen.

If the demand for herrings is greater at Hamburg, they often send two or three cargoes more there.

No herrings go to market until they are repacked, (that is filled up) except those caught the second or third night, which are sent off in their original package in order to catch the first market, there being no time for repacking.

When they have time, they generally repack or fill up, eight days after the herrings have been first salted. The vessels often fish within sight of the land, and sometimes very near it, so as they are seen riding under their nets from the shore, but that is always with an off-shore wind. They shift ground as they find the herrings more to the northward or southward, but are seldom upon the coast, at least few of them, after the end of July, or first week of August, alledging that the herrings go all southward as the season spends, and they generally end that fishery near Yarmouth.

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The herrings are seldom in our bays in summer, except a small kind not merchantable. Sometimes they set into the bays on the west coast in autumn, but so uncertain, that gentlemen who have at different times kept a stock of salt and casks upon hand for the purpose, have lost considerably by it. The barrels used by the Dutch, measure about 34 gallons; are of a thin superficial make, and made only fit to carry their herrings to market once.* They cost in Holland a guilder, or a sum equal to 1s. 9d. No jaggars remain with the buffes after the 15th of July. They must that day leave their stations and go home, whether they have got cargoes or not. But it often happens that they have all cargoes, and are away a week before they are obliged to go. All the herrings caught after the jaggars leave the fleet, are cured and kept on board the respective vessels by whom they are caught, until a cargo is made, or until the season is over for fishing.

Sloops of an ordinary make are not fit for fishing in the open seas, as there is no room upon their decks for all the operations and conveniencies necessary. Besides, they are commonly too low in the waist. The jaggars carry boats for bringing the herrings from the buffes at sea, but the buffes never carry any, as there is no room upon deck for them. The Dutch know from the colour of the water, whether the herrings swim deep or high up in the water, and regulate their buoy ropes accordingly.

Extract of a Letter from Scotland, May 10, 1785.

Since you was in this place I have had a conversation with a person who was many years engaged in curing of herrings on board the Dutch buffes; and it is from him, as well as from others, I learned that the superiority of the Dutch herrings, may be ascribed to the following causes, viz.

* Meaning the barrels for the early summer herrings.

1. To the fine herrings being never caught but when they are in season. The Dutch never begin to fish before the 24th of June, and their prime herrings are taken chiefly in the month of July.

2. To the herrings being taken alive out of the nets; for, as the Dutch drive with their nets from the bufs, and haul them every now and then, the herrings do not hang long in the nets, as is the case, with such of our bufses as fish with boats, and set their nets to the ground.

3. To the herrings being strewed over with salt, the moment they come out of the nets and are laid upon the deck of the vessel, are which is done before they are gutted.

4. To the gills and gut being taken out by an incision made with the knife, instead of being taken out with the fingers as is the practice with us. By which first method the great blood vessels at the heart are laid open, and the fish discharges itself of blood, &c. Hence the peculiar whiteness of Dutch herrings, both in the fish, and at the bone, where there is no blackness occasioned by the coagulation of blood, as is often the case with British herrings.

5. To their being cured with refined salt, which is prepared expressly for the purpose, by being cleared of bittern, and all that putrescent matter, which tends to corrupt, in place of preserving the fish. I am told that even the salt from France, Spain, Portugal, &c. is refined in Holland before it is used for the curing of herrings.

6. To the Dutch never taking on board any bufs more herrings in the morning than they can cure before sun-set: nay, I am informed, if any such remain, the master of the vessel is obliged to throw them overboard.

7. To their being packed sea-stick in tight barrels made of oak, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick in the stave, such as will hold in the first brine or pickle, which brine it is that alone makes the cure of the fish.

Lastly, To their wise regulations with regard to the whole process of curing and packing.

Notwithstanding the unwearied attention of the states of Holland to this fishery, the sale hath gradually fallen off since the middle of the last century, insomuch, that the buffes, which on an average of years, exceeded 2000, scarcely amount at present to 200; but as every buff makes two or three cargoes; we may still estimate the annual cargoes of herrings taken on the Scottish coast, at 500; besides the augmentation in the tonnage of the buffes which of late years hath doubled the antient dimensions.

When popery was more universal, and when the lent was rigidly observed, the Dutch market extended over great part of Europe; it is now chiefly confined to their own country, Germany, the Austrian, and French Netherlands.

This trade is greatly facilitated by means of sundry large rivers, as the Rhine, the Maese, the Weser, the Ems, the Elbe, and the Schield, with their branches. At Frankfort, and the hither parts of Germany, a Dutch herring sells at the price of two pounds of beef or mutton.

In Bohemia, and other distant parts, the price is enhanced to six pence, owing partly to the numerous tolls or tonnages in passing through different states.

It would seem that the Dutch have always been jealous of the interference of Great Britain in the herring fisheries. A certain author attributes the miscarriages of the British establishments in the last century to the gold and influence of that people.

When the British government, in 1749, resumed the business of the fisheries, the Dutch took the alarm, and immediately published fresh placarts on pretence of enforcing the fishery laws, which they alledged had been neglected, and "from whence, say they, it is to be apprehended that the now already much lessened foreign sale of the Dutch herrings, and the good repute thereof, will entirely cease, and, on the contrary, become in disesteem, to the great detriment and prejudice of the trade, and

consequently to the ruin of the great herring fishery; being so apparent a loss to the trade and welfare of the country, and the inhabitants thereof, in case it is not speedily and rigorously examined into."

Such is the language of strangers, who from long usage consider themselves as having a right to the fishery, but as nature hath bestowed this bounty on the Scottish shores, as an equivalent for her scanty dispensations in the soil and climate, it is but fair that the inhabitants should be permitted the full enjoyment thereof; or, at least, some exclusive privileges, by which they may not only arrive earlier at foreign markets than the Dutch, but also be enabled to sell their cargoes somewhat cheaper.

So trifling is our fishery in the north seas, that when a solitary Scotsman appears in his little black sloop or brig, amongst the elegant vessels belonging to the Dutch, he becomes the ridicule of the whole fleet. "Here comes the admiral—salute our noble commodore—hoist your pennants—fire your guns," are the scoffs levelled at the poor Scotsman, even by the phlegmatic Dutch. An anonymous author affirms that these people will sometimes run in close upon the coast after they have got their cargo, on purpose to break the shoals, with a view to obstruct the success of the natives. Though we can hardly give credit to this report, it is certain, that the Dutch method of dragging the ocean from the British shore to the distance of 20 or 30 miles, must so disperse the herrings as to prevent them from appearing in large bodies so often as they otherwise would, both on the Scottish and the English coast.

Besides the detriment to the British fisheries, as above stated, the Dutch, by means of their great capitals, and universal correspondence, are enabled to forestal the European markets, even before the herrings are taken, a circumstance which will, unavoidably, retard the progress of the native fishery, notwithstanding every effort of government to sup-
port

port it. If, therefore, the Scots wish to recover their hereditary patrimony, the staple source of commerce, navigation, and national consequence, they will endeavour to secure the northern fisheries to themselves and their fellow subjects of England, either by a total prohibition of all foreigners from rendezvousing and fishing within a limited distance of the Shetland Islands; or, by subjecting them to such tonnage, or duties, as will prevent them from engrossing foreign markets. This Britons have a right to expect: it is the law of nations, the language of common sense; even the Dutch themselves could not deem it unreasonable. On the contrary, they have set the example in their insignificant fishery upon their own shores, which they farm, or let out to the best bidder; thereby making a property of the sea.

CHARLES I. In 1636, issued a proclamation, prohibiting their fishing on our coast, which the Dutch disregarded, on a presumption of right, derived from the slender pretext of an occasional toleration from some of his predecessors. Upon this, the king sent the earl of Northumberland with a fleet to the north seas, where the Dutch buffes were busily employed: the earl having in vain required of them to desist, he sunk some, took others, and put the rest to flight. The states were then glad to solicit the lord high admiral to intercede for them with the king, for permission to continue their fishing for that season only, for which they would pay his majesty 30,000*l.* their request was granted and they paid the money. They further offered to become tributary forever, for the same amount, but the proposal was rejected. 30,000*l.* annually, with its accumulated interest, would, at the present day, have exceeded 17,000,000*l.* which is more than we have realized by the whole empire of North America, after deducting the expence of that country in wars, protection, bounties, and civil establishments. Fur-

ther, had such annual tribute been appropriated unalienably to the improvement of Scotland, and particularly the Highlands, this noble island would not have become a nursery of manufacturers, farmers, seamen, and fishers to other countries, from want of encouragement at home.

An opportunity offered at the close of the late war, for taking this matter into consideration, but it seems to have been overlooked. Something may still be done, by amicable negotiation, with a people who owe their civil and religious liberties; the rise of their opulence, commerce, and navigation, to the assistance of England, and the fisheries of Scotland. This seems to be the sense and the earnest wish of both kingdoms from the Thames northward.

Of the Swedish, Norway, Danish, Prussian, Flemish, and French Fisheries.

The herrings, as hath been observed, forsook the Swedish and German coast about the beginning of the 16th century, a circumstance extremely favourable to the Dutch, who thus saw themselves without a rival, the trifling exports from Yarmouth and Scotland excepted. At length, about 30 years ago, the herrings returned to the coast of Sweden, which they have continued to visit with such regularity, (till 1784, when no fish appeared) that the fishery hath become a capital object of the Swedish commerce. The Swedes have not, however, adopted the Dutch method of curing, and their herrings are so greatly inferior, that they sell in Stockholm at a farthing each; while those from Holland bring a penny, and are used by the first families of that capital.

It is said, that the Swedes have fallen upon a method of extracting oil from the herrings, and with considerable profit to those who have engaged therein.

The herrings have frequented the coast of Norway with greater regularity, but we know little of their manner of curing. It is certain that the Danes,

though they are masters of Norway, frequent the Scottish shores in the fishing seasons, to the number of 30 or 40 buffes. This preference to the Scottish fishery, must either be owing to the superior quality of the herrings, or the turbulence of the ocean on the coast of Norway, and the dangers of a lee-shore during the westerly winds.

About the same number of buffes frequent the coast of Shetland, from Prussia, Ostend, Dunkirk, and France, for which permission the British court hath a claim to some exclusive commercial privileges from those states, though hitherto neglected.

Of the English Herring Fisheries.

To a temperate climate, a fruitful soil, and rich mines, England is abundantly supplied in great variety of fish, as herrings, cod, ling, haddocks, whittings, pilchards, salmon, mackarel, flat and shell fish; inso-much, that the capital, though at the distance of 50 miles from the sea, is well supplied at all seasons, besides an export trade amounting to about 100,000l. annually.

Of these fisheries, that carried on from Yarmouth, for herrings, is the most antient upon record in the national annals, and which, it is conjectured, from its magnitude and long duration, hath brought a sum into the kingdom equal to 20,000,000l. of the present money.

It appears from antient records that the place where great Yarmouth now stands was originally a sand-bank in the sea; that by degrees it appeared above water, and became dry land: and that fishermen from different parts of England, especially the Cinque ports, and also from France, and the Low Countries, resorted hither annually to catch herrings at a certain season of the year, when the sea afforded great plenty. That, as the said land was then un-
occupied,

occupied, and its situation extremely convenient for drying their nets, manufacturing their fish, and exposing it there to sale, they erected temporary booths or tents, as their several circumstances permitted, to retreat, and secure themselves from the inclemency of the weather.

And, that for the better keeping of the peace, and securing each his property, the barons of the Cinque ports, then the principal fishermen of England, deputed several officers, called bailiffs, to attend this fishery or fair, every year, during the space of forty days, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, that being the principal herring season. Thus the fishery continued some time after the first beginning, which appears from various concurrent circumstances, to have been soon after the landing of Cerdick the Saxon, in 495.

In later times, when the sandy beach became safe and commodious to dwell upon, the fishermen began to build houses, and for their better defence, founded a burgh, which, gradually increasing, contained in the reign of Edward the Confessor, seventy burgessees.

In 1108, Henry I. in consequence of the great increase of inhabitants, and concourse of fishermen and traders, from various parts of England, Flanders, and Normandy, appointed a magistrate to govern the borough, called in Latin *Propositus*, but in the dialect of those times *Le Provost*.*

From this period downward, we perceive an unremitting attention to the success of the Yarmouth fishery, particularly in 1357, when a body of laws was enacted by Edward III. and his parliament, relative to the better regulation of the fisheries, and the great annual fair held at Yarmouth. That politic

* This term is still used in Scotland, where the mayor is called the provost, and the lord mayor, the lord provost.

monarch, with a view to promote the herring trade, became a purchaser of their fish, and in 1358, fifty lasts of herrings were shipped at Portsmouth for the use of his army and fleet in France. This practice was adopted by his successors down to queen Elizabeth; who also enforced the ecclesiastical laws respecting the keeping of Lent, in favour of the fisheries.

In 1635, a patent was granted to one Thomas Davis, Esq. for gauging red herrings, at Yarmouth, with a fee of 2 shillings and 3 pence per last. His duty was to view, try, search, and gauge all barrels of red herrings; and with certain seals, marks, or stamps, to make distinction of the several sorts and kinds of herrings contained therein, made up, and packed. And it was ordained in the same grant, "That none other vessel or vessels from time to time, shall be marked, sealed, or stamped, than such, as upon his or their view, trial, search, and gauging, shall be found to be without deceit, sound, uncorrupt, and unmixt."

In 1671, Charles II. the Duke of York, and several of the nobility went to Yarmouth, where they were entertained at an expence of 1000*l*. The corporation also presented his majesty with four golden herrings and a chain of 250*l*. value.

The Yarmouth herrings being most proper for drying, the inhabitants seem to have struck into that branch only, in which they have long had the reputation of being the best curers in Europe, insomuch that the Dutch were amongst the number of their foreign customers.

The Yarmouth people have greatly the advantage over the Dutch, first, in being nearer the herring shoals; and secondly, in being plentifully supplied with wood; whereas the Dutch are obliged to smoke their herrings with turf or straw.

The smacks commence the fishing about the 21st of September, and continue the business till the 25th

of

of November. The fishing grounds are from 10 leagues north of Yarmouth to the South Foreland. Their smacks or vessels carry from 30 to 50 tons, and 9 men and a boy upon an average. Every vessel is generally equipped at the first fitting out with 90 or 100 nets, which are replaced about the middle of the season by a fresh set of the same quantity and dimensions. The length of a net is 20 yards on the lint, which implies the mesh work, and 6 yards in depth; the value £. 1 11 6 each.

Expence of 2 sets of nets of 90 nets } each set, at £. 1 11 6 each	283 10 0
6 warps to fasten the nets together, } each warp being 120 fathoms long, } at £. 6 6 0 — —	37 16 0
60 buoys for floating the nets —	7 7 0
Mens wages for the season, besides 11. } per last on all the herrings taken }	40 0 0
Provisions for ditto — —	30 0 0
	<hr/>
	£. 398 13 0

Besides various contingent and accidental expences, as damages by stress of weather, and the destruction of the nets by dog fish.

Each vessel takes out upon an average 5 tons of salt for each outfit. The quantity is weighed out by the officer to the owner of the vessel, who, if the salt be foreign, gives a bond that it shall be used only in curing fish: Upon return of the vessel, the owner gives an account to the officer, upon oath, of the quantity consumed, whether foreign or home salt, and the remainder being re-weighed, is laid up in his majesty's stores. The home salt is imported from Liverpool. There are no custom-house fees except for the salt bond, which is from 9 to 12 shillings.

When the vessel arrives on the fishing ground she shoots her nets after sun-set from over the side, which extend near a mile in length, and are carried by the tide from 7 to 10 miles each tide. In two hours after

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after shooting the nets, they heave the warp by the capstern, and thus draw the net to the vessel, and if few or no fish are perceived, they wear the net out again and drive two hours longer; the same is repeated till morning, unless they get their quantity of fish sooner; or unless the dog-fish should rise, in which case they draw their nets in as quick as possible, set one mast and one sail, and go about a mile or two from this destroyer of nets, by whom 50l. or upwards is sometimes lost in one night.

Rough weather, if not a mere hurricane, is preferred by the Yarmouth fishers, which gives them an advantage over the Dutch, who decline the business when the sea is greatly agitated.

Each vessel is furnished with an apartment called a well, into which the fish are conveyed by a sort of machine, as soon as they are disengaged from the nets. The bottom of the well is full of holes, through which the blood and water runs out, and is pumped overboard.

There are two apartments called wings, one on each side of the well, into which the men throw the herrings with scoops; a third throws in the salt, while a fourth and fifth man throws up the herrings to the furthest part of the wings.

By this means the herrings are preserved, until the vessel hath got in 10 or 12 lasts, when she returns to Yarmouth road, sends the fish ashore in small boats, from whence they are carted to the fish-house. Here they are salted on the floor, in which state they lie two days; they are then washed in large vats of fresh water, put on the spits, and dried with many fires of billet-wood. If the herrings are intended for exportation, they are kept in this state from four to six weeks, when they are packed in casks of 32 gallons; each cask containing 1000 herrings. One last of salt cures three last of herrings. A bounty or drawback of $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is allowed on account of barrels,

rels, cordage, twine, and high wages. The sale is chiefly in Italy.

This ancient fishery is greatly on the decline, chiefly from the advanced price of fishing materials, amounting to 25 per cent. and also from rivalship, of which some particulars will be given hereafter.

In 1760, the town of Yarmouth fitted out 205 vessels from 30 to 100 tons, which gave employment to above 6000 persons of both sexes. Upon an average of 21 years previous to that period, there were caught upwards of 47,000 barrels each year, of which 38,000 barrels were exported, at a medium price of 18s. per barrel, which produced an annual gain to the nation of 42,300l. besides 20,000l. paid at foreign markets, to 40 ships for freight, and the 9000 barrels consumed at home, which added so much to the national stock of provisions. Between the years 1760 and 1783, the number of fishing vessels hath decreased from 205 to 94, and the average quantity of herrings caught annually during the last six years, amounted only to 14,000 barrels, of which 9335 were exported.

This fishery used to be frequented by 30 or 40 vessels from Folkestone, Hastings, and other ports; all of which have of late disappeared, and are supposed to have taken up the trade of smuggling.

The effects of this decline of the fisheries are not only severely felt by the parties immediately concerned therein, but by the town at large, where the poor rates have risen to 9s. and upwards in the pound.

When we consider the many disadvantages under which the English fishers labour, from the comparative great expence of ship-building, fishing materials, seamens wages, and the late rivalship of foreign nations, some parliamentary aid seems indispensibly necessary, not only to preserve the fishery from falling into the hands of foreigners, but also,
for

for the defence of the kingdom on that side, where it is most exposed and vulnerable.

Respecting the western fishery, we have before observed, that part of the western brigade, after visiting the coast of Scotland, passes down the Irish channel, till it is lost in the Atlantic. I have been informed by Mr. Pennant, that in 1766 and 1767, great quantities of shotten herrings appeared on the coast of Flintshire towards autumn, and continued till December; but they have ever since abandoned that coast, as well as Carnarvonshire. Their arrival in the Bristol channel, particularly the bay of Barnstaple, is more certain, into which they are forced by the great swell of the Atlantic, and where they are sometimes taken and cured for exportation, in very considerable quantities.

Of the English White Fisheries.

England was chiefly supplied in ancient times with white fish taken on the coasts of Shetland, Iceland, and the Farro islands *. The king of Denmark set up an exclusive claim to those seas, which gave rise to frequent bickerings between his subjects and the English fishers. Queen Elizabeth's instructions, in 1602, to her plenipotentiaries for treating with the king of Denmark on this subject, are too curious to be omitted. "But it is very unreasonable fervility, to look for such a power over another monarch, in a sea of such dimensions as is between his countries and Iceland, when it is well known, that none of our ships do ever come within sight of land. We," adds the queen, "may as well impose the like toll upon all ships of his country that pass through any of our channels, or about our kingdoms." The king of Denmark, in his reply, quoted old treaties between England and Denmark, but which the queen would not allow to be of any force in her days.

* The Shetland isles lie from the North of Scotland 100 miles.
 The Farro ditto ditto 140
 Iceland ditto ditto 400

This fishery, which had been prosecuted for many centuries with unremitting vigour, became now of less importance to England, in consequence of the inexhaustible treasure on the banks of Newfoundland, and the North-American seas, to which England claimed an exclusive right; in virtue of the discovery of those seas by Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry VII.

The banks of Newfoundland are of various dimensions, and known by different names. The Great Bank is supposed to be a submarine mountain, 500 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth. The seamen know when they approach it by the great swell of the sea, and the thick fogs that generally impend over it. Its situation is south-east from Newfoundland, between which and Cape Cod in New-England, there is a chain of lesser banks, as the Green, French, Porpoise, and Sable Banks; Brown's and St. George's ditto. Besides these banks, the whole coast of Newfoundland, New-England, Nova-Scotia, and Labrador, is one continued fishery; the greatest that hath yet been discovered by Europeans, and consisting of boundless variety, some for the table, others for oil, and some for both, as the cod fishery, the great object of the British, Irish, French, and American States, who, by virtue of treaties, possess these fisheries exclusively.

England long contended to engross the whole of these fisheries, to which France never would submit, as it must have rendered that kingdom dependent on England, not only for home supplies of fish, but also for the support of her West India colonies. The American provinces were permitted the full enjoyment of the fishery, with permission to supply Europe and the West Indies, but subject to certain duties upon importation into England. Lord Sheffield, in speaking of the late treaty of peace, says, "that France did not intend the American states should have a share of the Newfoundland fishery, which,

which, it is said, coming to the knowledge of the American commissioners, they immediately, and without the knowledge of the French ministers, and contrary to orders from congress, suddenly signed the provisional articles with our negotiator, who (ignorant of the above circumstance, although known to many at Paris) had *explained* that he was ready to sign on any terms, and readily gave up the Newfoundland fishery."

This fishery, thus secured to America, by a sudden manœuvre of her able negotiators, will, it is hoped, contribute to keep those states quiet in time coming; for, it is not to be supposed that Great Britain, Ireland, Nova Scotia, and Canada, will agree in any future treaty, to the participation of this valuable branch, by any power whatever, France only excepted.

Ireland, though prohibited from those fisheries, carried on a clandestine trade, by connivance of the commodores on the Newfoundland station, who returned the Irish vessels as English; and under this precarious indulgence, their fishery laboured till the year 1774, when government listened to the pressing intreaties of certain friends of Ireland, and abolished all distinctions between British and Irish shipping; since which period, the Irish Newfoundland fishery, aided vigorously by parliament, hath been carried to a considerable height, and is annually increasing.

The particulars of this distant fishery are fully stated by Lord Sheffield, Mr. Chalmers, and the Abbé Raynal; but however flattering it may appear in a commercial view, the fisheries around our own island have a preferable claim to public attention, and parliamentary support. From the former, our navy receives a precarious, and at best, a slender supply of seamen; from the latter it is manned with a race of veterans, invincible in war, and whose approach in the day of battle, strikes the boldest enemy with fear and trembling.

The fishery in the north seas was still carried on from Yarmouth and other eastern ports of England, to a very considerable extent. Vessels of 40 to 60 tons burden, fitted out in April, took in expert seamen at the Orkney Islands, whom they relanded on their return, about the end of August. They fished for cod with hand-lines, dried and salted the fish in the hold of the vessel. They also extracted some oil from the livers, and generally found good markets both at home and abroad. But it would seem as if some evil genius had conspired to ruin the British fisheries, on or near their own shores. The adventurers in this branch were obliged to pay duty for all salt carried out, that was not used in curing the fish, which was found so oppressive, that about 15 or 20 years ago, the fishery was completely abandoned. Thus the thirst of revenue operates equally to the decay of manufactures, fisheries, commerce, navigation, and consequently those nurseries for seamen on whom the navy chiefly depends.

Of all the wandering tribe, herrings excepted, the cod-fish is the most valuable to mankind. This fish is fond of cold climates, and is supposed to reside chiefly between the latitudes 66 and 45. What are taken north and south of those degrees, being either few in quantity, or bad in quality.

They are found as far north as Greenland, but they are small and emaciated; while those taken on the banks of Newfoundland, beyond the 45th degree, are in high perfection, and so numerous as to exceed all power of calculation.

In Europe they chiefly frequent the coast of Iceland, Norway, the Baltic, the islands and mainland of Scotland. After passing those latitudes, they decrease in number, but the industry of the English fishermen, stimulated by quick sales at the London market; hath of late years turned their own shores to good account. The grounds where the white fish

are taken, are the Dogger-bank, the Well-bank, and the Cromer, all on the east side of the kingdom, opposite Norfolk, Lincoln, and Yorkshire. Of these banks the Dogger is the most extensive and valuable for white fish in general, as appears from the following description communicated to Thomas Pennant, Esq. by Mr. Travis, surgeon in Scarborough, whose account of these fisheries is both curious and instructive.

The nearest part of the Dogger-bank lies 12 leagues from Flamborough Head, 16½ from Scarborough, 23 from Whitby, and 36 from Tinmouth below Newcastle. The north side of the bank stretches off E. N. E. between 30 and 40 leagues, until it almost joins the Long-bank, and Jutts Riff.

It is to be remarked, that the fishermen seldom find any cod, fry, or other round fish upon the Dogger-bank itself, but upon the sloping edges and hollows contiguous to it. The top of the bank is covered with a barren shifting sand, which affords them no subsistence; and the water on it, from its shallowness, is continually so agitated and broken, as to allow them no time to rest. The flat fish do not suffer the same inconvenience there; for when disturbed by the motion of the sea, they shelter themselves in the sand, and find variety of suitable food. It is true, the Dutch fish upon the Dogger-bank; but it is also true, they take little except soles, skates, thornbacks, plaise, &c. It is in the hollows between the Dogger and the Well-bank, that the cod are taken which supply London market.

The bottom from the shore to the edge of the Dogger-bank is a scar; in some places very rugged, rocky, and cavernous; in others smooth, and overgrown with variety of submarine plants, mosses, corallines, &c.* Some parts again are spread with

* I met on the shores near Scarborough, small fragments of the true red coral.

sand and shells; others, for many leagues in length, with soft mud and ooze, furnished by the discharge of the Tees and Humber.

Upon an attentive review of the whole, it may be clearly inferred, that the shore along the coast on the one hand, with the edges of the Dogger-bank on the other, like the sides of a decoy, give a direction towards our fishing grounds, to the mighty shoals of cod, and other fish, which are well known to come annually from the northern ocean into our seas; and secondly, that the great variety of fishing grounds near Scarborough, extending upwards of 16 leagues from the shore, afford secure retreats and plenty of proper food for all the various kinds of fish, and also suitable places for each kind to deposit their spawn in.

The fishery at Scarborough only, employs 105 men, and brings in about 5250*l.* per annum, a trifle to what it would produce, was there a canal from thence to Leeds and Manchester; it is probable it would then produce above ten times that sum, employ some thousands of men, give a comfortable and cheap subsistence to our manufactures, keep the markets moderately reasonable, enable our manufacturing towns to undersell our rivals, and prevent the hands, as is too often the case, from raising insurrections, in every year of scarcity, natural or artificial.

The method of taking turbot and other fish by the people of Scarborough is thus; when they go out to fish for turbot, each person is provided with 3 lines; each man's lines are fairly coiled upon a flat oblong piece of wicker-work; the hooks being baited, and placed very regularly in the centre of the coil; each line is furnished with 14 score of hooks, at the distance of 6 feet 2 inches from each other. The hooks are fastened to the lines upon ineads of twisted horse-hair, 27 inches in length. When fishing, there are always three men in each coble, and
consequently

consequently 9 of these lines are fastened together, and used as one line, extending in length near 3 miles, and furnished with 2520 hooks. An anchor and buoy are fixed at the first end of the line, and one more of each at the end of each man's line; in all 4 anchors, which are commonly perforated stones, and 4 buoys are made of leather or cork. The line is always laid across the current. The tides of flood and ebb continue an equal time upon our coast, and when undisturbed by winds, run each way about six hours. They are so rapid that the fishermen can only shoot and haul their lines at the turn of tide; and therefore the lines always remain upon the ground about 6 hours. The tide prevents their using hand-lines, and therefore two of the people commonly wrap themselves in the sail, and sleep while the other keeps a strict look-out, for fear of being run down by ships, and to observe the weather. For storms often rise so suddenly, that it is with extreme difficulty they can sometimes escape to the shore; leaving their lines behind.

The coble is 20 feet 6 inches long, and 5 feet extreme breadth. It is about one ton burden, rowed with 3 pair of oars, and admirably constructed for the purpose of encountering a mountainous sea: they hoist sail when the wind suits.

The 5 men boat is 40 feet long and 15 broad, and of 25 tons burden: it is so called, though navigated by 6 men and a boy, because one of the men is commonly hired to cook, &c. and does not share in the profits with the other 5. All our able fishermen go in these boats to the herring fishery at Yarmouth the latter end of September, and return about the middle of November. The boats are thus laid up until the beginning of lent, at which time they go off in them to the edge of the Dogger, and other places, to fish for turbot, cod, ling, skates, &c. They always take 3 cobbles on board, and when they come upon the ground, anchor the boat, throw out the cobbles, and

fish in the same maner as those do who go from the shore in a coble, with this difference only, that here each man is provided with double the quantity of lines, and instead of waiting the return of tide in the coble, return to the boat and bait their other lines; thus hauling one set and shooting another every turn of tide. They commonly run into harbour twice a week to deliver their fish. The 5 men boat is decked at each end, but open in the middle, and has two large lug-sails.

The best bait for all kinds of fish is fresh herring cut in pieces of a proper size, and notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, they are taken here at any time in the winter, and all the spring, whenever the fishermen put down their nets for that purpose. The 5 men boat always takes some nets for that end. Next to the herrings are the lesser lampreys,* which come all winter by land carriage from Tadcaster. The next baits in esteem are small haddockꝰ cut in pieces, sand-worms, muscles, and limpets; and lastly, when none of these can be had, they use bullock's liver. The hooks used here are much smaller than those employed at Iceland and Newfoundland. Experience has shewn that the larger fish will take a living small one upon the hook, sooner than any bait that can be put on; therefore they use such as the small fish can swallow. The hooks are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long in the shank, near an inch

* The lesser lampreys are chiefly taken in the Thames between Chelsea and Stains. They are sold as bait to the people of Harwich, and others engaged in the white fishery, at 6 guineas per thousand; but the great purchasers are the Dutch merchants, who contract for 400,000 per annum, at 3l. per 1000, and convey them to Holland in large vessels of 200 tons, each vessel carrying 50,000. The contract this year hath not been fully completed, on the part of the English fishermen, 300,000 only having been sent. This useful species of the Lamprey are also found in the Severn and the Dee.

wide between the flank and the point.* The line is made of small cording, and is always tanned before it is used. Turbots, and all the rays, are extremely delicate in their choice of baits. If a piece of herring or haddock has been 12 hours out of the sea, and then used as bait, they will not touch it.

Such is the manner of fishing on the English coast for those fish that usually keep near the bottom; and Duhamel observes, that the best weather for succeeding, is a half calm, when the waves are just curled with a silent breeze. †

In

* The hooks used in England are generally white and bright, as if plated. Of this circumstance the fishermen are very exact, taking care to scour or polish them occasionally.

† But the extent of the English fishing lines, which run, as we have seen, 3 miles along the bottom, is nothing to what the Italians throw out in the Mediterranean. Their fishery is carried on in a Tartan, which is a vessel much larger than ours; and they bait a line of no less than 20 miles long, with 10 or 12000 hooks. This line is called the Parafina, and the fishing goes by that of the Pielago. The line is not regularly drawn every 6 hours, as on the coast of Yorkshire, but remains some time in the sea; and requires 24 hours to take it up. By this apparatus they take rays, sharks, and other fish, some of which are above 1000 pound weight. When they have caught any of this magnitude, they strike them through with an harpoon, to bring them on board, and kill them as fast as they can.

This method of catching fish is obviously fatiguing and dangerous, but the value of the capture generally repays the labour. The skate and the thornback are very good food; and their size, which is from 10 pound to 200 weight, sufficiently rewards the trouble of fishing for them. But it sometimes happens that the lines are visited by very unwelcome intruders; by the rough-ray, the fire-flare, or the torpedo. To all these the fishermen have the greatest antipathy; and, when discovered, shudder at the sight; however, they are not always so much upon their guard, but that they sometimes feel the different resentments of this angry tribe; and, instead of a prize, find they have caught a vindictive enemy. When such is the case, they take care to throw them back into their own element with the swiftest expedition.

The rough-ray inflicts but slight wounds with the prickles with which its whole body is furnished. To the ignorant it seems harmless, and a man would at first venture to take it in his hand, without any apprehension; but he soon finds that there is not a

In our seas the cod-fish begin to spawn in January, and deposit their eggs in rough ground, among rocks. Some continue in the roe till the beginning of April. The cod-fish in general recover sooner after spawning than any other fish, therefore it is common to take some good ones all the summer. The fish of a middling size are most esteemed for the table, and are chosen by their plumpness and roundness, especially near the tail; by the depth of the pit behind the head, and by the regular undulated appearance of the sides, as if they were ribbed. The glutinous parts about the head lose their delicate flavour after it hath been 24 hours out of the water, even in winter, in which these and other fish of this genus are in highest season.

The largest that we ever heard of taken on our coast weighed 78 pounds; the length was 5 feet 8 inches, and the girth round the shoulders 5 feet. It was taken at Scarborough in 1755, and sold for 1 shilling. But the general weight of these fish in the Yorkshire seas, or more properly on the Dogger bank, is from 14 to 40 pounds. Fishermen are well acquainted with the use of the air bladder, or *sound* of the cod, and are very dextrous in perforating this part of a live fish

single part of its whole body that is not armed with spines; and that there is no way of seizing the fish, but by the little fin at the end of the tail.

But this animal is harmless, when compared to the fire-flare, which seems to be the dread of even the boldest and most experienced fishermen. The weapon with which nature hath armed this animal, is 5 inches long, of a flinty hardness, the sides thin, sharp pointed, and closely and sharply bearded the whole length.

The torpedo is possessed of one of the most potent and extraordinary faculties in nature. To all outward appearance, it is furnished with no uncommon powers, yet the instant it is touched, it numbs not only the hand and arm, but sometimes the whole body, penetrating in an instant through the pores to the very springs of life, and gives great pain,

with

with a needle, in order to disengage the enclosed air; for without this operation it could not be kept under water in the well-boats, and brought fresh to market. The sounds of the cod salted is a delicacy often brought from Newfoundland. Isinglass is also made of this part by the Iceland fishermen; the process of which is thus given by Humphry Jackson, Esq. in the Philosophical Transactions of 1773.

The sounds of cod and ling bear a general likeness to those of the sturgeon kind of Linnæus and Artedi, and are in general so well known as to require no particular description. The Newfoundland and Iceland fishermen split open the fish as soon as taken, and throw the back-bones, with the sounds annexed, in a heap; but previous to putrefaction, the sounds are cut out, washed from their slimes, and salted for use. In cutting out the sounds, the parts between the ribs are left behind, which are much the best; the Iceland fishermen are so sensible of this, that they beat the bones upon a block with a thick stick, till the pockets, as they term them, come out easily, and thus preserve the sound entire. If the sounds have been cured with salt, that must be dissolved by steeping them in water, before they are prepared for isinglass. The fresh sound must then be laid upon a block of wood, whose surface is a little elliptical, to the end of which a small hair brush is nailed, and with a saw knife, the membranes on each side of the sound must be scraped off. The knife is rubbed upon the brush occasionally, to clear its teeth, the pockets are cut open with scissars, and perfectly cleansed of the mucous matter with a coarse cloth; the sounds are afterwards washed a few minutes in lime water, in order to absorb their oily principles; and lastly, in clear water. They are then laid upon nets, to dry in the air; but if intended to resemble foreign isinglass, the sounds of cod will only admit of that called back, but those of ling both shapes.

The

The thicker the founds are, the better the isinglass, colour excepted; but that is immaterial to the brewer, who is its chief consumer.*

Besides this useful article, the tongues of cod and ding fish are salted and barrelled up for sale. As also the roes, which being salted and barrelled, serve to cast into the sea, to draw fish together, particularly pilchards. The livers of these fish produce oil, which is used chiefly in dressing of leather.

LING. The ling fish abound near the Scilly Isles, and on the Yorkshire coast. In the latter they are in perfection from the 1st of February to the 1st of May, and some till the end of that month. In June they spawn, depositing their eggs in the soft oozy ground of the mouth of the Tees. At that time the males separate from the females and resort to some rocky ground near Flamborough Head, where the fishermen take great numbers without ever finding any of the female or roed fish among them.

While a ling is in season its liver is very white, and abounds with a fine flavoured oil; but when the fish goes out of season, the liver becomes red like that of a bullock, and affords no oil. The same happens to the cod and other fish in a certain degree, but not so remarkably as in the ling. When the fish is in perfection, a very large quantity of oil may be melted out of the liver, by a slow fire, but if a violent sudden heat be used for that purpose, they yield very little.

Great quantities of ling are salted for exportation,

* It is also used by wine coopers, being the most efficacious, as well as the most safe and innocent of all the ingredients they use for clearing their wines. It is also an excellent agglutinant and strengthener, and is often prescribed in jellies and broths. The greatest quantity of isinglass is made in Russia from a species of fish very common in the Volga. We have it principally from the Dutch, who contract for it before it is made. It is also plenty on the banks of the Danube, and might be equally so on the British shores, especially those of the north, where cod and ling are in the greatest abundance.

as well as for home consumption. When it is cut or split for curing, it must measure 26 inches or upwards from the shoulder to the tail; if less than that it is not reckoned a sizeable fish, and consequently not entitled to the bounty on exportation; such are called drizzles, and are in season all summer. The usual size of a ling is from 3 to 4 feet; but some have measured 7 feet.

HADDOCKS. The haddock, the whiting, and the mackarel, are thought, by some, to be driven upon our coasts rather by their fears than their appetites; and it is to the pursuit of the larger fishes, we owe their welcome visits. It is more probable, that they come for that food which is found in greater plenty near the shore, than farther out at sea. One thing is remarkable, that their migrations seem to be regularly conducted. The grand shoal of haddocks that comes periodically on the Yorkshire coasts, appeared there in a body on the 10th of December, 1766; and exactly on the same day, in the following year. These shoals extended from the shore near 3 miles in breadth; and in length from the Flamborough Head to the mouth of the Tyne below Newcastle, being 80 miles, and possibly much farther northwards. The limits of this great body from the shore are precisely known; for if the fishermen put down their lines at the distance of more than 3 miles from shore, they catch nothing but dog-fish; a proof that the haddock is not there.

Within the distance of a mile from Scarborough harbour, three fishermen have frequently loaded their coble with them twice a day, taking each time about a ton of fish.

The best haddocks have been sold from 12 to 18 pence per score, and the poor had the smaller sort at a penny, and sometimes a halfpenny per score.

The large haddocks quit the coast as soon as they go out of season, and leave behind great plenty of small ones. It is said that the large ones visit the coasts
of

of Hamburgh and Jutland, in the summer. It is no less remarkable than providential, that all kinds of fish, mackarel, and in some degree herrings excepted, which frequent the Yorkshire coast, approach the shore, and offer themselves to us generally as long as they are in high season, and retire from us when they become unfit for use. The best haddocks for the table are those which weigh from 2 to 3 pounds; those of a very large kind are coarse eating.

Large haddocks begin to be in roe about the middle of November, and continue so till the end of January; from that time till May they are very thin tailed, and much out of season. In May they begin to recover, and some of the middling-sized fish are then very good, and continue improving till the time of their greatest perfection. The small ones are extremely good from May till February, and some even in February, March, and April, viz. those which are not old enough to breed.

The Scarborough fishermen assert, that in rough weather haddocks sink down into the sand and ooze in the bottom of the sea, and shelter themselves there till the storm is over, because in stormy weather they take none, and those that are taken immediately after a storm are covered with mud on their backs. In summer they live on young herrings and other small fish, in winter on the stone-coated worms, which the fishermen call haddock meat.

WHITINGS. These fish frequent the English seas in great shoals, particularly during the spring, keeping at the distance of half a mile to three miles from the shore. They are taken in abundance by the line, and afford excellent diversion. They are the most delicate, as well as the most wholesome of any of the genus, but do not grow to a large size near the coast, where the usual length is 10 or 12 inches. In the deep water on the edge of the Dogger-bank they have been found to weigh from 4 to 8 pounds.

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It is matter of surprize that the white fisheries on the English coast were almost totally neglected by the natives till within the present century, as appears from a state of the cod and haddock fishing trade, addressed to the public by the fishermen of Harwich, in 1774.

Whereas, say they, the fisheries of this kingdom in general have been worthy the care and attention of the legislature, and they have, at fundry times, enacted such laws as they judged would tend to the encouragement of them, we shall recite the clauses of such acts of parliament as were made relating to the fisheries, prior to the beginning of the north sea cod and haddock fishery, that the legislative body of the kingdom, in particular, may judge of their tendency towards the rise of the said fishing trade.

The acts thus recited are the

- 15 of Charles II. chap. 7. sect. 16.
- 18 ————— 2. ——— 2.
- 32 ————— 2. ——— 2.
- 10 and 11 of William III.
- 1 of George I. stat. 2. sect. 18.
- 9 ————— II. sect. 33.

These laws chiefly related to the exclusion of foreign fish being imported into England, under high penalties, as herring, cod, pilchards, ling, or salmon, fresh, salted, dried, or bloated; nor any grill, mackarel, whiting, haddock, sprats, coal-fish, gull-fish, nor any sort of flat fish, nor any other sort of fresh fish whatsoever, turbot excepted, either taken by, bought of, or received from foreigners, except protestant strangers inhabiting this kingdom.

These prohibitory laws gave rise to a considerable white fishery on the east coast, from Harwich, Yarmouth, and other ports, which began and is carried on in the following manner.

The fresh cod, haddock, &c. that were brought
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to London market, at the time the aforesaid laws were enacted, and for several years after, were caught in harbours, rivers, and bays, and by boats laying lines upon the coast, from Orford, as far as Pakefield or Lestoff in Suffolk, where the fishing-smacks, from Harwich and other places, lay and took them in for London; for, at that time, there were no fishing smacks or vessels that went into the north sea from Harwich, nor (by the account of the oldest fishermen) from any other port in England, to catch live cod and haddock for London market.

In 1712, there were 3 smacks, of about 40 tons burden each, belonging to Harwich, which carried about 20 men and boys. And, in 1715, Richard Orlibar, master and owner of one of the aforesaid smacks, having received information of the Dutch fishermen where they took the cod, &c. proceeded, at his own hazard and expence, on a voyage to the north sea, (meaning the Cromer and the Doggerbanks) and, after a trial of 6 weeks, he returned to Harwich, having caught only one cod, and one coal-fish. Notwithstanding this bad success in his first attempt, he went a second time, and having the good fortune to catch a considerable quantity of fish, not only encouraged him to continue this fishery, but also induced the other two owners of smacks at Harwich, and the fishermen at Horslydown, &c. to take up this trade of supplying London with fresh fish.

From 1715 to 1720, the number of smacks in the port of Harwich, had increased to 12 sail; in 1735, to 33 sail, from 40 to 50 tons burden each; in 1774, to 62 sail, from 45 to 55 tons; and immediately before the late Dutch war, to 72 sail.

They fished with hand-lines till about the year 1770, when an Englishman who had been on the Dutch fishery, introduced the method practised by that people in the winter by means of long lines. At first they had little or no success in the long-line fishery,

fishery, but they are now equally expert as the Dutch themselves, in both methods.

In June or July, they sail to the distance of 15 leagues from the coast of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, where they remain till November, fishing with hand-lines, for haddock and small cod; their bait is wilks and muscles.

They then proceed to the Dogger-bank, where they fish till the end of April, with long-lines, for cod, and other fish of a larger size.

They use a bushel and a half of Liverpool salt, to a barrel of cod. London is the market for both fresh and salt fish; pays 40 shillings per barrel for the latter.

It is computed that the Harwich smacks supply the capital with about 2000 ton weight of cod, haddocks, whittings, holibut, skate, and coal-fish. Every smack carries upon an average 4 men, and 5 or 6 apprentices, who serve 7 years. The number of smacks is at present reduced to 58 or 60. This decrease is chiefly owing to the suffering persons from other parts to purchase fish from the Dutch; which they bring to the London market; and secondly, from the restrictions and duties on salt, which obliges them frequently to throw their fish overboard unfalted; thirdly, the money demanded at the coast office in London.

Some smacks frequent the lobster fishery in March, April, May, June, and some part of July. With proper encouragement they would supply London with turbot between April and August. A bounty of 40 or 45 shillings per ton, on vessels from 40 to 45 tons would employ our own people, and save a drain of many thousand pounds paid annually to the Dutch, who employ from 40 to 50 vessels, from 30 to 70 tons burden, chiefly in supplying the London market.

When a number of Dutch smacks arrive in the river with turbot, lobsters, crab-fish, plaife, and eels,

eels, they anchor at Gravesend, from whence they feed the market with the nicest exactness, being enabled thereto by the law, which permits them to remain 7 or 8 days to sell their fish; consequently the price of turbot is artificially kept at from 15 to 21 shillings.

It further appears that the fish on the Dogger and other banks, are inexhaustible. That the fishers, besides amply supplying the London market, could also, with suitable encouragement, raise a considerable export trade, the beneficial effects of which need not again be repeated.

Here is a rich sea, ready sales, and a populous coast of hardy well-trained fishermen, whose inclinations, habits, and local situation, qualify them for that branch only.

MACKAREL. The mackarel is a summer fish of passage, found in large shoals in various parts of the ocean, not far north; but especially on the French and English coasts. They enter the English channel in April, and proceed up to the mouth of the Thames as the season advances, where they furnish London with a plentiful supply till June, and are then in high perfection. An inferior sort is also taken during the harvest months. In June they reach the opposite coasts of France and England, where the fishery is most considerable. They are taken either with a line or nets; but chiefly with the latter, and usually in the night-time. The best fishing is during a fresh gale of wind, which is thence called the mackarel gale.

These fish may be pickled two different ways; first by opening and gutting them, then filling the belly with salt, crammed in as hard as possible with a stick; this done, they are ranged in rows, at the bottom of the vessel, with salt strewed between the layers. By the second method, they are put immediately into tubs full of brine, made of fresh and salt water; then left to steep till they have imbibed
salt

salt enough to make them keep; after which they are taken out and barrelled up, being well pressed down.

Mackarel, both fresh and salted, are mostly consumed at home, except a small quantity that are exported by the Yarmouth and Lestoff merchants. In this respect they are less useful as an article or merchandise than other species of the gregarious fish, being very tender and unfit for carriage.

The usual weight of mackarel is about 2 pounds, but there was one sold in London, in 1775, that weighed $5\frac{1}{4}$ pounds.

During winter a film grows upon the eyes of mackarel; in the spring they are half blind; and in summer the film is cast.

The form of the mackarel is extremely elegant, and usually considered as a model for naval architecture. Nothing can exceed its brilliancy when first taken out of the water, which death impairs, but does not wholly obliterate. The excellency of the taste and flavour is also greatly extinguished a few hours after it is taken.

PILCHARD. The pilchard is less than the herring, which in other respects it resembles. It is also a fish of passage from the northern latitudes, and the approach of the shoals is known by nearly the same signs as those that indicate the arrival of the herrings, when the whole country prepare to take the advantage of this treasure, providentially thrown before them. They appear about the middle of July on the Cornish coast, and no where else in England, where they range between Fowey harbour and the Scilly islands till September; sometimes a few return after Christmas. This fish, like the herrings, naturally follows the light, a circumstance which greatly facilitates both fisheries. The Dutch buffes, in the herring fishery, have lights at their sterns, which they are obliged to extinguish when the nets are hauled in. The benefits derived from the pil-

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chard fishery, are thus enumerated by Dr. Borlase in his History of Cornwall.

It employs a great number of men on the sea, training them thereby to naval affairs: employs men, women, and children, at land, in salting, pressing, washing, and cleaning: in making boats, ropes, nets, casks, and all the trades depending on their construction and sale.

The poor are fed with the offals of the captures, the land with the refuse of the fish and salt; the merchant finds the gains of commission and honest commerce, the fishermen the gains of the fish. Ships are often freighted hither with salt, and into foreign countries with the fish, carrying off at the same time part of our tin. The usual produce of the number of hogsheds exported each year, for 10 years, from 1747 to 1756 inclusive, from the 4 ports of Fowey, Falmouth, Penzance, and St. Ives; it appears that Fowey has exported yearly 1732 hogsheds; Falmouth 14631; Penzance and Mounts Bay 12149; St. Ives 1282; in all 29795 hogsheds. Every hogshed for 10 years last past, together with the bounty allowed for each hogshed exported, and the oil made out of each, has amounted one year with another at an average, to 1l. 13s. 3d. so that the cash paid for pilchards exported has, at a medium, annually amounted to 49,532l. 10s.

Doctor Borlase assured Mr. Pennant, that on the 5th of October, 1767, there were at one time inclosed in St. Ives Bay 7000 hogsheds, each hogshed containing 35,000 fish, in all 245,000,000.

When the pilchards are taken, they are brought to a warehouse on shore, where they are laid up in broad piles, supported by backs and fides. As they pile them, they salt them with bay salt; in which they lie soaking 20 or 30 days, and discharge a great quantity of blood, with dirty pickle and bitter; which last draws much of the oil from the fish, to the great loss of the owners. When taken out of the
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pile,

pile, there remains a quantity of salt, blood, scales, &c. at the bottom, which, with fresh salt, serves for another pile. They then proceed to wash them in sea water to clear off the dirt and blood; and when dry, they put them up in barrels, and press them hard down, to squeeze out the oil, which issues away at a hole in the bottom of the cask; and in this state they are fit for sale, or use.

SALMON. Though there are some tribes of fish that live only in the sea, and others only in fresh water, yet there are some whose organs are equally adapted to either element; and that spend a part of their season in one, and a part in the other. Thus the salmon, the flounder, the smelt, and the shad, annually quit the sea at certain seasons to deposit their spawn in security, in gravelly beds of rivers, remote from their mouths. There are scarce any difficulties or dangers which the salmon will not encounter to find a proper place for the deposition of their future offspring. They will ascend rivers 500 miles from the sea, force themselves against the most rapid streams, and spring with amazing agility over cataracts, of several feet in height. They are frequently taken in the Rhine, as high as Basil in Switzerland; they gain the sources of the Lapland rivers, in spite of their strong torrents; and surmount the perpendicular fall across the Liffy, at Leixlip, 7 miles above Dublin, though near 30 feet in height. As soon as they come to the bottom of the cascade, they seem disappointed to meet the obstruction, and retire some paces back: they then take a view of the danger that lies before them, survey it motionless for some minutes, advance, and again retreat; till at last summoning up all their force, they take a leap from the bottom, their body quite straight, and with a strong tremulous motion; and thus most frequently clear every obstruction. It sometimes happens, however, that they want strength to make the leap, in which case, they are entangled in their de-

scent, by baskets placed on purpose, from which they cannot escape. The shooting of salmon in their leap is sometimes practised for amusement.

The salmon is a northern fish; occupying in the European seas, the latitudes lying between France and Greenland.

Clear streams with a gravelly or sandy bottom produce the best fish, and also the most numerous. They abound in the Severn, the Eden, Tine, and Tweed. This last being the greatest fishery in Britain, the following particulars communicated to the public by the late Mr. Potts, of Berwick, may be acceptable to most readers.

At the latter end of the year, or in the month of November, the salmon begin to press up the rivers* as far as they can reach, in order to spawn; when that time approaches, they search for a place fit for the purpose: the male and female unite in forming a proper receptacle for it in the sand or gravel, about the depth of 18 inches. This done they cover it carefully with their tails, where it lies buried till spring, if not disturbed by violent floods. The salmon, now thin and lean, and known by the name of kipper, hasten to sea as soon as they are able in order to recover their strength.

About the end of March the young begin to appear, which gradually increase to the length of 4 or 5 inches, and are then termed smelts or smouts.† About the beginning of May the river seems to be all alive with them, when a seasonable flood hurries them to the sea, few or none being left behind.

About the middle of June, the earliest of the smouts or fry, begin to drop back from the sea into

* Viz. The Tweed and the various auxiliary streams which flow into that river from different directions in Scotland, as the Tiviot, the Yarrow, and the Etterick, by which streams they ascend above 40 miles from the sea at Berwick.

† An appellation frequently given in Scotland to children of small growth.

the river, and are then from 12 to 16 inches in length: they continue increasing in number and magnitude till about the end of July, which is at Berwick termed the height of gilse time, a name given to the fish of that age. They now lessen in number, but increase in size, being in August from 6 to 9 pounds in weight.

The capture in the Tweed about the month of July, is prodigious; in a good fishery often a boat load, and sometimes near two, are taken in a tide: From 50 to 100 is very frequent: some years ago 700 were taken at one haul. The season for fishing in the Tweed begins November 30, but the fishermen work very little till after Christmas: it ends on Michaelmas day; but the corporation of Berwick (who are conservators of the river) indulge the fishermen with a fortnight past time, on account of the change of the style.

There are on the river 41 considerable fisheries, extending about 14 miles upwards, which are rented for near 5400l. per annum. The expence for servants wages, boats, nets, &c. amounts to 5000l. more, which together makes up the sum of 10,400l.

The markets are the Mediterranean and London. Those for the former are opened along the back; the guts, gills, and the greatest part of the bones are taken out, to make the inside as smooth as possible. They are then salted in large tubs, where they lie a considerable time in brine, and in October are packed up close in barrels.

But the demands from London, and the high price given by the fishmongers in that voluptuous city; have of late almost annihilated the export trade of salmon, both from England and Scotland.

Thus we perceive England to be environed with shoals of fish, both delicate and plenteous. The coasts of Northumberland and Durham abound in salmon; Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in white fish

and flat fish; Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex in white fish, flat fish, shell fish, and herrings; Suffex in mackarel; Cornwall in ditto and pilchards; the Bristol channel in white fish, flat fish, and herrings; the Severn and the Eden in salmon; the adjacent shores of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man in boundless shoals of large herrings.

Of the Irish Herring Fisheries.

Ireland had remained in a state of nature, without arts, manufactures, commerce, fisheries, or shipping, till the reign of Charles II. when the Duke of Ormond, in his instructions to the Council of Trade in 1664, thus expressed himself: *You are to consider by what means the fishing trade may be most improved in the kingdom of Ireland.* But neither the fisheries, nor any other branch of commerce, was prosecuted effectually, till about the year 1750, when a considerable number of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, incorporated themselves by royal charter, under the name of *The Dublin Society for improving of husbandry, and other useful arts.* This society being liberally endowed by parliament, diffused a spirit of inquiry, industry, and enterprize, over great part of the nation, particularly the North, where the linen manufacture hath arrived at an incredible height.

The rise of the fisheries is of a much later date, owing to the inefficacy of premiums, instead of tonnage bounties, the only mode by which the fisheries of these kingdoms can be carried on for a permanency to any considerable extent.

In the year 1764, the Irish parliament considering this business as an object of national importance, began to frame such laws, and to grant such aids, as the nature of the fisheries suggested; liberal, judicious, and flattering, "every matter relative to the fisheries," said they, "ought at once to be rendered

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as efficacious and permanent as the nature of things and our present insight will permit. The hitherto greatest impediments to the progress of the British fisheries carried on from Scotland, has been owing to the ill calculated laws, restrictions, and duties laid upon salt, used in curing of herrings. Let not, therefore, insignificant salt duties be a stumbling-block with us; as we have seen the absurdity in others, let such provision be made at starting, as may prevent any such accident from blasting the first progress of the Irish fisheries."

The fish that frequent the Irish shores are generally the same species as those upon the English coast, the pilchard excepted, whose resort is to the east side of Cornwall, and no where else in the British seas.

Previous to a detail of those fisheries, the following geographical sketch of that kingdom and its shores may be deemed expedient by British readers.

The comparative dimensions of Ireland to Great-Britain, in statute miles, is thus, viz.

	Miles.
England and Wales, with their islands,	49,450
Scotland, with the three divisions of islands, — —	<u>27,794</u>
Size of Great Britain, —	<u>77,244</u>
Ireland, with the isles, —	27,457

Being nearly equal to Scotland, and above one-third of the size of the two British kingdoms.

Ireland is situated on the west side of Britain, from which it is separated by a narrow sea, called the Irish Channel. It is environed by the Atlantic Ocean on the south, west, and north, between which and America there is no intervening land, which gives it an easy communication with that great continent,

continent, the Newfoundland fisheries, and the West Indies.

The east coast of Ireland is, upon the whole, intermixed with hills of no striking height. It is a rich champain country, producing abundance of grain, both for home demand and exportation; but its fisheries, at no time considerable, have of late fallen off; insomuch that Dublin, though situated at the bottom of an extensive bay, is partly supplied in white fish from the Hebride Isles. The northern part of Ireland facing Scotland, and also the western side lying upon the Atlantic, is in general mountainous, and more proper for grazing than tillage. The whole range of coast from Belfast Loch to the north-west cape called Fair Head, and from thence to Mizen Head on the south-west, is lofty, frequently perpendicular, washed at the base by the Atlantic, much exposed to the northern and western winds; but happily indented by lakes and bays, which penetrate far into the country between the ridges of the mountains, similar to the Scottish lakes, and affording shelter to navigation, as well as considerable fisheries. In this arrangement, we perceive the provident care of the Author of nature, both upon the European and American continents. Where the soil affords a scanty subsistence to the inhabitants, the sea is rich; as in Scotland, Norway, and Iceland, in Europe; Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Labradore, in North America. The principal Irish fishery is that of the herrings, who, after having cleared the Scottish shores, pay an annual visit to the lakes of Donegal, into which they are driven with a north-west wind, by the heavy swell of the Atlantic. The principal fisheries are in Loch Swilly, the Rosses, Killebeggs, and Inverbay, on the coast of Donegal. An inferior kind of herrings are occasionally taken on the coast of Sligo and Mayo, as far southward as Broadhaven.

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The fishery at Inverbay begins in July, and continues till the beginning, sometimes the end of September.

The herrings are small, and have not hitherto been cured for exportation. The other fisheries commence in November, and end in January. The shoals that enter the lochs within this period exceed credibility; the whole coast is then in motion; fishermen, farmers, and mechanics, are all busily employed day and night, while the buffes from the trading towns of the kingdom are continually arriving, loading, and departing, being under no restraints whatever; they either fish, or purchase from the country boats, as seems most convenient to themselves or their owners. When the fishery is good, they load in a few days, and immediately proceed with their cargo agreeable to their instructions. They return immediately to the fishing ground, thus availing themselves of the bounteous gifts of Providence, while the British vessels are obliged to remain three months, or until they have procured a cargo by means of their own boats only. Such a distinction gives the Irish a decided advantage over the latter, as the law now stands, both in respect to the quantity of herrings cured, and the early supply of the home and foreign markets.

The herrings taken by the British vessels are, however, preferred by the merchants, on account of their being gutted, and cured in barrels of 32 gallons. The Irish ungutted herrings, on the other hand, are in some parts of the coast, salted in holes dug in the earth, till the fishers have an opportunity of selling them to the buffes; they are then packed or piled up in the hold of the vessel, and are thus carried to Cork, and other ports, where they are put into barrels of 28 gallons, and exported to the West Indies.

Of the winter herrings taken in Loch Swilly, 500 will fill a barrel; and of the early herrings, 800.

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The buffes are from 20 to 100 tons burden ; they are under certain parliamentary regulations respecting netting, and the number of men. An improvement hath lately been made in the management of the nets, by which there is a considerable saving to the proprietors. Hitherto the nets were tanned with bark alone, but the improved method is a mixture of tar and fish oil ; five parts of tar, and one of oil, are melted together, to incorporate thoroughly ; when quite hot, it is poured upon the nets in a tub, in quantity sufficient to wet them. It is then drawn off by a hole at the bottom of the tub, immediately, in order that too much of it may not stick, and make them clammy, which would be the case, if it cooled on them. At the bottom of the tub should be an open false bottom, or the nets will stop the hole, and the mixture will not run off free enough. By means of this simple operation, the nets are prevented from rotting, and the fishermen are saved the trouble of ever spreading and drying them, which in common is done every day, and is a great slavery in the short days : the benefit has been found so great, that almost all the country has come into it.

Improvements have also been made in working the nets ; it is found, that corking the line under the strapped buoys is wrong, as it keeps it in an uneven direction ; there should be a vacancy of corks for three fathom on each side the buoy lines, but the middle spaces should be corked thick, which is found to answer exceedingly well.

A vessel of 100 tons hath two boats from 19 to 21 feet keel, 7 feet 4 inches broad, and 3 feet 4 inches in depth ; the expence of building 19l. each. The nets are 120 fathom long at the rope, and 7 feet deep. It sometimes happens, that the want of a sufficiency of buoy rope is the reason why country fishermen are often unsuccessful, though immediately above the herrings.

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IRISH HERRING FISHERIES. 315

The following estimates show the great progress of the Irish herring fisheries during these last 30 years.

Average number of barrels of herrings im- ported annually, pre- vious to the bounty, between 1756 and 1764, inclusive, —	From Britain.	East Country.	Total.
	—————	—————	—————
}	23,201	1847	25,048
Ditto after the bounty, between 1764 and 1773, annually, —	16,657	25,365	42,022
Ditto, during four years preceding Lady- day 1783 — — —			12,277

Exports from Ireland, in native and foreign herrings, viz.

Annual average barrels for four years, ending Lady-day 1767,	}	4672
Ditto, ending at Lady-Day 1783,	—	24,273
In the year ending at Lady-day 1783,		35,960

The herrings imported from Scotland are generally purchased at 20s. per barrel, and consumed at home. Those from Sweden, being greatly inferior, were purchased, in Ireland, at 14s. per barrel of 36 gallons, and exported to the British West Indies. In 1777, the Irish parliament laid a duty of 4s. on every barrel of Swedish herrings, which, on account of the extreme cheapness of those herrings, and the magnitude of the barrel, was found inadequate to the national object of promoting the Irish fisheries; the parliament, therefore, in 1785, extended the duty to 10s. per barrel; which, if no drawback is allowed on exportation, will operate effectually in favour of the natives,

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The prices will be generally thus, viz.

Swedish herrings at Gottenburg, from 7s. to 9s.				
Average prime cost	—	£.	0	8
Freight	—		0	5
Duty in Ireland	—		0	10
			<hr/>	
			1	3
			<hr/>	

Scottish herrings delivered in				
Ireland	—	£.	1	0
Duty	—		0	1
			<hr/>	
			1	1
			<hr/>	

Irish herrings from 16s. to 20s.				
The average	—		0	18
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The parliament have also granted a bounty of 2s. per barrel on Irish herrings exported; which, with the small size of their barrel, the low price of salt, and the advantages arising from the certain arrival of the shoals annually on a small tract of coast, must enable the Irish merchants to engross the West India market, unless adequate encouragements shall be speedily given in aid of the British fisheries.

Of the Irish White Fisheries.

These are chiefly cod, ling, hake, coal fish, and haddock. In these fisheries the Irish are very expert, being trained thereto by their fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as the bays of that island, to which fisheries some thousand Irishmen resort every season, and from whence they return with a small pittance to their families.

White fish abound on the west coast of Ireland, but the banks have not been sufficiently explored, and no fishery hath yet been established with success.

cess*. Of these banks and fisheries, the following particulars, communicated by Sir Lucius O'Brien in the Irish House of Commons, seem highly interesting both to British and Irish subjects. This patriotic senator, after explaining the nature of the Newfoundland fishery, for which the situation of Ireland is well adapted, proceeds thus:

“ And now let me appeal to any man, and ask, does he know another trade so likely to produce profit as this fishery from Ireland, or on which so many encouragements have been accumulated in so short a period? If the landed men shall consider it in its proper light, not only as providing a strength and defence for the whole empire, but as securing employment for their people, and certain markets for every production of their estates; and if such considerations shall induce them either to become joint adventurers, or otherwise to assist with capitals, the merchants in the out-ports of this kingdom, I should not despair of seeing fishing vessels fitted out from every harbour of the kingdom, to the infinite emolument of the whole. Some ports, however, and those hitherto the most neglected of all, may possibly have advantages, the knowledge of which is not yet sufficiently ascertained: I mean in the northern and north-western parts of Ireland, off of which there is the strongest reason to believe there are fishing banks, perhaps as prolific as those of Newfoundland, though their nature and extent hath not hitherto been explored; and if so, the fishery may be carried on still cheaper from the neighbouring ports. In several very ancient maps I find the bay of Galway called the bay of Hakes, from the quantity of that fish with which it was supplied.

* Some years ago, a company of Irish merchants engaged in the Irish white fishery, which they were obliged to relinquish, after having lost great part of their capital.

“ Sir William Monson, who was one of the most experienced seamen England ever bred, in the 4th book of his Naval Tracts takes notice, that from the island of Rona off Scotland, and between 15 and 16 leagues from the island of Lewis, there runs a bank of 100 miles in length, and as far as Till Head in Ireland, which bank affords a great quantity of the best cod and ling of any part of the seas, which had not for one hundred and odd years been used; since his time above another century has elapsed, and yet these bountiful gifts of Providence remain equally neglected.

“ In the year 1740, John Atkin, master of the Friendship of Air, coming from Virginia round the north of Ireland, when about 30 leagues west by their reckoning from the island Tory, saw distinctly a shoal under water, about 50 yards from the vessel, on which he judged there might be about four feet of water. This he published an account of in print, for the information of others, to which he subjoins that about 15 or 20 leagues N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. from the island Tory, there is a bank on which there is from 25 to 30 fathom water.

“ In October 1746, the commanders Kelly, Johnston, and Thornton, sailing in company from Virginia for Liverpool, about 25 leagues west from Tory island, heaved the lead each of them, and found 65 and 70 fathom sand and shells; between that and Ireland they sounded again, and found no bottom: this information is from Mr. Lowns, a merchant of repute in Liverpool, who was on board one of the ships, and made them put tallow on the lead, which otherwise would have been omitted.

“ About the year 1756, Mr. Bachop of Londonderry, coming from Philadelphia, was becalmed about 22 leagues N. W. of the island of Tory, without sight of land; he sounded, and found the depth 30 fathom; then throwing out some fishing lines, caught about 150 cod in two hours time; the wind springing

springing up, they made sail, and in a few hours saw the land on the north-west coast of Ireland.

“ Lieutenant Græme, in his cruise along the west coast of Ireland, in the year 1766, (as I think) by order of the Lords Commissioners of Admiralty, founded on a bank, which extends 25 or 30 leagues westward from the coast, between the river Shannon and Sline Head; the depth on it he found to be from 45 to 80 fathoms, for the most part sand and small stones, but along the west and north sides of it deepening suddenly to 92 and 100 fathoms, and then no bottom. It does not appear by his journal that he tried to catch fish on this bank.—The extent of Mr. Græme’s search northward was no further than the parallel of Broad Haven in Mayo, so that he had no opportunity of discovering any shoals westward or north-west of Tory island, nor had he weather at all fit for the purpose he was sent on, being too late in the year.

“ In the year 1769, when Mr. Murdoch M’Kenzie, in the sloop Bird, was taking views of the west coast of Ireland, about the distance of from three to seven leagues from the land, wherever there was an opportunity of trying to catch fish, they found them, particularly off the islands of Inish Shank and Boffin in Mayo, where happening to be becalmed, the crew caught cod, ling, and holly, one or other of them almost as often as their lines could be let down.

“ At Broad Haven in Mayo, the people have a general persuasion that there is a fishing bank 20 or 30 leagues westward of their coast, and affirm that they have seen several ships masters who have taken fish there. The like persuasion prevails of a fishing bank off Malbay, in the county of Clare. About six or eight leagues S. W. from the island Dursey, at the S. W. point of Ireland, there is a shoal called the Lock, on which several fishing ships from Kinsale take abundance of ling every year, from
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the month of April to September, when the weather obliges them to give over fishing; on this shoal Mr. Græme founded, and spoke with the fishers.

“ In short, there seems to be a general opinion, supported by a multitude of facts, that there are exceedingly profitable banks off of these coasts, though their limits are not ascertained. Mr. M'Kenzie, whose authority will be of considerable weight, is persuaded of it, and he thinks they run almost parallel to Ireland, and extend all the way from Shetland to the Nymph bank off Waterford; others apprehend they run in a contrary direction towards the banks of Newfoundland, and even extend the whole of that way.

“ At all events, this deserves a further examination, for if the banks are found within 30 leagues of our coast, the fishers on them will be entitled to the benefits of the Irish bounties.

“ And here, as I am upon the subject of examining our coasts, I cannot avoid taking notice of the good will of England, and the liberality of its parliament towards Ireland in another measure of the last session; the Lords of the Admiralty had for many years employed a very skilful officer, Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie, to make surveys of the whole coast of Ireland, with the soundings, views, and all things necessary for the most perfect charts; and this work being completed, the parliament last year voted 2038l. for the publishing of them, and the work is now in great forwardness. And this I consider as a very useful favour, for which this nation is in a considerable degree indebted to the noble Lord who presides at present among the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

“ The rest of the work in searching for these banks, and taking their soundings at sea, ought to be done by this country, and may be accomplished at a very moderate expence, either by one of the re-
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venue cutters, or by a vessel hired for that purpose; and I am certain there will not be a member in the next parliament who will not readily allow the king's letter, which I suppose may be obtained for defraying the charges of such an undertaking*."

SALMON FISHERY.—The rivers of Ireland abound in salmon, of which the river Ban affords the greatest quantity. This river issues from the great Loch Neagh, a fresh water lake near Belfast, and after a course of 30 miles, falls into the North Sea, facing the Hebride Isles of Scotland.

The salmon quit the river in August, and remain in the sea till January, when they return to the fresh waters, and are taken in their passage to the lake and the rivers which fall into the Ban. They are taken both by nets and weirs, under certain parliamentary regulations. These fisheries employ 80 men, are let at 6000l. and the expence is supposed to be equal to the rent. The quantity taken some years almost exceeds credibility. In 1777 there were taken, in one haul of a net, 1452. Part of the salmon are sold fresh, from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. The remainder are salted for the London, Spanish, and Italian markets, where they bring from 14l. to 20l. per ton. The fish are cured in puncheons with common salt, and afterwards in tierces of 42 gallons each, six of which make a ton.

Table of Bounties, Premiums, and Drawbacks, for the Encouragement of the Irish Fisheries in Europe and America; also the Premiums allowed by the Dublin Society.

Bounty per ton on all vessels built on the coast of Donegal for the herring £. s. d.
fishery, from 20 to 60 tons inclusive £. 3 0 0

* In 1783, Capt. Ellison of the *Adrian* was sent out by the Lord Lieutenant, in search of the banks supposed to lie off the north-west of Ireland; but after taking the most accurate soundings, no appearances of such banks were discovered.

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	£.	s.	d.
Annual tonnage bounty on the herring fishery to craft or vessels, from 20 to 100 tons burden ——— —	1	0	0
Bounty or drawback per barrel of 32 gallons, and so in proportion for any smaller quantity of white herrings exported — —	0	2	0
Ditto for every barrel of white herrings, containing 32 gallons, caught on the coast of Ireland, cured and packed after the Dutch method ———	0	3	1
Ditto for every barrel of red herrings cured after the Yarmouth method	0	2	0
Ditto on every barrel of the same contents wherein mackarel are packed ———	0	2	6
For every six score of ling or cod taken on the coast of Ireland — ———	0	5	0
For every six score of hake, haddock, or coal fish, and conger eel, ditto ———	0	3	0
For every tierce, containing 41 gallons of cured wet fish, ditto ———	0	4	3½
For every tierce containing 42 gallons of cured salmon ———	0	4	3
For every ton of oil extracted from whales	3	0	0
Ditto for oil extracted from other fish and manufactured in Ireland —	3	0	0
For every cwt. of all fins of whales, commonly called whalebone, taken on the coast of Ireland, and manufactured therein — ———	4	0	0

The above bounties are on condition that the fish are good, sound, and well cured; but they do not extend to fish exported to Great-Britain or the Isle of Man.

Annual Premiums to Ships in the Newfoundland Cod Fishery.

	£.	s.	d.
To the first 20 ships which arrive, each	40	0	0
To the next 40 ditto ———	20	0	0
To the next 40 ditto ———	10	0	0
	<i>Premiums</i>		

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Premiums to Vessels employed in the Whale Fishery in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, Coast of Labrador, Newfoundland, or in any of the Seas to the South of David's Streights, or of Lat. 44 deg. N. killing one Whale at least in said Latitudes.

For the greatest quantity of oil taken	£.	s.	d.
by one ship —————	500	0	0
For the second greatest quantity —	400	0	0
For the third ditto — — — — —	300	0	0
For the fourth ditto — — — — —	200	0	0
For the fifth ditto — — — — —	100	0	0

Annual Premiums given by the Dublin Society, exclusive of Parliamentary Bounties.

A premium of 10s. a ton will be given upon all home-made or imported salt, to such persons as shall consume the same in curing of fish upon the north-west coast of this kingdom, from the 30th day of June 1784, to the first day of June 1785, provided the several sums to be adjudged shall not exceed 200l. otherwise the said sum to be rateably divided among the claimants. ————— £. 200

Salted Fish exported.

A premium of 1s. a barrel will be given upon every barrel containing 32 gallons of fish, and (so in proportion for a cask of a smaller gage, provided the gage of the cask be legibly branded thereon) taken upon the north-west coast of this kingdom, and well packed with bay or other foreign salt; which shall be exported to foreign parts, between the first day of June 1784, and the first day of June 1785; provided the claims which shall be allowed shall not exceed 4000 barrels; and if they should, the sum of 200l. to be rateably divided among the claimants: and provided also, that no such premium

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be paid until satisfactory proof shall be laid before the Society, that the fish so exported have been actually sold in foreign parts. ——— £. 200

Taking Herrings by Seining.

The sum of 150l. will be appropriated to be given in premiums of 1s. per 1000 on all herrings taken by the crews of vessels by seining on the north-west coast of this kingdom, between the first day of June 1784, and the first day of June 1785; said premium to be equally divided between the owners and the captain and company of such vessels: should there be claims for more than 3,000,000 of herrings, then those should be preferred who have contributed most to the loading of their vessels, by catching the greatest quantity of fish, are earliest, and have most merit. ——— ——— £. 150

Destroying Seals.

The sum of 50l. will be appropriated to be given in premiums for all seals taken by nets, killed by harpoons, or shot on the north-west coast of this kingdom, from Aug. 1, 1784, to June 1, 1785, at the rate of 2s. for each seal so taken or killed; and if more than 500 are claimed, the said sum of 50l. is to be rateably divided between the claimants: Provided that every person, to whom any such premium shall be so adjudged, shall be obliged to give to the captain and crew of every vessel, his property, half the amount of the premium upon such number of seals as shall be so taken or killed by the said captain and crew. ——— ——— £. 50

While this part of the work was in the hands of the printer, I received a paper from Mr. Snow of Lancashire, in which is the following testimony of his ingenious invention for drying white fish during the

the winter season, when the want of heat and fun obstructs that business in the natural way.

Report of the Committee of the Irish House of Commons.

MR. SPEAKER,

The committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of Charles Snow, having met according to order, and examined some of their members relative to the subject matter of the said petition, are satisfied that he had invented a method of curing and drying fish (which will effectually operate to that great purpose) by artificial heat and the introduction of pure air.—That this method of curing and drying fish is extremely cheap and practicable—That the petitioner expended a large sum of money in the county of Donegal, in raising a kiln, storehouses, &c. for carrying into execution the curing of fish on the north-west coast of this kingdom, where fish of all kinds can be had in the greatest abundance; therefore came to the following resolutions :

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the petitioner has fully proved the allegations of his petition.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the petitioner deserves the aid of parliament.

(Signed) ROBERT GAMBLE,
Chairman of the committee of the fisheries.

A committee of the Irish house of commons having been appointed to enquire into the state of the fisheries of that kingdom, a bill was presented to the house in March 1785, from which I am enabled to give the following abstract, though the bill hath not yet been passed into a law, viz.

Be it enacted, that after the first day of _____ next, the said several recited acts, and all matters and things therein contained, be, and they are hereby repealed, and rendered null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

And in order to encourage the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to provide a nursery of seamen for the navy of the empire :

that they, or either of them, will not permit or suffer said vessel to be employed in any other manner whatever during the fishing season of the year 17

Then follows a clause respecting salt, and the duty thereon.

And that said vessel has on board one compleat suit of sails made of Irish sail-cloth, together with a copy of this act; and that a journal shall be kept of all their proceedings, and an account of the quantities of fish which shall be taken on each voyage.

Then follows the oath of the surveyor or inspector of the buffes on their arrival at the fishing grounds, and the vouchers to be produced previous to their receiving the bounty; particularly that such bufs was employed in the said fishery during three months, between the first day of May and the first day of August on the summer fishery, or between the first day of November and the first day of February on the winter fishery, except in cases of distress of weather, or having compleated her cargo, of which the entry of the fish at the port where she shall arrive, shall be sufficient evidence; then all such requisites being fully performed, shall entitle the owner or owners to the said bounty.

And whereas the fisheries on the coast of the county of Donegal are carried on only in the late season of November, December, and January, by boats, when the fish resort to the several bays, inlets and creeks: And whereas there is great reason to suppose that the shoals of herrings frequent the coasts much earlier, but from the want of vessels of a certain size to protect the boats in case of tempestuous weather, the fishermen are afraid to venture from under the shelter of the headlands: And whereas the encouraging of ship-building on that part of the coast immediately contiguous to the seat of the fishery, would tend greatly to the improvement of the same.

Be it enacted, that a bounty of 3l. per ton shall be paid out of his majesty's revenues, to such person or persons, or their agents, as shall hereafter build within the district of any port in the county of Donegal, any bufs or decked vessel fit for fishing in deep water, not under the burden of 20 tons, nor upwards of 60 tons burden, provided that such bufs or vessel shall be launched previous to the 31st day of December 1788; and provided always that such bufs or vessel, which shall be built upon such bounty aforesaid, shall not be entitled to receive any other bounty granted by this act, or for three years next following the time at which such vessel or bufs shall be launched. And provided also that the person or persons claiming such bounty shall become bound, with two sufficient sureties, that the said vessel for which he shall receive such bounty shall be employed in the fisheries on the coast of this kingdom during three months in each of the three years next following the time at which such bufs or vessel shall be launched.

No bounty shall be paid for or in respect of any vessel, the whole of which vessel shall not be made appear to the satisfaction of the commissioners, to have been for six months before sailing on her fishing voyage, really and *bona fide* the property of one or

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more owner or owners, having their known and settled place of residence for them and their families in this kingdom, six months, at least, before such time of the sailing of said vessel.

And whereas great frauds have been committed by the owners of vessels which are not entitled to the bounty, in making fraudulent bills of sale, and in carrying on a contraband trade of salt and other commodities, under pretence of carrying on the fishery: to prevent such practices, sundry clauses are enacted besides the oath of the master of every bus, in the presence of inspectors or surveyors.

And be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the inhabitants of this kingdom, at all times and seasons of the year when they shall think proper, freely to fish for, take and buy from fishermen, and cure any herrings, mackrel, cod and ling, or other sorts of white fish, in all and every part of the seas, channels, creeks and bays wheresoever such fish are to be found, or can or may be taken on the coasts of this kingdom, save only in such places as are reserved by the inspectors for the preservation of the fry, and for the better order and regulation of the fishery: and that no other person or persons shall, under any pretence whatsoever, presume to obstruct or hinder any person or persons from fishing in the places aforesaid; nor shall any person presume to demand or receive any dues, sums of money, or other consideration whatsoever, for the use of any ports, harbours, shores or forelands, on the coasts of this kingdom, except for the payment of such harbour or pier duties, as are, and by law ought to be demanded for ships, vessels and boats, in piers and harbours which are built and artificially made; and that every person or persons so offending, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of 20*l.* to be recovered and levied as other forfeitures are levied by this act.

And be it further enacted, that for an encouragement to all persons whatsoever, as well bodies politic and corporate as others, who shall engage in the said fisheries, there shall be paid out of his majesty's revenue, under the management of the commissioners of the revenue, a bounty of two shillings for every barrel containing 32 gallons, and so in proportion for any smaller quantity, wherein good, sound and well cured white herrings shall be packed, upon the exportation thereof to any parts beyond the seas, except to Great Britain and the Isle of Man; and a bounty of two shillings for every barrel of herrings cured after the manner of Yarmouth, and commonly called red herrings, upon the exportation thereof; and a further bounty of 1*s.* 1*d.* for every barrel of white herrings containing 32 gallons, and so in proportion for a lesser quantity, upon proof of the exporter upon oath that such herrings were, to the best of his belief and knowledge, caught upon the coasts of this kingdom, within the distance of leagues, and cured with at least a moiety of Spanish and Portugal salt, or salt refined by three days boiling in barrels, troughs, vats or other vessels, so as to preserve the pickle; that they were not cured in
bulk,

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bulk, and that they were gutted and salted before the night of the day on which they were taken, and repacked not within ten days before exportation, in oak barrels; and a bounty of 2s. 6d. on every barrel of the same contents, wherein good, sound and well-cured mackerel shall be packed upon exportation; a bounty of 5s. for every six score of ling or cod taken on the coasts of this kingdom, upon the exportation thereof; a bounty of 3s. for every six score of hake, haddock, glassing, otherwise coalfish, and conger-eel, taken on the coasts of this kingdom, upon the exportation thereof; a bounty of 4s. 3d. $\frac{1}{4}$ for every tierce, containing 41 gallons, and so in proportion for a lesser quantity, wherein such fish, well cured, shall be packed, upon exportation thereof; a bounty of 3l. per ton for oil extracted from whales, and 3l. per ton for the oil extracted from other fish taken on the coasts of this kingdom, and manufactured therein; a bounty of 4l. for every cwt. of all fins of whales, commonly called whalebone, taken on the coasts of this kingdom, and manufactured therein.

And whereas it would greatly facilitate the trade to the West Indies, and be a mutual advantage to the British and Irish fisheries, if a reciprocal liberty was granted to store such herrings as are destined for re-exportation: Be it enacted, that so soon as permission shall be granted by the laws of Great Britain, for the entry of British herrings duty free, to be stored for re-exportation; that all British-caught fish, entered from Great Britain, shall be admitted duty-free, provided bond shall be given to the collector, that the same shall not be consumed in this kingdom, in like manner as for other commodities entered for re-exportation.

And, to prevent all fraudulent entry of foreign fish into the West Indies, under the colour of being British or Irish fish: Be it enacted, that every vessel entering at any port of this kingdom which shall break bulk, or which shall take in any part of her cargo for the West Indies, or any foreign port, shall be obliged to produce her bill of lading from the port from whence she comes; and if there shall appear to be any foreign fish on board, she shall be obliged to land the same.

Then follows sundry clauses respecting the curing, sorting, and re-packing of herrings, the brand marks and other particulars, with fines and penalties.

And, says the bill, to the end that the vessels employed in the fisheries of this kingdom may be the more readily known, and the masters and crews of such vessels more easily brought to punishment for any offences committed by them, or any of them, against this act, or the other acts made for the encouragement of said fisheries: Be it further enacted, that before any person shall be permitted to enter a vessel in any custom-house for said fisheries, the owner of such vessel, or his agent, shall cause the name of said vessel to be cut or branded in characters at least five inches long, and one quarter of an inch deep, on the transum of said vessel, and the same, as well as the port to which she belongs, to be painted in large characters with white lead and oil on the quarters,

ters of said vessel, as also on all boats and buoys belonging to the same; and the collector shall cause a number to be added to such name, which number shall be inserted in the entry, and painted in like manner on said vessel, and on the boats and buoys belonging to her; which names and number shall not be obliterated, but kept fair and legible during the time said vessel shall remain on said fishery.

And whereas a great number of small boats proceed every year to the fisheries on the coasts of this kingdom, and from the irregular manner with which they shoot their nets, the fishery is greatly injured, and the nets of other fishermen are much damaged, and the offenders cannot be discovered so as to be brought to justice: Be it further enacted, that no boat shall proceed to said fisheries unless the name of the skipper is cut or painted in large characters, with white lead and oil, on the stern of said boat, and the initial letters on the oars and buoys belonging to her; which boat, with the name of the skipper, shall be registered with the inspector of the district wherein said skipper shall reside.

And whereas the quantity of fish is diminished by methods of fishing which destroy the spawn and fry of fish: Be it enacted, that no drag-net or other sea net, which hath a mesh of less than three inches and a half from knot to knot, shall be made use of in catching any kind of fish except herrings, pilchards, sprats, shrimps, and prawns, and small shell-fish for bait, upon any parts of the coasts of this kingdom, or within any of the bays, harbours, rivers or creeks thereof; nor shall any false or double bottom cod or pouch, or any other net, though of legal size, be placed upon or behind the other, in order to take and destroy small fish.

And whereas the shoals of herrings are frequently frightened from the entrance of the bays and creeks by vessels mooring and shooting their nets in improper places, and by laying long lines for taking of cod and ling, across the entrance of bays and creeks, and other irregularities: Be it enacted, that no vessel resorting to the fishery on the coast of the county of Donegal, shall moor or shoot their nets in any place which shall be forbidden by the inspectors; nor shall any person shoot any net or any long line for taking of cod, ling and other fish, at any time nor in any place, which shall be forbidden by said inspector.

And whereas a great abuse is committed in making of barrels for white herrings of insufficient timber or staves, to the very great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom: Be it enacted, that no person or persons shall buy or sell any barrel or barrels for packing of white herrings for exportation, or shall pack up white herrings in any barrel or barrels for exportation, unless the same be made of staves not less than three-eighths of an inch in thickness, and free from sap, and each barrel bound with sixteen sufficient hoops, and branded on the head and side with the maker's name, and the place of his abode, with the number of gallons which each barrel contains, in figures—and every weigh-

weigh-master, or inspector, are hereby required and directed to brand on the side of such barrel or barrels, the first letter of his Christian name, and his surname at length, with the name of the city, town-corporate, or place where such barrel or barrels shall be examined as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that no nets shall be shot or wet for the taking of herrings in the day time.——

These laws discover a thorough knowledge of the subject of the Irish fisheries, for the better regulation of which they are framed with great judgment and propriety. They include every object or circumstance for which the adventurers may be encouraged, and the fisheries extended in all their branches.

The clauses respecting brand marks, sorting the fish, and the penalties for every trespass, neglect or fraud, seem evidently copied from the Dutch placarts, though less perplexing than the originals, which are far too numerous for British or Irish subjects to reduce to practice.

The geographical limits of the fisheries include the whole coasts of Ireland, the Isle of Man, the west-coast of England and Wales; with the Solway Firth, the Firth of Clyde, and the West Highlands of Scotland, as far north as the Isle of Mull. Desirous to improve their own country, to diffuse industry and wealth upon their own shores, they have thus restricted the husses from wandering too far northward after a precarious fishery, while their own are more certain, and their people prepared in boats and nets proper for the business.

The periodical limitations of their fisheries are now extended from the first of May to the first of February. As it hath been generally understood that the herrings were unmarketable after the 12th of January, this matter merits inquiry, in order that the fisheries of both kingdoms may be put on the same footing. If it shall appear to the British parliament, that there was no just cause for closing the fishing on the 12th of January, it may in that case be found expedient to allow an unlimited fishery through the whole year upon the bounty, to be distinguished by the names of the four seasons, as the summer, autumn, winter and spring fisheries, and regulated agreeable to the nature of the fish and fishery in each respective period.

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Scottish White Fisheries.

WHITE fish, as cod, ling, hake, tusk, coal fish, haddocks, whittings; and flat fish, as turbot, skate, soals, and flounders, abound so universally around the Scottish shores, that the whole northern seas, from the Dogger Bank in lat. 54, to the northern extremity of Iceland, lat. 67, and from the coast of Norway eastward, to unknown latitudes on the west, may be considered as one great fishery, in which Scotland, as lying in the centre, hath a manifest advantage over all other nations. Bountiful Nature hath placed that country in or upon the best fishing grounds, as appears from the annual resort of vessels from the northern states of Europe and America, to that portion of the ocean lying between the Hebride Islands and Iceland, an inexhaustible source of all the varieties of white fish; while the banks of Newfoundland produce only the cod fish. If report be true, the European fish are also superior in quality; certain it is, that when properly cured, they are excellent in taste and flavour.

Nature, or rather the indulgent Author of nature, hath also furnished Scotland with the means of making salt, in the great quantity of coal found on the shores of its navigable firths; but all these blessings, so far as they regard the fisheries, have of late years been lost, through the system which sacrifices fisheries and manufactures to revenue; insomuch that,

that, in order to re-establish a great and permanent fishery in these capacious seas, it will be expedient to repeal the salt laws, and to grant such aids, as the experience of merchants, and practical fishers, have humbly represented to be unavoidably necessary.

The arguments already advanced relative to the herring, are equally applicable to the white fisheries.

They lead to the same point; they answer the same national purposes in all possible cases, and the adventurers are equally disposed to employ their capitals promiscuously on both. In reality, it is one great fishery under two denominations. The same men, and in many cases the same vessels, may be employed in both.

Any loss sustained by an occasional failure of the one, may be supplied by the success of the other; and thus the adventurers, by unremitting perseverance, will find their capitals increased, and their families decently supported, while upon the close of life, they will enjoy the pleasing reflection, that they have drawn from indigence and idleness, thousands of persons whom they have trained up for the service of their country.

It is proposed to subdivide the white fishery into

1. The eastern coast fishery, from Berwick to the Pentland Firth.
2. The Shetland, or north-east fishery.
3. The Hebride, or north-west fishery.

Of the Eastern Fishery.

Though the white fish are the inseparable companions of the shoals of herrings in all their migrations, yet the most certain fisheries are upon the banks which lie at greater or lesser distances from the shores.

The most considerable of these banks, called, by way of pre-eminence, the Long Fortys, stretches
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in a parallel line with the east coast, from the county of Durham to Kinnairds head, at the entrance of the Murray firth; thus affording an uninterrupted line of fisheries almost from one extreme of the kingdom to the other, and in some parts at a very inconsiderable distance from the shore. The coast itself is also well qualified for the establishment of a regular fishery, in the numerous towns and creeks, of which there are nearly 120 between Berwick and the Pentland firth, inhabited more or less by persons who have been trained from their infancy in that line of life; who would co-operate in every measure of government for the extension of that branch, and whose united exertions might not only supply the inland demand, but also afford a considerable article for export. From this review of the eastern fisheries, it might be expected that Edinburgh, which lies on that side of the kingdom, might be supplied with every variety of fish. This, however, is not the case; small haddocks, small cod, and turbot,* are the fish which most abound in Edinburgh; whittings are to be had, but of a diminutive size; and, strange as it may seem, that capital hath been partly supplied in white fish, by a land carriage of 76 miles, from the town of Air, situated on the west side of the kingdom.

From the Forth northward, the coast projects gradually towards the east, till it terminates in a cape or promontory at Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire, where some resemblance of a regular fishery is carried on, which might be extended to a considerable length. The fish caught at Peterhead and its neighbourhood are chiefly small cod, which are sold in London at 40 to 45 shillings per barrel.

Tarbet-Nefs in Rosshire, and the east coast of Caithness, are also good fishing grounds.

* Turbot, on which several persons may dine, are sold from 2 to 7 shillings; oysters from 8 to 12 pence per hundred.

Of the Shetland Fishery.

These fisheries are, however, trivial when compared with those of the north seas, particularly on the banks which environ the Shetland islands on the east, north, and west, at unequal distances from land.

The fish on these banks are large and numerous, of which the natives take, cure, and export, from 500 to 1000 tons annually. Ling is the most general fish; tusk next; cod, few and precarious.

As these seas are boundless, the fish inexhaustible, and the demands unlimited, a fishery might be established to the extent of some thousand tons annually, not solely by the natives, who are in a state of servitude, and in the utmost indigence, but by adventurers from the whole eastern coast of Scotland, and the Orkneys.

The fisheries round Shetland are carried on by two different methods, viz. by boats accompanied with decked vessels; and, secondly, by boats only.

The fisheries of the first class go out of sight of land, where, in 90, 100, and 120 fathom water, they get the largest fish. When arrived on the fishing grounds they set their long lines, each line of 56 fathom; having 15 hooks; and these lines are joined to one another till the number of hooks amount from 600 to 1200. The business of the sloop is to keep sight of the buoys of the lines, and receive the fish from the boats, and to save the lives of the poor fishermen in bad or dangerous weather. This fishery is carried on five days in the week, viz. between Monday and Saturday. On their return they deliver the fish to their respective lairds at the rate of 3s. 6d. per cwt. for all green fish. It is one of the conditions of their leases, that they shall sell no fish to any persons but those of whom they hold the lands, who fix the price of the fish, and also furnish them

them with stores, fishing tackle, &c. at their own prices.

The second method of carrying on this fishery is by boats singly, of 2 tons burden, and 6 men each.

In summer they fish at the distance of 7 to 15 leagues from land; and in winter at the distance of 3 leagues. The depth of water to the nearest banks is about 140 fathom, and clear ground.

The summer fishery is carried on from the 1st of June to the 1st of August. The boats go out three times in the week, and continue 24 hours each time. The large boats carry from 100 to 120 lines; each line from 54 to 60 fathom in length, and hung with 15 hooks at 20 feet asunder from one another. The small boats take in their lines only once during the trip. They use hand lines in winter, when long lines cannot be managed. They bait with a small fish called pollocks when at sea. If these cannot be procured, they use cod, turbot, haddocks; or any other fish. This is a dangerous, or more properly a desperate fishery; but the poverty of the people prevents them from employing larger vessels. They have frequently a strong head-wind upon their return, which sometimes keeps them 16 hours in the voyage from the fishing ground, when they are obliged to throw many of their fish overboard, besides the damage to the remainder. Many lives are also lost in this boat fishery.

Of the Hebride or North West Fishery.

Taking our direction westward, we come to the third division of the white fishery; to stores of wealth yet in reserve for the whole western coast of Scotland, from the head of the Solway firth to the coast of Iceland, lying at the distance of 400 miles N. W. from the Long Island in the Hebrides.

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We shall, for the sake of perspicuity, consider this fishery under two divisions, viz. The great fishery in the main ocean, which environs the Long Island on the west and north. Secondly, the lesser fishery lying immediately among the Hebrides.

In speaking of the banks between the Long Island and Iceland, and also between that island and St. Kilda on the west, we have few materials whereon to form a conjecture relative to the situation, number, or dimensions of those banks.

No national attempts have yet been made to explore the northern seas; speculation must therefore supply the place of authentic documents. But though we neither can delineate the banks, nor direct the hardy mariners in their courses, we can pronounce that those latitudes abound in fish. That seamen, in their voyages, amuse themselves by taking them with the hand lines. That vessels of various nations, are often seen in that employ, and that the cod and ling, in those seas, are of a large size.

Several captains of ships having reported that they found great quantities of cod and ling in certain directions, gave rise to an opinion, that a great bank lay between St. Kilda and the north of Ireland; and in 1761, two vessels were sent from Glasgow, with proper fishing materials to ascertain the reality of the bank; but after having examined the seas, agreeable to their instructions, they declared, on their return, that no such bank existed. It was, however, strongly suspected, that this important inquiry was not faithfully executed, and no further attempts have been made.

Leaving these unknown seas to future investigation, I shall attempt a description of the fishing grounds lying between the Hebrides and the main land. The principal bank begins near the mouth of Gareloch, in Ross-shire, and is supposed to stretch in a north-west direction, towards the Butt of the Lewis, and possibly beyond that cape. It
Y
abounds

abounds in all the varieties of white fish, of which, from 25 to 30,000 are taken annually by the natives, besides those caught by strangers.

A chain of small banks stretches along the east side of the Lewis, from three to six miles off the shore, and as this fishing is stationary or fixed, and so near the land, it is carried on by the natives both in summer and winter.

The tenants *, who live near the banks, go out in the evening in stout boats, with 7 men each, and set their nets with buoys, using worms and small fish for bait. Next morning they take up their lines. From 20 to 30 ling is reckoned a good night's fishing, though sometimes they get 40 or 50. The fish are immediately split, washed, and salted in a pile, where, in winter, they lie with the pickle draining from them till the summer, when they are spread on the shores in dry weather. In August they are carried to the warehouses in Stronaway, where they remain until they are shipped. Some people have cured their fish in large tons or hogsheds, but this gives a bend to the fish, which spoils its shape, and ought to be avoided, as the fishmongers are nice in regard to the shape and colour. Great care should also be taken to give a due proportion of salt, and to have the fish thoroughly dried, as otherwise they are apt to spoil. In the warehouses they should be well secured from air. The fish taken in the winter, are poorer and smaller than those taken in summer. The annual capture, consisting chiefly of ling, amounts to 90 tons, and after going through four or five different hands, from the fisher to the merchant, by which the price is considerably enhanced, it is exported to the West Indies, where there is a great demand for white fish in general, and also to Dublin during the time of Lent, at from 22l. to 25l. per

*. From a manuscript account of Lewis, and the fisheries on its coasts, by a native of that island.

ton. The bounty on exportation, is 3l. per ton; and 2s. per barrel, on cod cured in barrels, with pickle called mudfish. This fishery is greatly impeded and injured by the salt regulations and duties.

The conditions between the merchants and farmers, with the fishers and lower tenants, are these. A tacksman or farmer, subjects his farm, or part of it, at very little more than he pays himself, to several sub-tenants, on condition of their fishing for cod, ling, &c. in his boats; the fish to be delivered to him at certain prices, agreeable to the size, and also herrings at the current rates in the season.

The tacksman, on receiving the white fish, causes them to be salted and dried. He hath generally a servant in the boat, for whom and the boat he receives two-sevenths of the fish taken. The other five-sevenths belong to the crew, who, at the end of the season, are thus enabled to settle the account for lines, hooks, hemp, meal, and other necessaries advanced by the tacksman.

But the fishers from the town of Stronaway, being immediate tenants of the proprietors, procure boats from the merchants or traders settled there, and allow them one-seventh of the fish for the use thereof. The merchants advance them salt, hooks, lines, &c. and in return, they get all the fish caught by such boats, ready cured and dried, at a certain price per cwt. or per dozen, but more generally by the dozen; viz. For cod, 3s. and for ling, from 6s. 6d. to 7s.

Besides these inland fisheries, as they may be termed, there is a good fishery off the north-west point or butt of the Lewis, facing the main ocean; but the natives are not sufficiently skilled for carrying it on to any considerable extent; so bountiful is nature to the shores that bound this noble channel on the east and west. The southern boundary is formed by the great Isle of Sky, which stretches from the main land in a north-west direction, almost across the channel to the Long Island,

leaving only an opening of 12 or 14 miles, called the Minch, through which the fish generally pass from north to south, and from south to north.

The whole coast of Sky is consequently one continued fishery, of the same species, size, and qualities, as those already described.

After passing this island, we enter upon the South Hebrides, whose seas present a number of fishing banks, which we shall briefly enumerate in the following order, from north to south. A good bank, and pretty extensive, lies between the island of Canay and Dunveggan Head in Sky, on the east; Loch Boisdale and Loch Maddie on the west; and up to the currents of Schant off the Lewis.

But the most extensive and valuable bank in those seas, called by the old natives, the Mother-Bank, lies between Mull on the east; Barra and South Uist on the west. It is a noble fishing ground, producing every species known in our seas: the kinds vary according to the situation when taken; but the best success depends on an acquaintance with the ground; without which, the fishers may search a whole week, between Barra Head, Canay, and Mull, without touching upon the two most favourite spots. Strangers should therefore procure directions from experienced natives, and adhere strictly to such information: this accomplished, they seldom fail in quantity, quality, and variety. It is from this bank that Glasgow and the towns on the Clyde are chiefly supplied with cod and ling.

There is a bank between the islands of Coll and Tirey, in the direction of the small island of Gunna, which lies in the centre*.

* The duke of Argyle having favoured me with the perusal of a journal kept by the master of a sloop fitted out in 1773, upon the white fishery on the coast of Tirey, I find the cod, skate and ling to be the most numerous. The natives were so ignorant of the art of fishing, that they came on board the sloop for instruction.

A valuable

A valuable bank lies between the islands of Mull, Coll, and Ardnamurchan, on the main land of Argyleshire; the ground is not extensive, but the fishery is great upon the proper ground, which is not easily discovered, without a thorough search agreeable to directions, and observations upon land marks.

In the sound of Mull, there is a small bank, which stretches from Aros to Scalasdale Bay. The fish are small in size, but good in quality.

There is an inexhaustible fishery along the coast of Argyleshire, called the Inner Sound, through the currents lying between Mull and Morven on the north, and the three Lorns on the south; as far within land as the currents of Carran and Fort-William.

A bank lies between Loch Tarbat, in Jura, and the Isle of Colonsa, one mile in breadth, and 16 miles in length, of a good hard ground, and from 14 to 16 fathoms water. Each side of the bank is, however, about 70 fathoms, and the tide runs very rapidly over it. Those who fish on this bank, should throw their lines at slack tide; that is, nearly at high or low water. Another bank lies in the channel, between Jura and Ilay on the west, and the main land of Knapdale on the east.

These are the principal banks of the Hebrides, on the west side of the Mull of Cantire. On this side of the cape, within the Firth of Clyde, there is a good fishing ground around the craig of Ailfa; from whence a large bank stretches from Ballintrae in Airshire, and thence, along the coast, to the Mull of Galloway, where it is lost in the Irish channel.

Another bank stretches in a north-west direction towards Sanda Island, and from thence towards Knapdale, off the north side of Arran.

Besides the fishings on the banks of the Hebrides, every bay or loch, of which there are some hundreds between Cape Wrath and the Mull of Can-

tire, affords' great variety of white and flat fish, though less in size than those in the open seas. It is therefore obvious, that with due encouragement, and by means of proper regulations, the Scottish white fisheries may be gradually extended from their present infant state, to a height that can only be surpassed by those of Newfoundland, from which incredible wealth is derived. In some respects, the Scottish fisheries have the advantage of the former. The banks of Newfoundland lie at the distance of 2500 to 3000 miles from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, and Glasgow, and can only be frequented during the months of February, March, April, May, and June. The Scottish fisheries, when the proposed navigations shall be opened, will, upon a medium, be within a week's sailing of these commercial emporiums, whom they can supply in seasons when the Newfoundland fishery cannot be carried on.

The measures to be adopted for the extension of this valuable branch, will appear in the following observations, with which, amongst many others, I am furnished by persons who are, or have been, engaged therein.

Extract of a Letter from a mercantile Company at Greenock, Oct. 11, 1784.

S I R,

Being informed that you are on a journey through Scotland for the purpose of enquiring into the present state of its fisheries, the causes of their decline for many years past, and the most effectual means for restoring them; and judging that every information that will tend to throw light on the subject will be acceptable, we beg to communicate to you our sentiments on these important objects.

The ling, tusk, and cod fishing on the coasts of Shetland and the Hebrides, appear to us to labour
under

under the greatest hardships, and to be the most neglected by government, of any of the Scots fisheries. There are annually caught on the coast of Shetland, from 800 to 1000 tons of those fish, the greatest part ling. They are taken by the inhabitants in small boats, in a tempestuous sea, at the hazard of their lives; and no sooner do they bring them on shore, than the fish are taken from them by their landlords, or their substitutes, at such a price as they choose to give, which is generally 3d. for every fish of a certain size, and 1½d. for those under that size, which the landlords salt, dry, and prepare for market.

Twenty-four ling, when properly dried, weigh on an average one cwt. and the average price these five years past has been 15s. per cwt. The greatest part of the fish caught at Shetland are exported to Bilboa and Barcelona in Spain. The refuse or worst quality are sent to Ireland and Hamburg, and consumed in Scotland. These fifteen years past we have annually purchased at Shetland, and shipped from thence on our own account, to the Spanish and Irish markets, from 120 to 180 tons of ling; and from our first entering into that branch of business, the price has gradually increased from 12s. 6d. to 16s. per cwt. and we now find that if the fish are kept at that high price, we will be under the necessity of dropping the trade entirely, as our neighbours the Norwegians can afford in general to undersell us at the markets to which we export our fish.

We are of opinion, that if the poor inhabitants of Shetland were relieved from their present servitude to their landlords, and allowed to cure and sell their own fish to the merchants, a much greater number of fish would be caught, the merchants supplied at a cheaper rate, and the fishermen properly recompensed for their industry. At present they are in a state of slavery to enrich their landlords.

It may be argued by interested people, that the fishermen in Shetland are so very poor, that they cannot purchase salt, and the other necessaries for catching and curing fish. This argument we readily admit; as, in their present state they can hardly earn a scanty subsistence, but were they allowed to dispose of their fish to the best advantage, the intending purchasers would supply them with every necessary to be paid for in fish next season.

The white fishery on the coast of Shetland is at present confined to the inhabitants of these islands. A number of years past, it was attempted to be carried on from different towns on the river Clyde, by means of vessels from 30 to 50 tons burden, but as all new undertakings are in general at first attended with many disadvantages to the adventurers, they in their first attempts lost money by the business, were discouraged, and dropt it entirely.

We are convinced, that was a bounty given by government, equal to that allowed to the Greenland fishery, and several restrictions with regard to salt removed, for all vessels from 20 to 80 tons burden, properly equipped, employed in the white fishery on the coast of Scotland, that branch of business would be prosecuted with spirit and vigour, and consequently become a very great source of wealth to the nation, and one of the most valuable nurseries for seamen.

As it is well known that great numbers of ling, tusk, and cod-fish frequent the western Highland isles, or Hebrides, we, in the year 1776, fitted out one vessel of 64 tons, and another of 45 tons measurement, in order to prosecute the white fishing. The largest of these vessels carried 18 men, the other 14 men, and both were in every respect properly equipped. They proceeded on their voyages the latter end of March, and continued fishing to the westward of the island of Barra, 3 months. Each of the vessels caught a considerable number of fish, which,

which, when cured and dried, were equal, if not superior to those caught on the coast of Shetland; and though the sale of the fish amounted to a considerable sum of money, yet from the great expence attending the fitting, victualling, and manning these vessels, we lost money by the adventure. Not discouraged by the loss we sustained in this our first attempt, we next season fitted out the same vessels, and the success was much the same as in the former season; but finding the trade could not be prosecuted without loss, we dropped it, and that branch of business has not since been attempted by any adventurers from the Clyde. Had we been allowed a bounty by government, it would have enabled us to have carried on the business, so as not to be a losing one, and in a short time it would have become a considerable trade from this place.

We were for a considerable time concerned in the white herring fishery, but from the many restrictions laid on that branch of business, we found it not worth the prosecuting; and as you have got very full and authentic information respecting the hardships that the herring fishery labours under, from those who are immediately concerned therein, we shall not pretend to say any thing on that head.

A Letter signed by the principal Merchants and Adventurers in Port Glasgow, after enumerating the many Obstructions to the Success of the Herring Fishery, both from the existing Acts of Parliament, and the Misinterpretation thereof, by the Commissioners of the Customs, gives the following Intelligence respecting the White Fishery.

—But the chief dependance is upon the cod and ling fishery, which happily occurs at a season of the year different from the herring, but like it, is attended with great expence, and cannot, without the aid of government, support itself. Many of the busses are particularly well adapted for this employment; we would therefore suggest that a bounty from

from 30 to 40 shillings per ton be allowed on vessels in this trade; that these be from 30 to 60 tons, carrying at least as many men as in the herring fishing bounty, and properly fitted out with a sufficient number of boats, hooks, lines, &c. according to their tonnage. There is not a doubt but in this way, the cod and ling fishery may be carried on to great national advantage, and between it and the white herring fishery, afford ample employment to the men.

Extract from sundry Papers relative to the Fisheries, signed by the Magistrates and Adventurers in Rothsay.

—White fishing for most part is carried on with success wherever there is a herring fishery, or where a shoal of herrings pass; in support of which assertion there are at all times plenty of ling and tusk on the banks of Shetland, where the herrings frequent; also at Barra, and other parts of the Long Island, as the herrings take that route when on their passage to Ireland, and in all seasons whenever there is a fishery in the Scottish lochs, cod, ling, and other kinds of white fish are got in great abundance. Wherries are best calculated for white fisheries of every kind, on account of their fast sailing; sloops cannot work lines under sail as wherries do. No sooner is the season of herring fishing over, than that for the cod and ling commences. Wherries can therefore be always employed; sloops can also go to the white fishing, in lochs, or near the coast, by fishing with boats; but none can fish on the banks, at sea, but wherry rigged vessels.

A bounty of 50 shillings per ton should be allowed to every vessel fitted out in a proper manner for fishing cod and ling, or other white fish. Seamen can be bred and trained up to fatigue in that as well as the herring fishery.

Extract

Extract of a Letter signed by the Magistrates and principal Adventurers in Campbeltown.

—The herring fishing is commonly finished, and the herrings sent to market, about the middle or latter end of January, when near two thirds of the crew are discharged, 6 men being sufficient to navigate a vessel of 60 tons in the coasting trade, that will require 14 men when employed as a bus. These discharged men either starve at home, till the next fishing season, or adopt the more frequent alternative of seeking employment in America, or other foreign countries. To keep these at home, and in employment during the spring and part of summer, it would be expedient to give some public encouragement to the cod and ling fishery, which might be pursued with some prospect of success upon the coasts of the Hebrides. An estimate of the expence of equipping a vessel for this fishery will likewise be furnished to Mr. Knox.

Extract from the Report of a practical Fisher in Stranraer, which I took down from his verbal Declaration, viz.

That he was lately in a vessel of 16 tons upon the white fishery in the Hebrides; that he considers this fishery of greater importance than is generally understood, but it labours under many inconveniencies, not only from the salt laws, but also from sundry proprietors of the shores, who levy such sums as their avarice stimulates, upon the poor fishers, and even the boats of their own tenants. Every vessel or boat must pay a sum for permission to dry the fish on the rocks of the shores, and also liberty to dig up the sand for bait, though within the sea mark, and consequently no detriment to the proprietors.

That

That the average weight of ling fish when taken is from 10 to 12 pounds, but when dried, it does not exceed 5 or 6. That the average weight of the cod fish when taken, is from 6 to 12 pounds. Some have weighed 30 pounds when taken.

That the whole western coast of Scotland abounds in skate fish, but from the thinness of inhabitants, it is of little value when fresh, and there is no foreign market for it when cured. These fish weigh from 8 to 10 pounds. Some have been taken weighing 200 pounds.

Mackarel, and other small fish, are so common in the Highlands as to bring no price; but were towns established in these parts, such fishes would find a market to the great benefit of the inhabitants; and even were a canal cut from Lochfine, great numbers of boats would run to the Clyde, and return with cash, meal, fishing tackle, &c.

That white fish sprinkled with salt in the hold will keep for home market, from 10 to 30 days, but the restrictions respecting salt, almost entirely prevents any benefit from being made of this method, and the white fish as well as herrings are often left on the shore to rot, from the want of salt. —

The importance of the Hebride fishery is further confirmed by the annual resort of vessels from Ireland and the east coast of Scotland, through long and dangerous navigations.

The Irish wherries, particularly those of Rush near Dublin, repair every summer to Barra, for the supply of that metropolis.

The Orkney people, though so near the Shetland fisheries, resort to Gareloch and Barra, during part of the year; Peterhead, Portsoy, and other towns on the Murray firth send vessels, about the beginning of February to Gareloch, where they fish for cod till the first of May, when they frequently go to Barra for ling. The fish are salted and dried on the spot: Every vessel hath three boats, and 18 men, or men

and boys. They return in August, and send their cargoes, with salmon, to Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, and London.

SALMON. Scotland, from its northern situation, its gravelly bottomed rivers, and numerous lakes, possesses many excellent salmon fisheries. Its islands also abound in salmon and trout.

The fisheries have, however, greatly fallen off during the last 20 years, for which some persons have attempted to assign a reason, as the watering or soaking of flax, the increase of bleacheries, tanneries, and other manufactures by which the rivers are more or less affected. These arguments, though plausible, are not conclusive; the failure of the fisheries is not confined to the seats of manufactures only; it is equally felt in many parts of the Highlands where the rivers retain their original purity.

To this natural misfortune, for which we can assign no cause, the laws of late years permitted an artificial one, by allowing curves to be placed at the mouths of rivers and lakes; which in some waters have almost totally destroyed the fishery, and the natives are thus deprived of their natural right, by overgrown monopolizers, with whom the former cannot enter into competition.

The great fisheries, are those of
 The Tweed—an open fishery,
 The Forth—a curve above Stirling,
 The Tay—open,
 The Dee—ditto,
 The Don—ditto,
 The Devron—ditto,
 The Spey—curves at its mouth,
 Findhorn—open,
 The Ness—curves, and the inhabitants of Inverness denied the use of salmon,
 The Beaulie—ditto ditto,
 From thence northward to Dungsby head,

The

The coast of the Pentland firth,
Ditto from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Cantire,
All the Hebride islands, and

The coast of Airshire, Galloway, and the Solway firth, where the rivers, bays, or lakes are open.

The principal markets for the Scottish salmon are London, Holland, France, Spain, and the Mediterranean. London, as before observed, uses the fish pickled; a few only are sent alive in wells made in the holds of the smacks.

Having formerly given some particulars relative to the Tweed fishery, and modes of curing; the practice of the Aberdeen fishers may be equally interesting to persons in that branch through both kingdoms.

The season of fishing at Aberdeen, is from the 30th of November to the 8th of September; but few fish come into the rivers before the 1st of January, from which time, to the middle of May, the salmon are boiled and kitted, for the London market; and sent off almost every week, by swift sailing sloops, called smacks, retained for the purpose.

Those caught through the summer are salted for exportation to Holland, France, Spain, or wherever there is a demand for them; but from the decline of the fisheries in other parts, and the high price lately given by the London fishmongers, it is probable that the foreign trade will decrease in a proportionable degree. No salmon is suffered to be barrelled and cured, except by the town's coopers, who are obliged to put the initial letters of their name on all the barrels they make, nor can they be shipped for exportation till the letters A. B. D. have been burned on each barrel, by an officer appointed for that purpose. No fish that hath been bit by seals, none under a certain fixed weight, nor any that have been damaged in the carriage from the river, are to be put into a barrel, without having the word *rebate* burned on the end of the cask. The barrels are of a certain fixed size, containing about 250 pounds of fish, and so carefully packed, that

that they do not differ a pound of fish from one another. After they are packed from the vats, in which they had been salted, great care is taken to keep them brimful of pickle, till the bungs are fixed down, a day or two before they are shipped. By this care and attention, the Aberdeen salmon hath acquired such a character abroad, that it generally fetches the highest price, and no questions are asked respecting the quality.

Of the Seal, basking Shark and Sea Dog Fisheries.

SEALS. Of these fisheries, that for the seals seems to be the most gainful. The skin of the seal is tanned and made into shoes, which generally go under the name of dog-skin shoes, and are purchased as such at the rate of 10 shillings a pair, by beaux and macaronies. It also serves for the bottoms of chairs, and various other purposes. The oil is used in chambers, and sells, in time of peace, at 20l. per ton, whereas that of the cod-fish is burned in street lamps, and sells at 15l.

The greatest seal fishery is on the coast of Labrador in North America. The boats used in the cod fishery, upon the shores and bays of Newfoundland, are about 50 feet in length, decked at both ends; they have two masts, a short bowsprit, are built of fir or spruce, and will sail on the wind, or as the seamen term it, in the wind's eye. In the winter season, when the cod fishery is over at Newfoundland, these boats, with 30 or 40 men in each, repair to the frozen shores of Labrador, where the winds and tides often drive immense floats of ice into the bays, and on these floats great numbers of seals. As the boats belong to different merchants, the float of ice is marked out in equal portions, and each boat's crew are strictly limited to the part assigned them. These regulations being settled, they attack the seals much in the same manner as captain Bobadil proposes to destroy an army of 20,000 men.

The

The fishers enter the ice in regular order, each man knows his department, and attends that only. The first man of the party advances towards a seal, which he strikes immediately above the nose with a club—attacks another—kills it—marches forward towards a third—kills that also. Thus advancing, the whole field becomes a scene of blood, strowed with dead seals.

When the first seal is killed, the next person in rank tears off the skin, which he leaves on the spot, and advances to the second, and so on. A third person takes off a layer of fat, with which the seal is covered next the skin, this he also leaves on the spot, and immediately follows the two former. Thus the killer, the flayer of skin and fat, with the remaining crew, will sometimes clear to the value of 500l. within the space of 24 hours. When this happens, they return with what they call a full cargo, which abundantly reimburses their employers. There is also, at other seasons, an open-sea fishery, by which fortunes are acquired.

The seal fishing in Scotland, is in some respects similar. The Scottish seas are open through the whole year, and the seals being of the amphibious kind, frequent the caverns and openings of the rocks upon the shore, where they bring up their young.

The Hebrides, and the northern shores of the mainland, are the principal resort of the seals. Of the former, Mr. Martin gives the following entertaining account, in his description of North Uist, a part of the Long Island.

“On the western coast lies the rock Consmil, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and it is still famous for the yearly fishing of seals there in the end of October. This rock belongs to the farmers of the next adjacent lands; there is one who furnisheth a boat, to whom there is a particular share due on that account, besides his proportion as tenant.

The

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The parish minister hath his choice of all the young seals, and that which he takes is called by the natives, Cullen Mory, that is, the Virgin Mary's seal. The steward of the island hath one paid to him, his officer hath another, and this by virtue of their offices. These farmers man their boats with a competent number, fit for the business, and they always embark with a contrary wind, for their security against being driven away by the ocean; and likewise to prevent their being discovered by the seals, who are apt to smell the scent of them, and presently run to sea.

When this crew is quietly landed, they surround the passes, and then the signal for the general attack is given from the boat, and so they beat them down with big staves. The seals at this onset make towards the sea with all speed, and often force their passage over the necks of the stoutest assailants, who aim always at the forehead of the seals, giving many blows before they be killed, and if they be not hit exactly on the front they contract a lump on their foreheads which makes them look very fierce; and if they get hold of the staff with their teeth, they carry it along to sea with them.* Those that are in the boat, shoot at them as they run to sea, but few are caught that way. The natives told me that several of the biggest seals lose their lives by endeavouring to save their young ones, whom they tumble before them towards the sea. I was told also that 320 seals, young and old, have been killed at one time in this place. The reasons of attacking them in October is, because in the beginning of this

* There is great cruelty in this imperfect method of conducting the seal fishery. The seals, while endeavouring to save their young, are knocked on the head with sticks or staves, which, though often repeated, does not always prove effectual, and thus the poor animal escapes in tortures, which inhuman man hath no right to inflict. Let those persons be obliged to use clubs headed with iron, by which the business will be done instantly and effectually.

Z

month

month the seals bring forth their young on the west side of these islands; but these on the east side, who are of the lesser stature, bring forth their young in the middle of June.

The seals eat no fish till they first take off the skin; they take hold of the fish between their teeth, and pluck the skin off each side with their sharp-pointed nails: this I observed several times. The natives told me that the seals are regularly coupled, and resent an encroachment on their mates at an extraordinary rate. The natives have observed that when a male had invaded a female already coupled to another, the injured male upon its return to its mate, would, by a strange sagacity, find it out and resent it against the aggressor by a bloody conflict, which gives a red tincture to the sea in that part where they fight. This piece of revenge has been often observed by seal hunters, and many others of unquestionable integrity, whose occasions obliged them to be much on this coast. I was assured by good hands that the seals make their addresses to each other by kisses: this hath been observed often by men and women, when fishing on the coast in a clear day: The female puts away its young from sucking, as soon as it is able to provide for itself, and this is not done without many severe blows.

There is a hole in the skin of the females, within which the teats are secured from being hurt, as it creeps along the rocks and stones, for which cause nature hath formed the point of the tongue cloven, without which the young could not suck.

The natives salt the seals with the ashes of burnt sea-ware, and say they are good food. The vulgar eat them commonly in the spring time, with a long pointed stick instead of a fork, to prevent the strong smell which their hands would otherways have for several hours after.

This four-footed creature is reckoned one of the swiftest in the sea; they say likewise that it leaps in
cold

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cold weather the height of a pike above water; that the skin of it is white in summer, and darker in winter, that their hair stands an end with the flood, and falls again at the ebb. The skin is by the natives cut in long pieces, and then made use of instead of ropes to fix the plow to their horses when they till the ground."

BASKING SHARK. These are supposed to be migratory fish, from the arctic circle; they frequent the coast of Norway, the Orkney and Hebride isles, the firth of Clyde, the bay of Ballyshannon in Ireland, and the west coast of Wales, particularly Carnarvonshire and Anglesey. They appear in the firth of Clyde, near the isle of Arran, in small shoals of 7 or 8, but more generally in pairs, some time in June, where they remain till the end of July, when they disappear.

Though their size is from 10 to 40 feet in length, they are the most inoffensive fish, and so tame, or so stupid, that they will suffer themselves to be stroked in the water. They generally lie motionless on the surface as if asleep, commonly on their bellies, and sometimes like tired swimmers on their backs. They sometimes play on the waves, and leap with great agility several feet out of the water. They will permit a boat to follow them without accelerating their motion, till it comes within contact; when a harponner strikes his weapon into them, as near the gills as possible. But they are often so insensible, as not to move till the united strength of two men hath forced the harpoon deeper. As soon as they perceive themselves wounded, they fling up their tail and plunge headlong to the bottom; and frequently coil the rope round them in their agonies, attempting to disengage the harpoon from them, by rolling on the ground, for it is often found greatly bent.

As soon as they discover that their efforts are in vain, they swim away with amazing rapidity, and

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with such violence, that there hath been an instance of a vessel of 70 tons having been towed away by them against a fresh gale. They sometimes run off with 200 fathoms of line, and with two harpoons in them; and will employ the fishers for 12, and sometimes 24 hours before they are subdued. When killed, they are either hauled on shore, or if at a distance from land, to the side of the vessel. The liver, being the only useful part, is taken out and melted into oil in kettles provided for that purpose. A large fish, particularly the female, will yield eight barrels of oil, two of useless sediment, and afford a profit of 20l.

The oil is of the most valuable kind; pure, sweet, extremely proper for lamps, and much valued by tanners. It is also used by the fishers for curing burns, bruises, and rheumatic complaints. The commissioners of forfeited estates at Edinburgh, were at considerable expence in encouraging this valuable, though small fishery; but their good intentions were frustrated through the misconduct of the person whom they appointed to carry it on. At present it is only attempted occasionally, by private persons.

DOG-FISH. The catching sea dogs is properly a defensive fishery. These animals, though scarcely exceeding the size of a large cod, are equally destructive to nets, and to all the species of fish whom they can overcome. They had become so offensive upon the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, that the enraged fishermen made war upon them, as a common enemy, and with such success, that they have almost extirpated the whole species from the American shores.

They abound on the coast of Shetland, particularly the Hebrides, where they are taken in considerable numbers. Being split and dried, they are conveyed by the women through different parts of the country, and sold or exchanged for necessaries; thus forming a petty inland commerce.

Whales of the larger and lesser Species.

Whales are found in Scotland wherever the herrings abound. In August, 1784, two young ones followed the herrings into Oban bay, where they remained some days, playing on the surface, and sometimes within a hundred yards of the custom-house, where there is a great depth of water. Some months after, two larger whales were observed in Lochfine.

Sometimes one or two whales will block up the shoal of herrings in a loch, to the great emolument of the fishers; but whether these services from the whales be an equivalent for the *per contra* injuries, we shall not pretend to decide. No regular whale fishery hath yet been attempted on the Scottish shores; but were towns established on the western parts, it is probable that a body of harponeers would settle there for carrying on the greater and lesser fisheries. Small whales of the grampus kind abound in the Hebrides. When a shoal appears, the natives, armed with stones, clubs, spears, and guns, immediately embark on board their fishing boats, inclose the shoal between a line of boats and the shore; and begin the attack with showers of stones. The affrighted fish directly make for the first bay or opening;—the men pursue, and commence a bloody attack with guns, swords, clubs, &c.—a desperate fight ensues—the fish struggling to escape, and the men to secure them. Great numbers are thus taken; and, on account of the oil extracted from their livers, become a valuable capture to the assailants.

The porpus is remarkable for the great quantity of fat or lard that surrounds the body, which yields abundance of excellent oil.

In the days of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, the flesh of the porpus, however greasy and nauseous, was served up at the royal table.

All fish of the whale kind swim against the wind, except when they follow the herrings, and seem much agitated upon the approach of a storm, when they tumble about with unusual violence.

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Account of the Bounties, Premiums, and Drawbacks or Debentures, granted by Parliament for the Encouragement of the British Fisheries, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Annual tonnage and bounty to decked vessels from 20 to 80 tons inclusive, employed in the white herring fishery till 1786, per ton	1	10	0
Debenture on every barrel of pickled herrings of 32 gallons, exported to Ireland and foreign parts	0	2	8
On every barrel of 32 gallons of full red herrings	0	1	9
Of clean-shotten red herrings	0	1	0
On dried cod fish, ling, or hake, per cwt.	0	3	0
On wet ditto, per barrel of 32 gallons	0	2	0
On salmon, per barrel of 42 gallons	0	4	0
Of pilchards, per cask of 50 gallons	0	9	0
On dried red sprats, per last*	0	1	0

* PREMIUMS ON THE FISHERY.

Trustees Office, Edinburgh, March 22, 1784.

The Commissioners and Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements in Scotland, do hereby advertise, that they are to give the undermentioned Premiums, in the year 1784, for promoting the fisheries of cod, ling, and tusk, and sun or sail fish, on the coasts of Scotland, viz.

To the person or company, whose vessel of thirty tons burden, or upwards, fitted out or freighted for the fishing at their own risk and expence, shall take and cure the greatest quantity of cod, ling, and tusk, in proportion to the number of men employed	£.	s.	d.
	60	0	0
For the second greatest quantity	50	0	0
			For

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Herrings or salmon exported in barrels of any other size than the above, (except half barrels) are not entitled to the drawback.

		No
For the third greatest quantity	—	40 0 0
For the fourth greatest quantity	—	30 0 0
And for the fifth greatest quantity	—	20 0 0
To the person or company, whose vessel or boat of any burden, fitted out and freighted at their own risk and expence, either from the main-land or any one of the Western Isles, shall from the sun or sail-fish caught, make the greatest quantity of oil	}	15 0 0
For the second greatest quantity	—	10 0 0
For the third greatest quantity	—	7 0 0
For the fourth greatest quantity	—	6 0 0
For the fifth greatest quantity	—	5 0 0
For the sixth greatest quantity	—	4 0 0
And for the seventh greatest quantity	—	3 0 0
		250 0 0

Persons intending to compete for these premiums, excepting such as reside in any of the Isles, must lodge in this Office, on or before the 15th of May next, an intimation of their intention so to do, specifying the name and burden of the vessel, with the number of hands, boats, and hooks, to be employed. And the master of every competing vessel, upon sending to this Office, will receive a book wherein his journal and observations are to be entered.

When the fishing season is over, or before the 1st of March 1785, every competitor for the premium upon cod, ling, and tusk, must return to this Office the said journal-book, properly filled up, with an affidavit before a magistrate or justice of peace, subjoined as to the truth thereof; and, at the same time, there must be transmitted a certificate under the hand of the collector or comptroller of the customs at the port to which the vessel returns, *of the burden of the vessel, the precise number of hands and boats which have been employed, and number and weight of the different sorts of fish caught and cured, (mentioning whether or not the heads of the fish be included in the weight)* and in case of their having caught any sun or sail-fish, *the number of gallons of oil made therefrom.* And every competitor who fails to lodge his journal and affidavit, and the custom-house certificate here, on or before the foresaid 1st of March 1785, will be debarred from the premium.

On account of the great distance of the Isles, no intimations are required from the masters or outfitters of boats there for the sun or sail fishery; and an affidavit by the master, together with a certificate under the hand of the minister of the parish to which he belongs, lodged here before the said 1st of March 1785, will

No allowance to be paid on fish badly cured, or unmerchantable. Fish fraudulently re-landed in Great-Britain, and re-imported, is forfeited, and double the value to be recovered of the importer or proprietor.

No fee to be taken for a debenture or certificate, or for payment of the money.

Any officer refusing or neglecting to pay the money, or give a certificate, as above, forfeits double the sum to the party aggrieved.

These encouragements, great as they may seem, are found in the experiment to be inadequate to the heavy expences attending every British fishery; besides the accidents to which the adventurers are exposed from war, storms, or unfavourable seasons; also the great disproportion in ship-building, outfit, mens wages, provisions, casks, &c. between the British and foreign expenditures in these branches. This will appear more forcibly in the following abstract from what hath been said relative to the fisheries.

be held as evidence of the quantity of oil (the number of gallons being specified) made from the sun or sail-fish taken by each boat.

The Trustees are likewise to give two premiums of 10l. and 5l. to the masters of the competing vessels, who shall keep the most accurate journals of their procedure, and give the most satisfactory account of any new fishing-ground, or shall point out distinctly any practicable improvement which can be made upon the present mode of prosecuting the fishery. But they reserve to themselves a power of with-holding either or both of the premiums, in case it shall appear to them that none of the journals have sufficient merit in these respects.

By order of the Board,

ROBT. ARBUTHNOT, Sec.

View

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View of the respective Fisheries, giving the Average Exports at different Periods; and the Number of Vessels in the White and Herring Fisheries.

Annual average of pilchards exported in former years, 30,000 barrels;— in the last four years, 12,500;—last year, only 5500.

Ditto of red herrings from Yarmouth and its neighbourhood, 38,000;—ditto, last six years, only 9335.

	1783
Vessels from ditto employed in the Iceland white fishery previous to certain salt regulations	} 200 0
Vessels employed from Harwich in the white fishery upon the Dogger and other banks in the channel, in 1778	} 70 60
Busses fitted out from the Thames, &c. for the Shetland white herring fishery, when the bounty was 50s. per ton, about the year 1760	} 40 3
Busses fitted out from the west coast of Scotland for the Hebride herring fishery in 1776*	} 294 153
For the Shetland ditto in 1776	0 0
White fishery	0 0
Hebride white fishery	0 1

Such is the declining state of the British fisheries, while, to the surprize of many persons, a writer of considerable reputation and abilities labours to annihilate that mode which government, after the experience of ages, discovered to be best calculated for the support of the state, and the increase of commerce.

Doctor Smith, speaking of the herring-buss fishery, thus expresses himself: — “ It has, I am afraid,

	1783.
* From Greenock, in or before 1776	138 40
From Port Glasgow in 1776	30 11
From Dunbarton in 1776	4 0
From Saltcoats in 1776	12 5
From Irwin in 1776	5 0
From Campbeltown in 1772	94 39
From Oban and its neighbourhood, including the Isles, in 1776	} 33 9

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been too common for vessels to fit out for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty."

We find the expence of a vessel of 60 tons, in building and fitting out for the fishery, amounts to

	£. 957 0 0
The bounty on that size is 90l. exclusive of 2s. 8d. per barrel, on herrings exported,	90 0 0
	£. 867 0 0

Can it be supposed, that any man in his senses would expend, in the first instance, nearly 1000l. upon perishable articles, on the view of recovering, during the ensuing year, a sum barely sufficient to defray custom-house and other incidental expences attending the fishery.

The expence of fitting out, every subsequent year, exclusive of the large sum originally sunk in building the vessel and boats, is,

	£. 313 0 0
The return per bounty*.	90 0 0
	223 0 0

Were further arguments necessary on this head, we might appeal to the total failure of the east country, and the declining state of the west country buss fisheries. The Royal British Company had at one time in employ, 40 busses, on a capital of 120,000l. actually paid, and a bounty of 50s. per ton, besides other privileges already enumerated; yet they found their capital gradually sinking, and, in a short time, were obliged to sell their vessels and materials, with a loss of 92½ per cent.

If an able body of merchants, gentlemen of landed estate, and other persons of real property, aided also by 50s. per ton from government, were obliged to dissolve, with the loss of almost their whole capital, in the space of a few years, is it to be supposed that

* Soon after the first publication of this book, a silly paragraph appeared in the news-papers, signifying, That the adventurers, at convenient seasons, threw the herrings overboard, being sufficiently reimbursed, and rewarded by the magnitude of the tonnage bounties.

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persons, in a subordinate line, can get such wealth by the business, as to fish, not for the herrings, but for a diminished bounty of 30s. and under the various restraints before mentioned?

In speaking of companies, great allowances are to be made on account of frauds, neglects, &c. but, while this company existed, there were also individual adventurers on the east coast, who enjoyed the same bounties and privileges. If the bounty now at 30s. be very advantageous, how happens it; that only 3 vessels annually have been fitted out of late between the Thames and the Shetland Islands on the bounty? Men generally pursue such branches as are found in the experiment to be profitable. If the money received from government, and by the sale of fish, was sufficient, after reimbursing the expence, to afford even a moderate profit, the whole east country of Scotland would be lined with decked vessels for the buss fishery.

The doctor is equally unfortunate in the following propositions: "When the undertakers of fisheries, after such liberal bounties have been bestowed upon them, continued to sell their commodity at the same, or even at a higher price, than they were accustomed to do before, it might be expected that their profits should be very great; and it is not improbable that some of those individuals may have been so. In general, however, I have every reason to believe they have been quite otherwise. The usual effect of such bounties is to encourage rash undertakers to adventure in a business which they do not understand; and what they lose by their own negligence and ignorance, more than compensates all that they can gain by the utmost liberality of government."

Is the doctor to be informed, that, previous to the æra of the bounties, the fisheries of the Clyde, Lochfine, and the West Highlands were more certain and plentiful, particularly in the Clyde, consequently the people were at less expence, and had less trouble in searching from place to place after the

shoals. The expence of the buss fishery is also considerably augmented by parliamentary regulations, which obliges them to employ more men than are really necessary for the fishery in the present practice of curing; and it is partly on this account that the bounty is given.

The prices of all kinds of materials, provisions, wages, and whatever is connected with the fisheries, are also raised very considerably; some of them, as herring barrels, above 100 per cent. within these last 40 years.

The vexatious, and expensive journies and fees in consequence of the salt laws; the enormous fees demanded at the custom-houses upon all occasions; the delay and expence in the rendezvouses; the obliging vessels to fish their own cargoes, and to remain three months upon the voyages; and other circumstances unknown in former times:—These combined, we shall find the bounties to be in effect little more than a name, placing the adventurers of the present day, *with a bounty*, in much the same state as their predecessors *without that general aid**. Some of those particulars, as the custom-house fees, either did not occur to the doctor, or they were kept purposely *out of the way*, as is the case sometimes with evidence in law suits.

The second position: “That the usual effect of such bounties is to encourage rash undertakers to adventure in a business which they do not understand, and what they lose by their own negligence and ignorance, more than compensates all that they can gain by the utmost liberality of government.” This is a severe insinuation against a body of people, the least possibly deserving of it within these kingdoms. Had I never seen Scotland, or that part of it where the adventurers reside, I should most probably have given implicit belief to whatever came from the pen of doctor Smith; I should have imagined these west country merchants and fishers were a set of desperate

* The bounty was formerly given, not on the fish taken, but on the fish exported.

rash adventurers; ignorant, negligent, and so extremely foolish, that what they got with one hand, they threw away indiscriminately with the other. And that there must surely be something more than ordinary absurdity in supporting that branch, and those people. Happening, however, to be fully acquainted with the whole progress of these fisheries, the causes of their decline, and the difficulties under which they have laboured; being also personally acquainted with many individuals in that line, intelligent, indefatigable, possessed of much experimental knowledge, and anxious for the honour, the defence, and the safety of their country, I cannot, in justice to these useful members of society, admit that the doctor's insinuations, in whole or in part, have the smallest foundation in truth.

The adventurers in the herring branch at Greenock and Port-Glasgow, are engaged more or less in mercantile affairs, at home or abroad; and some of them are persons of considerable capital. The inhabitants of Rothsay in the isle of Bute, have been in the fishing business for ages past. They are more successful at present than other towns on that coast, and the reason they give is worthy of being recorded. "There are," say they, "no smugglers amongst us, no idlers, and scarcely any beggars. Every man is employed, and that employ is chiefly in the fisheries, the ancient staple of Rothsay."

The inhabitants of Campbeltown are thus described, by a late writer, who visited that place in his passage to the Hebrides, at a period when the fisheries were seemingly flourishing, and the traders in apparent good circumstances.

"The town of Campbeltown has increased considerably since the commencement of the bounty on the herring fishing. The tonnage of their shipping is now ten to one what it was a few years ago; consequently the number of sailors, carpenters, coopers, and,

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and, in short, all ranks of people, have multiplied in the same proportion. Trade, commerce, and manufactures; industry, humanity, friendship and benevolence, dwell and flourish among the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood; who, from the profits of the fisheries, procure all the conveniencies, and enjoy all the comforts that can be wanted, or should be wished for in this transitory life. Such are the good effects arising from the fisheries in this part; and such will continue to be the happy consequences wherever they are established, if the bounty were continued under certain regulations, and due attention paid to this favourite child, who, though now out of leading-strings, still requires some fostering care to bring him to a state of maturity: then will Britannia be the umpire of the sea, and be rendered the first commercial and most powerful nation in Europe."

"Campbeltown," (says Mr. Pennant in his tour 1772), "is now a very considerable place. It was created by the fishing; 260 vessels have been seen in the harbour at once; but their number declines since the ill payment of the bounty."

Doctor Smith makes an estimate of the quantity of salt used upon the herrings cured by the west country busses, during a period of 11 years; and calculates the amount of duty which government remits upon every barrel of herrings cured or exported duty-free. This he considers as a loss to government. But would not government have sustained an equal loss had there been no buss fishing, and consequently no salt used?

We now come to the grand argument, whereon the doctor chiefly grounds his objections to a buss fishery, viz. the small quantity of herrings taken since the commencement of the bounty, which, he says, hath not been adequate to the expence of government. There is something harsh in this kind of reasoning; and it comes with a very bad grace from a commis-
sioner

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tioner of the customs, as will occur to any reader who hath perused the foregoing sheets. Who prevented the buffes from clearing out at an early period, by which the summer fishery was entirely lost? Who prevented the adventurers from going to Ireland and the Isle of Man, where the herrings were plenty, tho' the Hebride fishery had failed?

To lay an embargo, as it were, upon the vessels, and afterwards to speak of the want of success, as an argument for withdrawing the parliamentary aid, and abolishing the buss establishment, does the doctor no great honour. Considering these circumstances, and the various impediments formerly enumerated, it is a matter of surprize that so many herrings were taken, and that the business hath not been totally abandoned.

Besides, the quantity of fish was not the principal motive that induced government to adopt this mode of extending the fisheries. The great object of the bounties was the training a hardy race of seamen, and that is effected whether the fishery be successful or otherwise, proportioned to the number of vessels fitted out. Were some hundred vessels to sail from Clyde to Loch-Broom, and from Loch-Broom to the Clyde, without throwing a net, the main view of government would be gained; and still more effectually, if the buffes had been permitted to make two voyages every year, instead of keeping them idle in harbours till the first of August or October.

The doctor is rather silent on this head in his writings; but I have been well informed that he labours, in conversation, to depreciate the importance of the buss fishery, considered as a nursery of seamen. Though it hath already been my endeavour to state that matter in a true light, to the conviction of every reader who will allow himself the free exercise of his reason, I shall take my leave of the doctor and his logical powers, by stating a few instances, which,
were

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were it necessary, could be corroborated by the navy-books, wherein the names, places of birth, and other particulars respecting seamen, are entered.

About two thirds of the seamen, who sail in the mercantile service from Clyde, have been trained to that business by the herring buffes, besides numbers of Highland seamen, who navigate the shipping of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and other ports of these kingdoms.

Immediately before the year 1750, the number of inhabitants in and about Campbeltown did not exceed 3000 or 4000; at present they exceed 7000. In 1750, the decked vessels belonging to Campbeltown were 4, and these of small size; the number of men 30 or 40. In 1777, the number of buffes belonging to that port amounted to 62, manned with 750 hardy, and, for the most part, experienced sailors.

During the last war nearly 1000 men, who had been trained in the buss fishery belonging to Campbeltown, served on board the royal navy, and thus composed a considerable portion of that invincible body, who maintained the unequal combat in every quarter of the world; protected the centre of empire from invasion, and both the Indies from falling into new hands. From this circumstance relative to Campbeltown, we may form a conjecture respecting the quota furnished by the western buss fishery in general. The number of vessels fitted out in 1776 was 294; but, as some of these vessels made double voyages within the year, we shall state the individual vessels actually existing, at 250; if therefore Campbeltown supplied the navy with nearly 1000 men from a buss fleet of 62 vessels, the supply from the whole fishery may be estimated from 3500 to 4000 men.

It is well known that the naval captains are particularly fond of *the blue bonnets*, viz. Highland sailors

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sailors, for the most part, on account of their hardiness, temperance, and sober manners. Above 100 of these blue bonnets have been counted on board a ship of the line at one time.

Neither hath doctor Smith in his publication, found it expedient to mention the employment given to various classes of people by means of the buss fishery, and the comfortable subsistence which the poor acquire by their industry in these branches. No less than 800l. per annum was paid to boys and girls in and about Campbeltown, for dressing hemp, spinning twine, and knitting and making the nets for the use of the busses there. But the most useful body of men, next to the seamen, are the ship carpenters, and coopers, of whom this branch raised a considerable number.

Respecting all these degrees of people, and the ruin of the owners of the busses, was that branch to be abandoned, the doctor expresses no sympathizing feelings; no sensations for what they have already suffered, and what they must again suffer, were government disposed to withhold their aid, by which the remaining property would sink to half its value, by which hundreds of families would be driven to Ireland; and the rising ports of Campbeltown, Stranrawer, &c. reduced to their former state of indigence, or the idle pernicious habits of smuggling.

There hath long existed a jealousy between the inhabitants of the east side of Scotland and those of the west; a proof that the *amor patriæ* doth not flourish at present in the Scottish soil. The people in the east country have not found the buss fishery worthy their attention, or adequate to the great expence in fitting out. They therefore wish to encourage a boat fishery upon their shores, which, to establish, requires some parliamentary aid; and this aid, they imagine, cannot be obtained during the existence of the bounties to the western buss fishery. From this

source may be traced, in a great measure, the opposition given to the latter fishery, by various individuals, whose writings do not in all cases merit the confidence of the public, much less ought the Representatives of the public be guided by them. Why should government be advised to abandon that mode of fishing which answers most effectually the purposes of the state; which is best adapted to the nature of the country, the genius and habits of the people; employs the young and old of both sexes; furnishes a considerable article of exports; gives freights to shipping, &c. in order that others may be enabled to follow a method of greater conveniency to themselves only? The liberal principles so prevalent of late in the south, have not, it would seem, got so far as the Tweed; and it appears somewhat extraordinary, that men of shining abilities, whose writings manifest, at least, the theory of moral sentiments, should imbibe the local narrow prejudices of a fishing town.

Having stated the origin of the present contest between the two opposite sides of the kingdom, as proceeding from the clamours of sundry persons engaged, or who wish to be engaged in the east country fishery, I am sorry to find reason for suspecting, that the same spirit operates more or less amongst some persons of that line in the west.

It hath been observed, that the bounty-laws, by restraining vessels from purchasing herrings from the Highland boats as heretofore, proved the ruin of the boat fishery, which was merely limited to their own petty home sale; and, upon considering that this restraint also struck at the root of improvements in the Highlands, an object which I have ever had in view, equally with the extension of the fisheries, I resolved to state that matter to the public, and, at the same time, advert to the injury of the fisheries in general by that restricting clause. This resolution having gone abroad, and that I had recommended to the committee of the house of commons a repeal

of that law, I received a letter from one of the principal adventurers in the west country buss fishery, containing fundry arguments against any alteration of the law on that particular clause. "Upon the whole," says he, "all here (meaning the town where he resides) are determined never to fit out a buss on such a footing."

I thought it necessary to communicate this intelligence immediately to the chairman of the committee, as a subject worthy their serious deliberation; though, in my own opinion, I remain unalterably decided on that head. The herrings frequent the shores of the Highlands; strangers go there from England, Scotland, and Ireland, to take them; some of these strangers, in order to save the petty expence in purchasing herrings from the natives, had interest to procure a law whereby the busses were prohibited from purchasing; and, instead thereof, that their own people should be tied down during 3 months to the drudgery of fishing their own cargoes; a restraint less adapted to an imaginary saving, than to the mistaken views of individuals in another respect: cruel towards the natives, whom it deprives of their natural right; repugnant to the intention of Providence; to the spirit of the English constitution; to the general benefit of the community; and one great source of emigration amongst a helpless people, who seem to have had few friends to represent their grievances, and defend their rights.

But, notwithstanding the narrow spirit so prevalent in human nature, there are many persons concerned in the fisheries on both sides of Scotland, who heartily coincide in every liberal proposition respecting the extension of that branch; whose wishes are, not to exclude others, but to partake with them, in the wealth which the sea affords around the whole island.

Review of the Markets for Herrings, with some Proposals, whereby the Sale may be extended.—Estimates of the Sale of Fish in general, and the Number of People that may be employed in that Branch, providing Government shall afford a liberal Aid.

THE opening new Markets, and extending old ones, are objects of very serious national concern, and in which the aid of the state is essentially necessary. Respecting all the varieties of white fish, flat fish, salmon, and those of the whale kind, the markets are boundless. Great Britain alone, were all fish taken by foreigners prohibited, would exhaust the cargoes of many hundred vessels in the white and flat fisheries. All the rivers in the Island cannot supply the demands of London in salmon; which, of late, hath risen to a price beyond the abilities of the labouring people to purchase.

For oil, and other produce of the whale kind, the sale at home is continually encreasing.

The market for herrings, and that only, requires particular attention.

From the period when the herrings forsook the Swedish and German shores, till the year 1754, or thereabouts, when they returned to the continent, Great Britain had an opportunity of being enriched by the monopoly of the fishery upon her shores. We have seen by what means this fishery was lost to both kingdoms. Their civil and religious commotions, their schemes of colonization, and their continental wars, engrossed the attention of government and individuals; while the Dutch supplied Europe in this great article, almost without a rival.

The scene is now greatly changed; since 1754, the herrings have been on the Swedish coast in such quantities, that nearly 200,000 barrels are supposed to be exported annually, at half the price which we can afford to take. Ireland neglected her fishery
till

till about the year 1763, when she began to try the experiment, and with such success, that, instead of a customer, she hath become a formidable rival to Great Britain at the West India market, and even in England. France also, though the herrings on that coast are of the worst kind, hath, within these few years, attempted to supply her West India colonies, partly from her own shores, and partly by buffes fitted out for the coast of Scotland.

These three nations have also begun the trade of drying herrings for the Italian and other markets in the southern parts of Europe. Amongst all these competitors for trade, Scotland enjoys a superior advantage, from the early arrival of the herrings and their long continuance upon her coasts. The Swedish fishery on their own coast begins in October, and continues six weeks. The French fishery is nearly about the same period. The Dutch, and other foreigners who frequent the Scottish shores, generally quit that fishery at the commencement of the winter, on account of the inclemencies of the season, when it cannot be carried on to advantage in the open seas, without the aid of adjacent shores or ports. In Ireland, the herrings begin to appear in some lochs towards the end of June, if the wind be favourable; but the great fishery seldom commences before November, and sometimes, as in 1784, not before December. Upon an average, the Irish fishery for exportation does not last above six weeks or two months, every year.

Let us now examine the fisheries on the Scottish coast, supposing them carried on to the fullest extent by the natives. The herrings that surround Great Britain are composed, first, of stationary or native herrings, spawned in the British seas, and found upon the coast at all seasons of the year. Of these herrings a few are taken off the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk, during the spring, for the London markets; and, of late years, the Scottish east country boats

have attempted an April fishery; the herrings then taken are immediately cured and sent to London for the West India market; but no fishery at this season hath been attempted upon the coasts of Shetland or the Hebrides, though the herrings are also found in these seas through the whole year.*

Secondly, the great shoals of emigrants or strangers from the north seas, as reinforcements to the former; but whether these two divisions of herrings, the natives and the strangers, unite or blend together, is a matter of mere speculation. We only know for a certainty, that the great northern shoals begin to appear off the Shetland islands in May, and that on the 24th of June, they are found in such numbers as to give full employment to hundreds of vessels, and thousands of people, day and night. We also know, that the great body of the herrings remain on the Scottish coast, though not on every part of it, till the 12th of January or later; consequently that nation, from its northern situation, and the natural progress of the herrings, enjoys, or may enjoy, a great fishery one half of the year, besides a partial fishery of native herrings during part of the other half. It is this happy situation that gives Scotland a great advantage in the duration of their fishery; and as there is reason to hope that the British fishery-laws will be no longer disgraced by a restriction, which tied up the hands
of

* That these herrings are natives of this island appears evident from the following important discovery, which was communicated to me by an intelligent person from the Hebrides, viz. That at a certain season, when the people of St. Kilda descend the rocks in quest of young solan geese and other fowl, they generally find the nests well stocked with young herrings, which are daily fished by the mothers, and laid in as food to their young brood. When the birds come from the eggs, the herrings are then two inches long; and when the former are ready to fly and shift for themselves, the herrings are nearly in full size. Thus they keep time, as it were, in their advances towards maturity. The number of young herrings procured for this purpose, by the old birds, exceed all credibility.

of the inhabitants, while foreigners were carrying away the fine rich herrings with which they supplied Europe; we humbly recommend a vigorous early busb fishery upon the coasts of Shetland; from thence southward on both the sides of the island, without ceasing, while the boats should be constantly employed on the shores and lakes for home sale, as well as the supply of the buffes or merchants.

As the herrings gradually fall off in richness and flavour soon after their arrival at the Shetland islands, I have been at some pains to discover whether we might not commence the Shetland fishery with success before the 24th of June; but no person with whom I have conversed on the subject, could give a satisfactory answer on that head; neither could they account for the Dutch regulation, which prohibits their fishing till that day.

As this point is of very considerable importance, it is submitted to consideration, whether it would not be proper to have a vessel at Braffa Sound on the first of June, equipped in all respects after the Dutch method, having also a sufficient quantity of refined salt, such as is used by that people. From Braffa Sound she might sail on the evening of June 1, in quest of the herrings, taking care to keep a minute journal of all the appearances that occurred, and circumstances that happened in the cruize, and strictly to observe the Dutch method of curing and packing. By this experiment we might discover whether that fishery admits of an earlier commencement; for if only one week could be gained in this valuable season, very essential advantages would result therefrom to the state and to individuals. It would enable us to open new markets in the northern parts of Europe, for which these rich, early herrings are only proper, and where they would bring a high price.

This may be called the first stage of the fishery, and continues, as we perceive by the Dutch laws,

till the 15th of July, which commences the second period, or harvest fishery that remains till October. During this period the herrings pass gradually down both sides of the kingdom; and it is during this season only, that a floating buss fishery could be carried on with success and safety among the Hebrides. The herrings having now lost much of their fatness, may be cured for the West India, as well as the European markets. This is also the season for reddening herrings, and may be considered as the best season for a general fishery over the whole kingdom. This is therefore the period which the Scots should improve with the utmost exertion, being then in possession, not only of an exclusive fishery, but also of exclusive markets, the Dutch excepted.

The winter fishery, which continues from October to the 12th of January, furnishes herrings of a large size, on the west coast of Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the coast of Sweden. Those taken about this season at Yarmouth, Biddeford, and the coast of France, are of a smaller size, and the fisheries are less considerable.

The great winter fisheries, and the rivalry in those fisheries, lie between the Irish, Swedes, and Scots. I have already observed the natural advantages which the two former have over the latter in taking the herrings at this season.

The Swedes and Irish take them at their doors; the first with baskets, the last with open boats; while the Scots, after searching from place to place, upon a coast of 250 miles, in the boisterous ocean, frequently return with their salt and casks unoccupied. By means, however, of great perseverance, they generally pick up many half cargoes for the West India market; and the restraints laid upon their fishery on the Scottish and the Irish coasts, being now in a fair way of redress, this winter fishery presents an extensive field for their industry.

Thus we perceive three fisheries—the summer, the autumnal, and the winter, having each their pe-

cular characteristic, and for which the inhabitants should be suitably accommodated and qualified.

By a strict adherence to the regulations proper for each respective branch on the part of the adventurers, and a suitable aid on the part of government, these three fisheries cannot fail of success; and this leads to an inquiry into the present state of the markets, and how far they may be extended. Formerly the principal markets for Scottish herrings were France, Sweden, Ireland, and the West Indies. Of all these, a part of the West India market only remains for the British exports of white herrings.

The French now supply themselves chiefly by means of herrings taken on their own, and the Scottish coasts.

The Swedes, besides home supply, have an overplus of near 200,000 barrels annually for the European markets and the West Indies. From the connection between France and Sweden, it is probable that the herrings from the latter kingdom have a preference in the French colonies to all other nations. *

Ireland, besides supplying her own consumption, which is very great, hath also become a rival at the West India markets, as appears from the preceding statements of her imports and exports, upon averages of four years, ending in 1767 and 1783.

The want of sale was one of the principal causes of the failure of the British white herring company, established in 1750, by men of unlimited property, aided by a bounty of fifty shillings per ton, and without the rivalship of Ireland.

May it not therefore be suggested, that while the wisdom of parliament is engaged in framing laws and regulations for the extension of the British fisheries, it is no less worthy their deliberation to consider of markets for the disposal of the fish? The home sale

* The island of Bartholomew lately ceded to Sweden by France, and made a free port, will greatly facilitate the sale of Dutch and Swedish Herrings.

of herrings in Scotland is cramped by a duty of one shilling per barrel, which, considering the increase of taxes, and the rise in the necessaries of life in that country*, it would be politic and humane to abolish.

Though this tax amounts to a twentieth part of the value of pickled herrings consumed in that country, and consequently a burden on the lower ranks of life, it is unproductive, as an article of revenue. It was originally imposed by the Scottish parliament, in lieu of the duty on salt used in curing. A burden of much greater magnitude is laid upon herrings sent to England, viz. 3s. 4d. per barrel, which, with the carriage from Greenock to the canal, the carriage and tonnage duties in passing that water, the reshipping at the Forth, the carriage from thence to London, the fees and port expences in the river, enhances the price of herrings to the London retailer to 30 shillings per barrel; in less plentiful years, as at present, to 36 shillings; and to the consumers about 3l. upon an average of years †. The arguments respecting the labouring people in Scotland are applicable to those of the same class in London, where, though wages are higher, the people are not always employed. Surely the additional

* Bread and butchers meat in Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, and other trading towns of Scotland, are as high as in London. Tea and sugar are higher than in London. Herrings and potatoes are therefore the general food of the manufacturers, of the industrious, and the aged poor. When these articles fail, scarcity and famine approach.

† The white and red herrings retailed in London at present, and for some years past, are chiefly Irish herrings, sold under the name of Isle of Man herrings. They are the large winter fish, of which 500 fills a barrel, and retailed at three halfpence each. The retailers say that herrings of a middle size are more generally called for, as they suit the pockets of their customers better, being sold at a penny. When pickled herrings are soaked two or three days in water, and hung by the tail, about the same time, to dry, at a moderate distance from the fire, or in the sun, they eat extremely well with potatoes.

expence

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expence of freight and port expences, are a sufficient tax on this class of people, amongst whom there is much distress and misery.

As this duty also, was imposed on account of the salt, it follows, that if the latter be abolished, the former should cease. By this means two purposes extremely essential to a trading nation will be gained; the fisheries will be increased, and the labouring people supplied with cheap food, taken upon our own coast, and by our own people.

But the home sale is comparatively trifling to the channels that may be opened with foreign states, by including fish as an article of British exports, in all commercial treaties and arrangements with those powers, particularly France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Poland, and Russia.

Upon the supposition that government shall take these matters into serious consideration, affording every aid to the taking, and the sale of herrings; and that the adventurers strictly observe the regulations which experience hath pointed out as absolutely necessary in the various departments of that branch, the herrings exported from Scotland to foreign parts, will probably amount to

	Barrels.	Value.
And the white fish dried or	300,000	£. 300,000
wet, equal to —	100,000	200,000
	£. 400,000	500,000
		Men & Boys.

Which, including the fishing for home sale, will employ 300 buffes from 20 to 120 tons, fitted out from the east country, between Shetland and Berwick, navigated upon an average by 14 men each

4200

3000 large

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	Men & Boys.
3000 large, stout boats, each carrying 5 men and a boy	18,000
500 buffes from 20 to 120 tons, fitted out from the Solway Firth, the Clyde, Loch Fine, the west Highlands, and Hebride isles, for the floating and Loch fisheries between Iceland and the Isle of Man, navigated upon an average by 14 men each	7000
4000 large, stout boats, fitted out from the before-mentioned places, particularly the Lochs of the Highlands, each carrying 5 men and a boy	24,000
Men and boys in the Scottish fisheries	53,200

Besides quick-sailing cutters and wherries employed in running to market with herrings and white fish; also various vessels built on particular constructions, for particular purposes, not registered or comprehended within the bounty laws, and which may be termed irregulars.

Of the English fisheries upon the coasts of that kingdom, and also by Englishmen on the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, I cannot speak with such precision; but as the parliamentary aids relative to bounties and markets will operate equally in both kingdoms, it may be supposed that the English fisheries will increase in a very considerable degree, particularly the white fishery in the North Seas, which is at present given up.

Without entering into particular statements of the English fisheries, we may estimate the value of exports as equal to one half of the Scottish sale; consequently the general amount will stand thus:

Exports from Scotland	—	500,000
-----England	—	250,000

Total amount of exports from Great Britain	—	£. 750,000
		But

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<p>But if the exports of fish from England shall be less than those from Scotland, her home consumption will be proportionably greater, or more so; and if, to the before-mentioned species of fish, we add salmon, haddocks, whittings, turbot, and all the varieties of flat and shell-fish, the value of the home consumption in Great Britain will probably exceed</p>	} 1,000,000
<p>To which is to be added the value of oil extracted from white fish, herrings, seals, grampuses, &c. also the skins of seals, isinglass, and other marine produce upon our shores, which at a low calculation will amount to</p>	} 250,000
Total amount of wealth	£. 2,000,000

that may be drawn from the British seas annually, which, besides supplying the inhabitants in above twenty different kinds of fish, will bring into the nation, in specie and goods, to the value of 750,000l.

We have stated the number of men, which the Scottish fisheries carried on by the natives of that kingdom may employ, at	53,200
Allowing for England	42,000
	95,200

And that the carrying trade of fish from both kingdoms to foreign markets, will employ	4800
	4800

Men and boys in the fisheries of Great Britain	100,000
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A nursery of seamen which no branch of navigation in these kingdoms, or in any foreign kingdom, can equal; besides giving employment to above half a million of people of both sexes, and of all ages. Were we to extend our estimates still further, through

through all the branches of trade, commerce, and manufactures, and to all the classes of men by whom those branches are carried on, who are more or less affected by extensive regular fisheries, such inquiries would lead to a field of endless calculation, and boundless advantages to the community.

Let us, for instance, suppose, that 100,000 seamen were fully employed in fisheries, whose annual produce, after deducting the value of salt and casks, realized a clear profit of 1,500,000l.; such accumulating wealth would place many thousand individuals in comfortable circumstances, and enrich others; consequently the benefits of the fisheries would extend to the population and increase of villages, towns, and even the capitals of the two united kingdoms, thereby augmenting the national property, the revenues of the state, and of corporations; giving business and employment to the brickmaker, the iron and timber merchants, dealers in oil and colours, paper-makers and stainers, bricklayers, masons, carpenters, painters, glaziers, blacksmiths, labourers, &c. From these we might proceed to the numerous classes engaged in the various kinds of household furniture, consisting of manufactured mahogany, silver, steel, iron, copper, tin, china, glass; of silks, cottons, linens, prints, and other articles, well known to every reputable house-keeper. From the expenditures on furniture, we might proceed to the articles of elegant dress manufactured at home; the consumption of provisions, malt liquors, and cyder, the produce of these kingdoms; of sugar, rum, and other articles, from our West India islands; of wines, brandy, and fruits, had in exchange for our fish. Placing these, and a thousand other particulars, to the credit of the fisheries, and taking also into the account, that, by the national exertion, towards which the fisheries, even in their distressed state, contributed very considerably, we broke the strength of the most formidable confederacy

confederacy known in Europe; that great branch, the donation of Heaven to this much favoured island, must rise in the estimation of every man who hath the prosperity and safety of his country at heart. It claims the approbation, and merits the support of every individual in these kingdoms, whether the constituent or the representative. We have seen the exertions of former ages in favour of the fisheries; the contributions made at church doors for carrying them on with vigour; the exclusive privileges, and exemptions from custom-house duties, upon imports and exports of whatever related to the fisheries; the laws obliging housekeepers of certain descriptions to use a barrel of herrings annually at 30s. per barrel, being equal to 40s. or 50s. at the present time; the political rigours, of keeping lent; these, and other circumstances which could be enumerated, show the importance of the fisheries to our ancestors; and the wisdom of those ages in the great, though ineffectual attempts to carry them to their utmost extent. If such exertions engaged the attention of the court, the senate, and the nation, when they had only France to contend with, when provisions were cheap and plentiful, when manufacturers bore a very small proportion to the community at large,—how much more so ought the present age to use every effort, not only towards the restoration of the fisheries in all their varieties; but establish that business upon a wider scale, thereby increasing the number of seamen, and the quantity of cheap food, proportionably to the accumulated collective strength of hostile powers abroad; to the great increase of manufacturers, the rise of provisions, and the heavy burden of taxes at home. The empire is also dismembered, and many provinces are lost; our possession of those that remain is, and ever will be precarious; but supposing the worst event to happen, there still remains an empire which no human power can abridge or detach. It is the boundless, and greatly neglected seas, by which we are environed,
 which

which pour treasures into every river, bay, and lake, in continual succession, and in immense bodies, on whose numbers the petty captures of man can scarcely make any impression.

To avail ourselves completely of these treasures, requires, as before observed, certain aids suited to the nature of each respective fishery. But all schemes calculated for that important end, upon a contracted plan of economy, will prove delusive to the state, as well as individuals. Nothing less than a general bounty extending to vessels of every size, and to fisheries of every denomination, will be found effectual upon the experiment; neither can any plan be adopted so simple in its operation, or less subject to frauds and gross impositions. *

* At the time of the union, the exporters of white herrings from Scotland, and soon after from England, were entitled to 10s. 5d. sterling per barrel, which mode of public bounty proved the ruin of their trade; the whole business became a scene of fraud and perjury, on the part of the exporters; of connivance and breach of trust, on the part of the revenue officers. Barrels, instead of being filled with good and sufficient herrings, well cured and packed, were partly filled with stones or rubbish; frequently the same barrels were entered a second time; every art and device was used for obtaining the public money; and the traders being regardless of the condition of the herrings so exported, that article fell into disrepute abroad; few merchants would purchase our herrings at any price; and should government again hold out the same temptations, similar consequences may be expected.

The emperor of Germany, though his mother the queen of Hungary owed her elevation to Great Britain, who fought her battles, and thereby incurred many millions of debt; hath lately published an edict, which almost prohibits the importation of British produce and manufactures, into his dominions of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Austrian Netherlands. The duty upon the importation of herrings is 10s. 6d. per barrel, and as the Netherlands hath ever been a great market for herrings, the only means of obtaining a share in that trade, under the heavy duty now imposed, will be, to keep off the Flemish vessels who have hitherto fished upon our shores, through the indulgence of the British court; or, by laying such vessels under a contribution equal to the duty on British taken herrings.



