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A

V I E W

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE,

MORE ESPECIALLY

SCOTLAND;

WITH SOME PROPOSALS

FOR THE

IMPROVEMENT OF THAT COUNTRY,

THE

EXTENSION OF ITS FISHERIES,

AND THE

RELIEF OF THE PEOPLE.

BY JOHN KNO



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WALTER, at Charing-Crofs; J. SEWELL, in
Cornhill; and W. GORDON, in Edinburgh.

MDCCLXXXIV.

Y I - 2

P R E F A C E.

HAVING 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 in our island, dragging out a wretched existence, perishing through want, or forced by 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 distresses; 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, 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 the 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, in 1782, the various memorandums which I had been collecting 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 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; since which time, some sheets have been privately circulated in both kingdoms, in the hope that gentlemen of rank or influence would lay the same before administration

ministration, 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 1783, 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.

The SECOND PART, or APPENDIX, while it served to establish the foregoing propositions, afforded also an opportunity of introducing sundry remarks, which did not fall within the general heads of the pamphlet. The shores, seas, and lakes, of the Highlands had been fully described, because these are, or ought to be, the first object of public attention. Secondary to this national concern, is the improvement of the vallies; and a short topographical account of those tracts of fertility, in the manner of an itinerary, was deemed the most satisfactory mode of conveying information to the reader*.

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.

* The improveable parts of the Highlands and Western Isles are, as one to four of the whole, or one 20th part of Great Britain; containing collectively above 2500 square miles, or 1,600,000 square acres; being the dimensions of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent united.

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, have 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 shown its inefficacy, still adhere to opinions, 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 ancient 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, or 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, so 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.

INTRO

INTRODUCTION.

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 ancient 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 profane 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.

Our own island, though capable of supplying its inhabitants in all the real necessities of life, besides a surplus wherewith to carry on a beneficial traffic with

with its neighbours, hath long been convulsed through the phrenzy 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 cotemporaries.

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 burden 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 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

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 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—Perilous Situation of Government, and the Nation in general—War, the causes 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 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's 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 been 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

<p>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 —</p>	} 32,000,000
<p>Debt, at the end of the war in 1748</p>	} 78,000,000
<p>Reduced in 1755, after a peace of seven years</p>	} 3,000,000
<p>Debt, at the commencement of the war in 1755</p>	} 75,000,000
<p>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</p>	} 71,000,000
<p>Debt, at the end of the war in 1763</p>	} 146,000,000
<p>Reduced in 1775, after a peace of twelve years,</p>	} 10,000,000
<p>Debt, at Midsummer 1775</p>	} 136,000,000

x INTRODUCTION.

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 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 universal fermentation 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, that 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

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extremely humiliating to the dignity of the British name, 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 1783 to 257,000,000*l.* To this is to be added the deficiencies in fundry taxes; the arrear, in winding up the war, and other miscellaneous expences not yet fully known; but, when brought to account, and funded, will amount to several millions.

If this estimate be just, we shall perceive that the losing of America hath doubled the national debt; and consequently doubled the burdens of the people.

Total amount of debt (supposing the whole to be funded), which will be owing to the creditors of the public, at Midsummer 1784	} 272,000,000 <hr style="width: 100%;"/>
The annual interest of ditto, including the expence of management, will be nearly	} 10,000,000
——— ditto per day 27,397 <i>l.</i>	
The peace establishment, including the civil list, above	} 5,000,000 <hr style="width: 100%;"/>
To be raised by the public annually <i>£.</i> 15,000,000 ——— ditto per day 41,096 <i>l.</i>	
Neat amount of the annual national revenue, arising from customs, excise, taxes, &c. copied from authentic records produced in the house of commons Jan. 1783, <i>£.</i> 12,000,279. Additional taxes June 1783, estimated at 560,000 <i>l.</i>	} 12,560,279
Surplus of the annual expence, above the annual revenue, for which additional taxes must be levied, or savings appropriated *	} 2,439,721

Pre-

* The earl of Stair's estimate of the annual expediture is still more alarming, viz. } *£.* 16,229,311

And

Previous to the year 1775, the annual revenue in time of peace generally exceeded the annual expence, and the surplus was carried to the sinking fund; or, in other words, applied towards diminishing the public debt. While matters were carried on in this happy train, the nation enjoyed a ray of hope: in proportion as the debt was reduced, in the same proportion the revenue was augmented; insomuch that a forty years' peace would have brought the whole public burdens within a convenient compass, besides enabling us to lower the price of provisions, to unfetter our commerce, and to face our enemies, boldly, in whatever quarter of the world they might, at any time, have been disposed to molest our trade, or attack our settlements.

Unfortunately, these promising appearances have almost instantaneously vanished: a fatal period, of seven years only, hath thrown us back above a century. Though the land tax be now unalterably established at four shillings or upwards, in the pound; though the revenue hath recently been augmented by a multiplicity of new taxes, some of them reaching the cabin, and the garret; the industrious labourer, the widow, and the helpless; yet, with the aid of all these unprecedented exertions, the aggregate of the present revenue falls short, by more than two millions, of the annual expenditure consequently, the lands, the moveable property, and the commerce of this kingdom, stand mortgaged in the proportion of one sixth of what they now rise,

And he affirms, that the neat annual revenue of this country can never be brought for a per- manency, and average of years, to exceed	}	12,000,000
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Annual deficiencies, to be made good by new taxes,	4,229,311
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The above estimate of the annual expenditure was made upon the supposition that the war lasted through the year 1783, which, happily, it did not; for, it is now certain, that it would have answered no other purpose than loading the nation with 25 additional millions, including the expence of funding, and consequently, a proportionable increase of taxes.

But

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Moreover, should any of the given branches of revenue fall short of the average annual estimates, such deficiencies must also be made good by extra-taxation, or the public creditors must sustain a proportionable loss. It is a situation which admits of no other alternative, and is equally alarming to the proprietors of land, and the proprietors of stock. Their property depends, more or less, upon contingencies; on the elements, the seasons, the events of war, the integrity and abilities of those who shall be entrusted with the management of public affairs.

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 with the brilliancy of its campaigns in Flanders, and Germany; in securing the Dutch barrier; supporting the houses of Austria, and Brandenburg. 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, while other nations now reap the fruits equally with ourselves, if not more so.

Upon the whole, we may fairly estimate our disbursements in establishing, protecting, and losing the

* The years of peace since the Revolution	55
<u>of war</u>	<u>41</u>
	96

American colonies, at two hundred and sixty millions sterling. In this estimate we include the whole expence of the two late wars; for, tho' 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 6 or 7000 troops; stores; hire of transports; erecting new batteries, and otherwise strengthening the works. Consequently, the keeping and defending a barren rock, with an indifferent harbour; 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 expended by Great Britain in foreign parts, 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

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

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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 inconveniencies, 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 amount will not fall greatly short of £. 1000,000,000, within the space of ninety-six years, or £. 10,416,670 per annum. Such were the vast 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,

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 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 8000 miles.

The lives thus cut off, in various parts of the globe, since the Revolution, cannot be fewer than 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 our rival, and her allies, we may fairly estimate the whole to be six millions of people, who have fallen sacrifices to war and famine, in all their horrible shapes, and for which these 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 these 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 stoutest 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;

* See an account of the famine in Bengal 1769, 70, as published throughout Europe by the Abbé Raynal. See also Doddsley'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.

who

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who, friendless, 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 the exports and imports to, and from, England. Also, the 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, flax, iron, pitch, tar, and lumber. This division contains 2,000,000 of inhabitants, who have formed themselves into 13 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 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. It is formed into two 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 Rivières, and Montreal.

Nova Scotia derives great importance from its local situation, and its harbours, particularly Hallifax, 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 300 years ago by Christopher Columbus, in the service of Spain, and have since been shared, thro' force or treaty, by France, Great Britain, Denmark, and Holland. Of these islands, Great Britain possesses Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, Antigua, St. Vincent, Dominica, the Grenades, and some others of inferior importance;

portance; from whence we import sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, ginger, pepper, guaiacum, sarsaparilla, machineel, 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 of 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 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 8 degrees of the line, and thus enjoys a coast of 3000 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-run and subdued this unwieldy empire.

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 complexion, 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 in 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,

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and particularly 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 10,000,000 of people, and producing a revenue of 3,500,000l. annually. The fertile province of Benares, otherwise Gazipour, adjoining to Bengal on the north, and producing a revenue of 260,000l. 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 possesses a district of 40 miles round 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 Afem, Aracan, Ava, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, Malacca, the empire of China, and all the 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.

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Estimate of English exports and imports to and from its 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/>	<hr/>	
	3,171,663	4,823,477	
		3,171,663	

Balance against exports £. 1,651,814

Could we ascertain the value of supplies for garrisons, particularly in Africa, the balance against exports would exceed 2,000,000l. But of the articles which swell the amount of imports, we circulate a considerable quantity over Europe, chiefly for specie.

Estimate of English exports and imports to, and from, the revolted colonies, upon periodical averages of ten years from 1700 to 1780.

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance in favour of Exports.
1700 to 1710	- £. 267,205	- £. 265,783	- £. 1422
to 1720	- 365,645	- 392,653	- —
to 1730	- 471,342	- 518,830	- —
to 1740	- 660,136	- 670,128	- —
to 1750	- 812,647	- 708,943	- 103,704
to 1760	- 1,577,419	- 802,691	- 774,728
to 1770	- 1,763,409	- 1,044,591	- 718,818
to 1780	- 1,331,206	- 743,560	- 587,646

£. 200,000 per annum should be added to the exports, being the value of slaves imported into these provinces by the British merchants directly from Africa.

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Africa. This included, Lord Sheffield states the total amount of balances in favour of England between 1700 and 1773, at - - - £. 20,000,000

From which may be deducted the estimate of supplies for the army and navy, the same being valued in the exports } 10,000,000

£. 10,000,000

Against this balance, and all the commercial benefits which England derived from North America, previous to the revolt of the Thirteen States, Lord Sheffield, and other writers, have brought forward the following ponderous sums advanced by this country; viz :

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 indulgences 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, extend and protect its commerce.

The island of Great Britain is situated between the 50 and 59 degree of latitude, a climate which qualifies the inhabitants equally for the arts of peace or war; while the breezes from the surrounding 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, at a low expence of inland carriage to the purchasers; and receive back,

* 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.

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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, 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 rivalry, or from which danger is to be apprehended.

		Square miles.
France, including the island of Corfica,	}	141,357
contains	-	
England and Wales	-	49,450
Scotland	-	27,794
Ireland	-	27,457
		104,701
Square miles in favour of France	-	36,656
		The

* The ancients considered Britain as placed at the western extremity of the world; but, upon 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

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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, salt-petre, 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, agreeable to Dr. Price's calculation of 5 persons to each house, contains	} 5,000,000
Ireland contains above	} 2,000,000
Scotland, 30 years ago, agreeable to an estimate made out by the late Dr. Webster,	} 1,300,000
	8,300,000
In favour of France	19,700,000

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.

Specie

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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 sound 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 near 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 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.

* 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 rivalry of the French, particularly in broad cloth, which they manufacture chiefly of smuggled wool from Ireland and this kingdom.

French

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	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 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 conveyance, 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 adapting its regulations in finance, to the particular situations, cases, and abilities of the respective provinces which compose the kingdom.

dom. 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 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 con-

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

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

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 vigilance of 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 doctor 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

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ent 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, or 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 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 the fabric of future prosperity on a permanent basis, we must return to our deserted native country;

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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 with Holland, China, antient Greece, Italy, and Egypt, is yet 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 above 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 very 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 reigns of King William and Queen Anne, also the annuities given as douceurs

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to those who have advanced money to the state, since those reigns, will gradually expire, by which above 1,300,000l. 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 10,000,000l. 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 conveniency. 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 favours of their country; they will listen to the voice of reason, and the calls of common justice towards an injured community, who have been wantonly, and 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, in bounties on American produce, and other disbursements in those states, the whole supposed to be half a million annually.

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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, so 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 140,000*l.* 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 a bounty are, soon after, brought back, reloaded, and shipped upon a second bounty*.

* 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 provisions 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 mechanics, labourers, and other working people throughout the kingdom, 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 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.

Sale

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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 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 burdensome, are,

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	ANNUALLY.
Gentlemen's carriages having 4 wheels and 2 horses, — — — — —	} £. 10 0 0
— 4 ditto — — — — —	25 0 0
— 6 ditto — — — — —	50 0 0
Chaises or whisksies 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 a certain description —	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 under 50l. and to be charged propor- tionably, upon higher rents	} 0 5 0
A similar tax to be levied and proportioned upon housekeepers, who permit card- playing within their respective houses	} 0 5 0
Every person who wears cambrics, lawns, or lace, of foreign manufacture	} 20 0 0
— ditto who wears mullins, and cottons of whatever quality or denomination, being the manufacture of the East Indies	} 10 0 0

These taxes, if duly enforced, are calculated to raise near 2,000,000l.; 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 thirdly, enable

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

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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.

So soon as the great concerns of the nation shall be put into this happy train, Britannia 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

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 four pence 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 re-quisition 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, consequently, 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.

offended world. It will accelerate commercial intercourse, give permanency to old channels of trade, and open new ones, whereof there yet remains 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, supercedes 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 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 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.

ANTIEN T AND PRESENT STATE
O F
S C O T L A N D;
P A R T I C U L A R L Y T H E
L O W C O U N T R I E S.

Commercial Annals of Scotland.

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; inso-much, 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, tho' 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 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 scale of Europe, when the death of Alexander

der 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 æra, must have been very considerable. The kingdom was supplied in grain, arms, and other necessaries, from Venice, Genoa, France, and the Low Countries; and, as all the trifling manufactures of that age must have been at a stand during the war, we may attribute those 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 fully authenticated in the writings of British and foreign historians, as well as by charters, and parliamentary records.

The fifteenth century, opens an æra extremely favourable to the arts of civil life in that kingdom, 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 what may be termed the vertical period of Scotland's glory and happiness.

The death of James V. in 1542, closed the splendour, and in some degree the independency of that antient 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 nation, enfeebled the excentric powers of government, desolated the country, and laid in ruins those noble edifices which it had been the work of ages to erect.

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.

Louis

Louis Guicciardin, in his account of the Low Countries about the year 1560, enumerates the imports from Scotland, and says, " That Campvere in Holland owes its principal commerce to its being the staple port for all the Scottish shipping, and so has been for a long series of years." Nor was the trade of that kingdom confined to Europe only. In 1589, the Earl of Cumberland, in his cruize against the Spaniards, met with three or four Scottish ships at the Azores, who supplied him with wine and water.

The principal exports from Scotland during the middle ages were cattle, peltry of various kinds; leather, wool, coarse wollen and linen goods; pearls, salmon, pickled and red herrings; pork, lead, and coals.

The trade of the kingdom was chiefly carried on from St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Aberdeen, and the numerous ports of the Forth.

We now arrive at a period when patriotism disappeared, and when national improvements 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, by which 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 patronized whatever constitutes the power, the opulence, and the elevation of states, being now withdrawn; the people lost their spirit, universal dejection took place, and the nation sunk back rapidly, into ignorance and insignificance.

In this deplorable situation did that country remain till the late reign, when a spirit of improvement, industry, and commerce, began to pervade the centre of
the

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 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 precarious 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. 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,

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 5 or 6000*l.* arising from the forfeited estates, and a small revenue from other sources; the whole, far too inadequate to the improvement of a kingdom.

In 1746, Archibald Duke of Argyle (the Mæcenas of Scotland) procured a royal charter for the 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.

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 those 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 Aberdeen, 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, 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 commonality. Tho' this

district hath a coast of near 200 miles, abounding in small harbours, and situated most admirably for western commerce; 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, altho' 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 the extensive coasts which reach from Aberdeenshire to the Pentland Firth. There is, however, amongst the gentlemen of the northern counties, a more general spirit for introducing small branches of manufacture, as 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 mention 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 sundry 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

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 incessant 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. Possibly, the number of executions in the course of justice, doth not amount to six persons annually, upon an average of years, throughout 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. On this they dress in English broad-cloth; and their wives, occasionally, in silks from London. 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 various 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,
pota-

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 chearfulness 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 millions of 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 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 pamphlet 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, tho' 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 seem to require.

quire. To this is chiefly 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 raising, acquiring, protecting, 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

* The religious commotions in Scotland during the reigns of James I. Charles I. and II. and the inability of those princes to carry their designs into execution relative to trade and the fisheries, disposed numbers of people to emigrate; some went to New-England, but the greatest number, particularly from the western counties, settled in the north of Ireland, and to the calamities of Scotland is owing the flourishing state of the Irish linen manufacture.

were, however, chiefly Britains; 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 the line 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, and when the bounty, at present limited to the herring buffes, was regularly paid, the fisheries of that kingdom and the three divisions of islands employed 20,000 men, composed of perienced 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 by a large bounty, employs		
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

* 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

Canada	—	—	—	400
Africa	—	—	—	3900
West Indies	—	—	—	12000
East Indies	—	—	—	6000
				<hr/>
				22630

The Newfoundland fisheries employed of }
men and boys } 20000

This statement speaks at once to the understanding. We perceive that the Scottish fisheries, and of one species only, employ, in the proportion of ten seamen to one 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 to the number now employed in all our remaining settlements.

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 other service, 50,000 † hardy seamen, and at no greater expence to the public than a moiety of the expenditure thrown away upon a useless fortrefs.

The war at the Revolution employed 45,000 seamen. The number hath increased every succeeding war; and in 1782 it amounted to 100,000. The great efforts which France, aided by 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

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 northern States of America.

† At the Union, and some time after, from 6 to 800 boats were engaged in the herring fishery upon the Forth, and each boat employed 8 or 9 men. The fishery in the Murray Firth employed from 5 to 700 boats, of a smaller construction, and navigated by 6 or 7 men each. These fisheries have, for want of due encouragement, much declined. But the great fisheries are those on the western and northern shores, of which the reader will find a circumstantial account in the following narrative.

exceed

exceed that of the present period, great as it is. 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 the 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 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 1727, in consequence of the American commerce carried on from Glasgow, and of some salutary, tho' 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 thro' 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 amount-

ed to	—	—	£. 2,000,000
The ready money spent by the Scots	}	—	500,000
nobility and gentry residing in England			

Ditto, by traders, and other persons, in }
 their periodical journies to London ; }
 also in remittances to boarding schools, } 100,000
 academies, and for a variety of other }
 purposes ————— }

£. 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, the
 amount of exports was found to be £. 3,525,906

Annual exports to Scotland only, be- }
 tween 1763 and 1775 ; including } 2,600,000
 also, the money spent in England by }
 the natives of Scotland ————— }

£. 925,906

being within a million of the whole exports of
 England, in the memory of man. The superi-
 ority of Scotland in a commercial view, at the pre-
 sent period, to any other channel or source of trade,
 will further appear from the following comparative
 statement, taken from Sir Charles Whitworth's Com-
 mercial Tables for 1771, that being the highest year
 of English exports, particularly to the American States,
 where the imports from this kingdom never amounted
 to 1,800,000l. upon an average of years.

	Imports from	Exports to
Africa — — —	97,486	712,538
Canaries — — —	6,803	23,825
Denmark and Norway	83,711	152,340
East Country — — —	195,357	95,961
East India — — —	1,882,139	1,184,824
Flanders — — —	142,138	861,777
France — — —	51,645	146,128
Germany — — —	765,774	1,316,492
Greenland — — —	13,803	10
Holland — — —	428,080	1,685,397
Ireland — — —	1,380,737	1,983,818
Italy — — —	947,133	782,582
Madeiras — — —	2,067	11,213
		Por-

	Imports from	Exports to
Portugal	354,631	716,122
Russia	1,274,620	150,159
Spain	568,323	1,224,811
Streights	3,604	153,323
Sweden	157,851	64,180
Turkey	100,443	20,573
Venice	83,335	73,956
Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney	56,802	58,565
North America	1,468,941	4,586,886
West Indies	2,716,569	1,151,360
Spanish West Indies	39,988	4,301
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£. 12,821,995	17,161,146

Since the year 1748, the annual amount of English imports hath gradually increased from 9 to 12,000,000l. while that of exports from 1771 hath been gradually decreasing, inasmuch that the balance, which, upon an average of 50 years previous to 1771, had been above 4,000,000l. in favour of England, did not, at the conclusion of the late war, amount to 1,000,000l. 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 4,000,000l. 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 the navy. Our exports to Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the Streights, have lately decreased to the amount of a million annually, which France hath 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 filk ; it may be presumed, that they will restrict their imports from this country to such articles only as they cannot raise within themselves, 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 ; amounting to more than 2,000,000l. annually, remains the same ; 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 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 in-
flux

flux of specie from that country would 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 either 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 centre 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 bring-

ing 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 influx 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 further 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 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, hath 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,

mate, 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.” Cork and Waterford 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.

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, amounts at present to 1,000,000*l.* though the excises, taxes, and duties, are so light as scarcely to be felt by the inhabitants.

Of this revenue the parliament allots a considerable moiety towards encouraging agriculture, industry, and manufactures, as appears by the Journals of that truly patriotic senate. By means of these supplies, and the judicious application of them, Ireland may, at this time, be considered both as a manufacturing, and a commercial country; and, promises to become, soon, a considerable emporium. The increase and splendour of Dublin correspond with the growing wealth of the nation.

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 have a solidity and magnificence 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 such hath been the rapid transition from ignorance, sloth, and extreme penury; to opulence, splendour, and national importance, in less than 90 years, what may not be expected from a civilized, industrious people, were they equally 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 and the fisheries, in consequence of a seven years war, 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 of the linen manufacture, hitherto the national staple, and which also serves, in their traffic with England, as a substitute for specie, that article being drained from the nation by other channels. The general decay of the fisheries on the eastern shores, and the very injudicious impediments to that important branch throughout the whole kingdom, as

enumer

enumerated in the subsequent detail, are objects also of the most serious concern.

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 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, it rose to		155,313	

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, amounting to more than 200,000*l.* annually, upon an average of years; which, with the balance to England, and the remittances of 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 manufacture. 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. Both kingdoms are inseparably united by nature, and they will rise or fall together. All local distinctions ought therefore to cease, and all persons who endeavour to sow, or keep up a flame of discord, should be considered as enemies to their country, by destroying that harmony which constitutes our strength, security, and reciprocal benefit.

Such is the relative situation, natural and political, of both countries, and such their dependence upon each other. After, therefore, contemplating the subject in every point of view; the distresses under which Scot-

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 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, I humbly conceive, be 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 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 20 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, and 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 *Commercial Parliament, or College of Commerce*, 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

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 the most distant islands.

Were further arguments necessary to enforce the expediency of these propositions, it might be observed, that the revenue of Scotland, though burthensome 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 restraints on trade, from vexatious excises on our infant manufactures and the necessaries of life, from the expensive burden of revenue officers, and you will gain a hundred-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,

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 derive no advantage. Consider whether a bleak, narrow country, composed in general of rock, heath, and sand; whose commercial balance of late with foreign nations, and at all times with you, hath been unfavourable, can ever produce an efficient revenue.

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	—	—	£.	17,000,000
Ireland	—	—		3,000,000
Scotland	—	—		200,000
				<hr/>
				20,200,000

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

Neat amount, (exclusive of the land-tax)	}	163,598
in the collecting of which, the people were burdened with an expence of		
		43,254

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 unacquaint-

ed 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, and other articles highly prejudicial to fisheries and manufactures; also from distilleries, tho' 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; enduing it, however, by means of other channels, with the sources of employ, and active business. Were government, therefore, to follow this unerring guide, to co-operate 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 would 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 the fisheries in the best years	}	20,000 — do. 50,000

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

Whereas 10,000,000l. the amount of the above stated 200,000l. annually, for a period of fifty years, would be exhausted in six 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 its forlorn hope, the broken reed of the Ganges, afford no flattering prospect that any arguments tending to the abridgment of the national finances will produce the desired effect. The deduction of facts related in these pages, the statement of positive grievances, and the expediency of redressing them, may, however, attract some notice, and dispose our rulers to look favourably towards a people whose life is one continued struggle, and whose patience is nearly exhausted.

Supposing, therefore, that government should not be disposed to delegate the internal affairs of Scotland 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, to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, beginning with those objects which require im-

immediate attention, as the fisheries, and inland navigation; the linen manufacture in all its branches; the unproductive excises or duties, which it would be expedient to abolish; the regulation of taxes partially imposed on that part of the united kingdom*; the oppressive duties on coals†, and vexatious fees, or custom-house dues, on small craft navigating the Firths.

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 representatives 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 adventitious propositions made to the American colonies by the earl of Carlisle, and the concessions made to Ireland; it would seem, that government hath

* "The carriages in common use, says Dr. Johnson, are small carts, drawn by one little horse, and a man seems to derive some degree of dignity and importance from the reputation of possessing a two-horse-cart;" but so unequal are some taxes levied, that these small carts, whose loading do not probably amount to that of two wheel-barrows, are subject to the same duty as carts in England which contain six times the quantity.

† A portion of Scotland lying upon the Solway Firth, produces neither turf, coal, nor limestone. The two last articles are consequently brought by an expensive sea carriage from Cumberland; and, though coals are unavoidably necessary for the purposes of agriculture, and domestic use in that cold climate, a duty is levied upon the coals, when landed, of six shillings per chaldron. The miserable Highlanders, and the whole northern parts of the kingdom, are also saddled with these impolitic burdens as mentioned in the following pages, so that in fact the people are starved in a double sense; and improvements thereby frustrated, where they ought to be vigorously encouraged. These, and similar instances which could be given, will serve to enforce the expediency of a parliamentary enquiry and redress.

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, 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, refreshes himself after the fatigues of the day, upon a bed of snow; and is always prepared to renew the march, or the attack, with new 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, will establish the positions which I have been endeavouring to enforce.

Mr.

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, 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 counter-acted 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 interfere 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

struction upon the present state of public affairs, sums 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 rendering 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 at home, to heal our divisions, and amend our morals; for the strength, foreign and domestic, of every nation upon earth, must ultimately, under

* “ 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 kingdom, inasmuch, that in the reign of King William, petitions were presented from various parts of the country for its dissolution. Even the House of Commons 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 of specie for the purpose of completing the investments or cargoes sent from thence to England.

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

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	610,212
1710	126,310	2,071,306	975,803	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 trace partly 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 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 stuffs and cottons of whatever denomination, those for re-exportation excepted. These, with the raw materials, and other articles, the natural produce of Asia, as 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.

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A V I E W

O F

THE HIGHLANDS, &c.

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.

The second division 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 great mass of rugged mountains, appearing in all manner of directions, covered on the sides with heath

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or

or natural woods, and on the 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, 40 of which are inhabited. In extent, collectively, they are nearly equal to Wales; they cover almost the whole western coast of Scotland, and contained, before the late emigration, 48,000 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.

The names of the principal islands, and the number of inhabitants before the late emigration to America,

Lewis, or Long Island	—	—	15000
Sky	—	—	15000
Isla	—	—	7000
Mull	—	—	5000
Lismore	—	—	1500
Jura	—	—	1200
The lesser Isles	—	—	3300
			<hr/>
			48000
			<hr/>

The Distresses of the Highlanders.

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, vegeta-
tion

tion 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, impassable torrents, pathless mountains and morasses on the one side; by a long and almost impracticable navigation on the other.

To these accumulated discouragements of nature, are added the oppressions and ill-judged policy of many proprietors of those sterile lands, 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 the whole, the situation of these people, inhabitants of Britain! is such as no language can describe, nor fancy conceive. If, with great labour and fatigue *, the farmer raises a slender crop of

* Instead of the plough, the farmers generally use the spade, partly through necessity, arising from the irregularity of the surface, and partly from ancient custom. The rainy season commences about the first of August, and continues, with little inter-

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 had 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.

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 Almack's or Newmarket, demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropri-

mission, 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.

tious

tious seasons, the death of cattle, and other accidenta' misfortunes; disguising the feelings of his own breast —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 devoted farmer when abroad. He leaves his family in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks on board a small open boat, in quest of the herring fishery, with no other provision 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

* 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 amidst snow, hoary frost, rain, or salt water, and thus reposes himself.

† Though the arrival of the herrings be certain, and almost to a day, yet the particular lake, bay or channel to which they direct

ings 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 disposed of his capture to the Busses, he returns in January 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 astonishing depth. Upon entering this solitary mansion, he generally finds a part of his family, sometimes the whole, 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 or blood, 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 quest of the herring, or the 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 con-

their course, remains unknown, until the vast flight of Solan geese and other birds which attend the shoals, lead to a discovery.

junction

junction 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 liable to be pressed; while others, who travel from the most remote parts, without money or provisions, to earn 30 or 40 shillings in the Low Countries 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 fruits.

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 chil-

ling 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 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 impassable mountains, and impracticable navigations, from the scenes 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.

fortune. Some transmitted their sentiments by letters; others, returning from thence to pay a farewell visit to their native land, delivered 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

* Taxation in America was hitherto so slight as scarcely to be felt by the inhabitants; but, after the separation of those states from Great Britain, new taxes and duties were introduced, as a prelude to others which must be levied, to discharge the interest of public debts, defray the expences of the civil, military, and naval establishments, and other national purposes, to which every state, however small, is subject.

These remarks are inserted, in this place, chiefly for the information of those classes of men, who being ignorant of the political revolutions which have lately happened in the western world, and the heavy burdens which must unavoidably be laid upon every individual, may still be allured, by specious descriptions, to abandon their native land.

More powerful arguments against emigration remain to be mentioned. The soil of those infant states is in general very productive; but, it is well known, that the sudden transitions from extreme heat, to extreme cold; the long fogs, extensive marshes, and excessive rains, produce a train of diseases very fatal to British constitutions; besides the almost incessant stings of Mosketos and other insects, peculiar to America, during the summer months.

The only provinces exempted from taxation, are Canada and Nova-Scotia, which still compose a part of the British empire, enjoying all the benefits of its protection, commerce, laws and constitution; but those countries are covered with frost and snow from November till April, which oblige the inhabitants to dress in skins and furs, and cut off all communication between Canada and Europe during seven months in the year. Whoever, therefore, prefers America to the temperate, wholesome climate of Great Britain, will find themselves greatly disappointed; and even the Highlands of Scotland may, with a little assistance, be rendered a more desirable place of residence to its natives, than any part of the American hemisphere.

impatient

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 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 Britains 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 miles, upon the hope of finding that relief in a strange land, which
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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 20,000 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 nearly 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 retain 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 and 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

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*.

* "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. The marches of the barons or chiefs, were fixed in the presence of two or more sagacious men, and two young lads were whipped with thongs of leather, that they might the better remember the transaction. Criminals were often suffered to fast for several days, and afterwards killed with a forfeit.

Such

Such were the manners and modes of life in the Highlands, so late as the year 1748, when the legislature wisely dissolved the 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; insomuch that, throughout the annals of mankind, there is scarcely an instance of a great body of people having been reclaimed so rapidly, from ferocious barbarianism 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

to be considered merely 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 hardships. 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

of whatever 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 amongst them, of cowardice, treachery, or flinching, during all the dangers and fatigues of the present and former wars, wherein they have bore 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, can-

* This character of the Highlanders may, by some persons, be considered as too flattering; but, upon considering 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 are worthy the imitation of posterity.

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!*

A striking instance of their fidelity happened after the battle of Culloden, when the young Pretender found safety during six 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.

"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 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.*

dour

dour 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, instead of driving them, by hundreds, across the Atlantic ocean.

On the contrary, should the three hundred islands, 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; 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

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 the Pentland Firth, we shall perceive no towns, markets, storehouses, granaries, manufactures, commerce, or shipping of any sort *. If we extend the view from Cape Wrath eastward to Dungsby-Head, and from thence southward to 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, every where exhibit the strongest proofs of public attention. Those countries have, by dint of art, been rendered the seats of industry, and a happy mediocrity of fortune, which en-

* 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 shipping than the whole west Highlands united; it consists of three or four small sloops or brigs, which are profitably employed in the fisheries; to the great benefit of the whole island.

† These are Wick, Dornoch, Tain, Dingwall, and Fortrose.

ables 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; in vast fleets of ships, and the various produce of the four quarters of the globe; as

Archangel, formerly the only port of Ruffia, and still a large commercial town, lying in	} Deg. Min.	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 Ruffia,		60	0
Cronstadt, the arsenal and station of the Rus- sian fleet,		60	0
Stockholm, capital of Sweden,		59	30
Christiana, a large trading city in Norway,		59	5
Revel, ditto in Ruffia,		59	0
Narva, ditto, ditto,		59	0
Gottenburgh, ditto in Sweden,		58	0
Riga, ditto in Ruffia, lying in the medium latitude of the Highlands of Scotland,		57	0

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

* "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

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 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 navigation. Their shores afford little or no fish for exportation, but they nevertheless forestal 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

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 breast in pieces. At the beginning of June, winter yielded up the earth and sea; and we prepared for our departure to Stockholm."

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 a hundred miles north of the medium degree of the Hebrides, contains above three hundred 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, Swedish, and other buxses which frequent their coasts, during the fishing seasons, when Kirkwall hath all the appearance of a continued fair. The inhabitants also carry on a small 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 three hundred handsome houses, and is every year increasing.

increasing. In the neighbourhood, there are above a hundred gentlemen's families, lodged in strong, well-built houses, commodiously furnished, and whose tables are well supplied. These islands being also much frequented by the Dutch, Swedes, &c. carry on a considerable trade with those people, and some foreign commerce similar to that of the Orkneys.

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 town, manufacture, or decked vessel, those of Stronaway in Lewis excepted. 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 three houses that are slated. 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, luxuriancy 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, 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 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, and common fruits, being less hurt by the rains, can be raised in any quantity; their potatoes and turnips, in particular, are more delicate, and pleasant to the taste, than those of England. Flax is raised in tolerable 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 abovementioned 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 the county of Norfolk, where, after being fed in rich pastures, they sell at a high price. It is by the breeding of cattle, that 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 some-
times

times 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, 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, ryegrass, lucerne, and turnips, for winter provision; as lately practised in the Low Countries, with great success.

Sheep *, goats, various species of deer and game, abound in the Highlands; also water-fowl, 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 ancient writers, who have visited the Hebrides †.

The

* See directions for the rearing of sheep, in the appendix.

† 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, and surrounded by sundry lesser ones.

“ 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 amusements 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 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, some of which are twenty miles in length, are composed of oak, chestnut, ash, elder, elm, aspine, hazel, larches, pine, and fir. In some parts of the interior country, as Brae Mar, the pines are from ten to twelve feet in circumference, and from sixty to ninety feet in height, without a collateral branch; their age, two centuries.

Nor

“ 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 fleeing 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 nations of the feathered kind are taught to chuse 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

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 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.

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.”

Contiguous

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 Tummel, are every where 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 tracts of his estate; rocks, sands, gravel, and other waste grounds, unfit for agriculture or grazing. On these wilds, he plants a million of firs, pines, and larches; which, at the expiration of thirty years, will bring, upon the lowest average, and in the most remote situations, one shilling each, or 50,000 £. for the whole; and when arts and commerce shall be introduced into these parts, the value will be doubled, as appears from recent instances in the neighbourhood of trading towns, where trees of this age have brought 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. 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 £.

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 off 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 several hundred 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 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 Norway, the Baltic, Germany, and North America, load many hundred large ships annually for the British ports, though burdened with insurance and high freight, which must unavoidably enhance the price †.

Here

* The method of raising oak and fir to full maturity in Scotland, will be found in the Appendix.

† The timber imported from Holland, Hambourgh, and the Baltic, comes chiefly from the interior parts of Germany, Poland and Russia,

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, these western shores 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; besides numerous quarries on 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 limestone. Ros-shire and Sunderland, 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, marle, 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

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 builders, to the House of Commons, from which some extracts are given in the Appendix. 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.

known

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 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.

The possibility of transporting fish being thus established, the Scottish lakes might be stocked with the streamling, an excellent fish in the Swedish lake Maeler; the rheinlacker, or Rhine salmon, which is two ells in length, and forty pounds weight, from the lake of Constance in Switzerland; also the large trout, weighing thirty pounds, which is found in some of the northern parts of Scotland, as well as the lake of Geneva. 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 fifty 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,
ling,

ling, haak, 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 vast shoals which annually present themselves in the Deucalionian ocean, but also their superior quality, in those parts, as appears from the various descriptions given of them by Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, and other writers of the last and present century. Of these accounts, that given by the judicious and worthy Thomas Pennant, Esq; seems to be the most suitable to the present subject. "Loch Broom," says he, "has been celebrated for these three or four centuries as the resort of herrings. Those that turn into this bay are part of the brigade that detaches itself from the western column of that great army that annually desert the vast depths of the Arctic Circle, and come, heaven directed, to the seats of population, offered as a cheap food to millions, whom wasteful luxury, or iron-hearted avarice, hath deprived, by enhancing the price of the wonted supports of the poor.

"The migration of these fish from their northern retreat is regular: their visits to the western isles and coasts, certain: but their attachment to one particular loch, extremely precarious. All have their turns; that which swarmed with fish one year, is totally deserted the following; yet the next loch to it be crowded with the shoals. These changes of place give often full employ to the buffes, who are continually shifting their harbours in quest of news respecting these important wanderers.

"They

“ They commonly appear here in July ; the latter end of August they go into deep water, and continue there for some time, without any apparent cause. In November they return to the shallows, when a new fishery commences, which continues till January. At that time the herrings become full of roe, and are useless as articles of commerce. Some doubt, whether these herrings that appear in November are not part of a new migration ; for they are as fat, and make the same appearance, as those that compose the first.

“ The signs of the arrival of the herrings are flocks of gulls, who catch up the fish while they skim on the surface ; and of gannets (Solon geese), who plunge and bring them up from considerable depths. Both these birds are closely attended to by the fishers.

“ Cod-fish, haddocks, and dog-fish, follow the herrings in vast multitudes : these voracious fish keep on the outside of the columns, and may be a concurrent reason of driving the shoals into bays and creeks. In summer they come into bays generally with the warmest weather, and with easy gales. During winter the hard gales from N. W. are supposed to assist in forcing them into shelter. East winds are very unfavourable to the fishery.

“ The enemies that assail these fish in the winter season are varied, not diminished : of the birds, the gannets disappear ; the gulls still continue their persecutions ; whales, pollacks, and porpeffes are added to their number of foes. These follow in droves ; the whales deliberately opening their vast mouths, taking them by hundreds. These monsters keep on the outside ; for the body of the phalanx of herrings is so thick as to be impenetrable by these unwieldy animals.”

Of INLAND NAVIGATION.

HITHERTO the inhabitants of these neglected shores, unable to avail themselves of the bounty which their seas afford, have lived in penury, amidst the sources of affluence; I shall therefore specify such measures as seem most conducive to the purposes of general utility, in the full establishment of a populous, thriving colony.

The first object which presents itself is the opening shorter communications between the Atlantic and the British Sea; the advantages of which are so obvious, that they may be considered as the groundwork of all succeeding improvements, not only in the Highlands, but over Scotland in general.

That nation admits of three artificial navigations :

1. The Southern navigation, between the Forth and the Clyde.
2. The Western navigation, between the Clyde or Loch Fyne, and the Atlantic.
3. The Northern navigation, between Fort William and Inverness.

Navigation between the Forth and the Clyde.

SCOTLAND is almost divided into two parts, by the rivers Forth and Clyde. The Forth falls into the British Sea below Edinburgh, and has an easy communication with the whole eastern coast of Great Britain; with France, Ostend, Holland, Hamburgh, Prussia, Dantzic, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Greenland. The Clyde falls into the Atlantic Ocean below Glasgow, and communicates with the western coast of Great Britain; with Ireland, the south of France, Portugal, Spain, the Mediterranean, America, and the West Indies. These two rivers, thus falling, in opposite directions, into the two seas which environ our island, and the neck of land between

tween them, amounting scarcely to twenty-four miles, gave rise to the idea of a junction, so as to open a communication across the kingdom, and thereby cut off the long, dangerous navigation by the Land's End, and the Pentland Firth.

An object of such general utility did not escape the notice of Charles II. who, amidst all his gallantries, was the great promoter of every design which had the success of trade and navigation, in view. That monarch proposed to open a passage for transports, and small ships of war, at the expence of 500,000 *l.* a sum far beyond the abilities of his reign; and the design was consequently laid aside. The affairs of the continent engaged the attention of succeeding princes, till the beginning of the present reign; when the earl of Chatham, endued with all the penetration and magnanimity of an able statesman, proposed to carry the design immediately into execution, at the public expence, on a smaller scale than the original design, but still sufficient to admit vessels of burden. Unfortunately, the resignation of that great man lost, to these kingdoms, the only opportunity which Nature presented for giving security and expedition, to the British navigation, in the northern seas.

This business being thus abandoned a second time, the late duke of Queensberry, Sir Laurence Dundas, and sundry other public spirited gentlemen, resolved to open the navigation at their joint expence, upon a scale still more contracted, but sufficient to admit vessels of 80 or 100 tons. The work was begun in 1768; and, in 1775, it was completed to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and within six miles of the intended junction with the Clyde.

The company's subscription was proposed to be 150,000 *l.* but it never amounted to 140,000 *l.* and many of the subscribers did not make good their payment. 150,000 *l.* have however been expended; the company is consequently in debt; and the remaining

six miles, the most expensive of the whole, will require 50 or 60,000 *l.* a sum which the company hath not thought it expedient to raise.

As the commerce between these kingdoms hath lately encreased, and is encreasing, the completing this canal is, consequently, an object of equal concern and utility to the trading part of the whole island, and in a lesser degree to Ireland. The company might therefore be reimbursed, and dissolved; and a work, which is not local, but a general business, be executed, as originally intended, at the public expence; but should this be deemed inexpedient, the sum still deficient, or any part of it, might, with no great inconvenience, be immediately voted.

The dimensions of this canal, though greatly contracted from the original design, are much superior to any work of the same nature in South Britain. The English canals are generally from 3 to 5 feet deep; 20 to 40 feet wide; and the lock gates from 10 to 12 feet; but they fully answer the purposes of inland carriage, from one town to another, for which alone they were designed. That, between the Forth and the Clyde, was happily constructed upon a more enlarged plan, because the distance was short, and the surface almost on a level. Its depth is seven feet, and its breadth, at the surface, fifty-six feet. The locks are seventy-five feet long, and their gates twenty feet wide. The distance between the entrance into the Clyde and Forth, is, by the Pentland Firth, 600 miles; by the canal scarcely 100; all vessels therefore, not exceeding 80 or 100 tons burden, will, by this passage, save five hundred miles of a navigation, at all times dangerous, and in winter almost impracticable. The voyage by the Land's End is still more extensive, and in time of war doubly hazardous.

Respecting the West Highlands, for whose benefit this subject was chiefly introduced, the utility of a short passage between that country and the East sea need scarcely be mentioned. Hitherto the navigation
of

of the Highlands, and the petty traffic of the inhabitants, have not extended beyond the limits of Glasgow; but whenever these six miles shall be completed, a new world will open to their view; the scene of action will be extended; vessels of a larger and better construction will be gradually introduced; the natives will not only take and cure all the various fishes which frequent their coasts, but also embark upon distant voyages, as occasions may require, for a market. Those men who have hitherto been excluded from foreign intercourse with mankind, who have been left to prowl amidst their boisterous shores at home, will now begin to trade with the various ports of Scotland; with London, Holland, and the Baltic, where the superior goodness of their herrings will always command a speedy sale.

2. *Navigation between the Atlantic and Loch Fyne.*

TO render the southern navigation still more complete, it will be necessary to shorten the passage from the Atlantic to the Clyde; or, in other words, from the Hebrides and West Highlands to Glasgow, Greenock, and other trading towns on that celebrated river. The navigation of the Highlands being greatly lengthened by head lands and other obstacles, which must be carefully avoided, we cannot estimate the voyage from Cape Wrath to Glasgow, at less than four hundred miles, or eight hundred miles outward and homeward. This is a bold undertaking for little open boats, badly constructed, and still worse provided; and if, to the great distance, we consider the almost incessant gales, the vast number of islands, lee-shores, rocks, sands, and currents, attending these voyages, we may pronounce them not only long and tedious, but extremely hazardous to the poor natives, whose necessities compel them to such desperate attempts. Nor are these the only difficulties which

they have to encounter in their passage to Glasgow. The wind which favoured their voyage to the Mull of Cantire, becomes, consequently, adverse after having doubled that cape; they must then furl the sail, and ply at the oars, through a heavy sea, up the Firth of Clyde, sometimes for several days, before they can reach the intended port. Having disposed of their small assortment of bark, skins, wool, and dried fish; they have, in their return, to combat the same round of difficulties, toil, and danger; the whole trip employing four men, from three to five weeks. This traffic, however insignificant, is suspended during the winter season; the navigation becomes then impracticable for open boats, and the people, as hath been already observed, are shut out from all intercourse with the seats of industry, population and affluence. Such is the commerce and navigation of a people inhabiting the richest, and most improveable shores in the British dominions.

The herring fishery, though an object of great importance, not only to that country, but to the West-Indies, and other dependencies abroad, labours under the same difficulties in these western seas. The buffes fitted out from the ports of the Clyde must, in their outward and homeward voyages, steer round the Mull of Cantire; and, as all the hopes of the adventurers depend on a speedy fishery, and a quick sale, nothing can prove more discouraging to that national staple, than the hazard, the delay, the expence, and the uncertainty of this circumnavigation.

In a dark, tempestuous night of January 1782, two buffes, loaded with herrings, were wrecked, in their homeward passage from Loch Broom, on coming round the peninsula of Cantire. Many lives were lost; and as the crew of every vessel have generally a concern in the venture, several families were at once deprived of husbands, fathers, and property. It would be endless to enumerate the many catastrophes which befall these industrious people, in navigating

gating those narrow seas, during the winter hurricanes. The melancholy tales of widows and fatherless children pass unregarded, as matters of trivial moment; and mankind, always busied in selfish pursuits, have never deigned to carry the tidings to a quarter which feels for distress, and is ever disposed to relieve it.

Another inconvenience attending this navigation remains to be mentioned. It hath already been observed, that though the arrival of the herrings be certain, yet the particular lake or bay of their rendezvous remains doubtful, until discovered by the fowls which attend the shoals. Sometimes the herrings are discovered in Loch Fyne, and other lochs on this side of Cantire; at other times, in Loch Broom, or amidst the Hebride islands, on the other side. In either case, the people of the one side must sail round that peninsula, before they can avail themselves of the fishery on the opposite side, and every boat, however small, must make a circuit, of at least one hundred miles, before she arrives at shores which lie parallel to the place from whence she set out. Therefore, when all these circumstances are combined and duly considered, the expediency of a shorter navigation between the Atlantic and the Clyde, must appear obvious to every observer. It is a matter not only of national utility, but of moral obligation. It touches the feelings of humanity, and calls loudly for immediate redress.

A stranger from China, France, or Holland, would imagine that a work of such importance to a commercial nation, presented difficulties in the execution, which could not be removed at a less expence than several millions sterling; but, how great would his surprize be, when informed, that nature had almost completed the business, leaving only an isthmus of five miles between the two seas; that the surface was perfectly level, and that the expence of joining these waters would amount to no more than 17,000 *l*.

The place alluded to, lies between Loch Fyne and Loch Crinan, where a canal would open at once to the Atlantic ocean, the Hebrides, the whole region of the West Highlands, and the great Loch Linnhe; whence, as shall be mentioned hereafter, a communication may be opened to Inverness, and the British sea, in that northern division of the kingdom. It would also shorten the passage from Clyde to the Orkney and Shetland Islands; and, for large vessels, to those extensive shores of the Baltic, whose produce is so indispensably necessary to the wants of every commercial state.

Thus the cutting eleven miles, including the unfinished part of the Glasgow canal, would complete all the inland navigation that the south of Scotland requires, or admits. It would answer every valuable purpose, in that division of the kingdom, but more particularly to the Highlanders, who by finding themselves brought nearer, by one hundred miles, to Glasgow, and its communications with other parts of the island, would gradually forget the grievances which had nearly desolated their country. A voyage, which frequently takes up three weeks, would, by this easy passage, be performed in four or five days, with fewer hands, and in all seasons of the year. By cutting off the peninsula of Cantire, the voyage would be entirely inland, and happily screened, by the mountains, from the dreadful tempests of the Atlantic*.

3. *Navigation between Fort William and Inverness.*

A THIRD, or northern navigation, of very considerable utility, claims the attention of the public. Geographers have usually described Scotland under

* As the west side of this peninsula is the great receptacle of herring and white fish, it may be supposed that a deep and wide canal through this narrow tract, would open a channel for those fishes into Loch Fyne and the Clyde.

two natural divisions, the countries lying south of the Forth, and those on the north side of that river. Those people, however, who have personally examined that kingdom, must have perceived that Nature seems to point out three divisions, the south, the middle, and the north.

Between the island of Mull and the Murray Firth, there is a level or chasm, composed of land and water, which separates the mountains of the middle division from those of the north, so completely, that with very small assistance from art, ships might pass between them, from sea to sea.

On the west side of this extensive valley is the Linnhe Loch, penetrating above thirty-four miles eastward, and so capacious, that ships of the line have been moored as high as Inverlochy, now known by the name of Fort William. This fine salt-water lake is surrounded with lesser ones, communicating, or which might easily be made to communicate, with it. The fish peculiar to the Linnhe Loch are herrings, white fish, salmon, trout, and pinoc, supposed to be the young of what the fishermen call the great trout, weighing thirty pounds. The timber is birch and pine. Inverlochy was, in ancient times, a residence of the Scottish kings, and also a place of some trade in fish, skins, &c. From Inverlochy, eastward, is the river Lochy, issuing, at the distance of seven miles, from Loch Lochy, a beautiful sheet of water, fourteen miles in length, above one in breadth, and thirty fathom in depth; abounding in salmon, trout, and other fish peculiar to fresh-water lakes; the banks shaded with natural woods. Eastward, at the distance of two miles of a level, sandy ground, but without any river, is Loch Oich, a narrow, deep lake, four miles in length; the shores beautifully fringed with woods. The waters of Loch Lochy are sometimes navigable for small boats, and discharge themselves into the west sea at Inverlochy; those of Loch Oich, navigable also for small boats, take their direction to-

wards the eastern shore; falling, at the distance of four miles, into the famous Lochness, a lake twenty-two miles in length, near two in breadth, and in depth from 5 to 90 fathoms. This lake hath some qualities peculiar to itself; it never freezes; and, in winter, it is covered with a steam or smoke, proportioned to the severity of the weather. It even softens the rigours of the air, and assists vegetation, particularly trees, which, on the south side, form one continued wood of birch, ash, and oak. Its waters are extremely favourable to the human constitution, and longevity. The fish are salmon, trout, pike, and eels. The surrounding woods and mountains, besides small cattle, sheep, and goats, are also frequented by wild animals, and fowl peculiar to the Highlands, as stags, roes, hares, ptarmigans, grouse, and black game; also the scarce bird called the capercally, or cock of the wood. Combining all these circumstances, the neighbourhood of Lochness appears to have been designed by Nature for population and commerce, by land and water. Considerations of still greater moment remain to be mentioned.

From the eastern extremity of this lake issues the river Ness, gliding in a copious stream, through a level country of six miles, till it falls into Loch Beaulie, a capacious salt water lake, communicating with the British sea at Ardersier, a narrow strait, guarded by Fort George. From this lake the tide flows about a mile up the river Ness, which, having a sandy bottom, can easily be rendered navigable. This river may be termed the great thoroughfare for salmon between the sea and Lochness; they are taken in vast abundance by the London fishmongers, to whom the fishery is farmed, to the great prejudice of the natives. The waters of the Beaulie are still more valuable. To the fish peculiar to inland lakes, are added the various riches of the ocean, particularly a small but well-flavoured species of herrings, which the inhabitants capture at pleasure, with very little trouble or expence.

The

The whole line of communication from the found of Mull to Inverness, comprises an extent of ninety-three miles, and is thus composed of land and water, viz.

Linnhe Loch,	34	} River Lochy,	7	
Loch Lochy,	14		— Oich,	4
— Oich,	4		— Nefs,	6
— Nefs,	22			
			<hr/>	
			17	
Land, from Loch Lochy to Loch Oich; the level 14 feet above the flood mark at Inverness.			} 2	
Lakes,	74			
Rivers,	17			
Land,	2			
			<hr/>	

93

Thus, by cutting two miles of land, and deepening seventeen miles of almost navigable rivers, a direct communication may be opened between the two seas; so favourable is Nature, even amidst the wilds of the north Highlands, to provincial improvement, and national utility. In no part of the Highlands hath the spirit of emigration been more severely felt by the landholders; and, unless some inducement shall be held out to these discontented natives, that great division of the kingdom will soon be desolated.

Nor is it the Highlands only that require the aid of a communication between the two seas. The climate, along the banks of the Murray Firth, is soft, and the soil excellent, as appears from the exports of grain and meal to Glasgow, and other trading towns of the south. This country hath also many considerable woods, much iron ore, and some lead. The sea is bountiful in white fish, herrings, and salmon; but these shores, though thus abounding in the necessaries of life, labour under a natural misfortune which no human efforts can remove. A ridge of hills, called the Grampian Mountains, forms an almost impassable chain

chain from Loch Lomond to near Aberdeen. This crossing the kingdom, from sea to sea, cuts off the northern counties from all inland communication with the south, during the winter; nor do the narrow, steep passes admit the carriage of goods, even in summer.

All mercantile intercourse must therefore be carried on by water carriage only; and even this mode of conveyance is limited to the east side of the island, as Edinburgh, London, and of late to Glasgow, by means of the canal from the river Forth to, nearly, that city. The only communication, which the inhabitants of these northern shores can have with the west side of the island, must be by the dangerous navigation of the Pentland Firth; a passage which they seldom attempt. The proposed canal would prove an effectual remedy against this inconvenience, by opening a short and safe passage to the west Highlands, the Hebrides, the Clyde, Liverpool, Bristol, and the whole kingdom of Ireland. Inverness, which is well situated for commerce, would become the emporium of the north, a central port between the two seas, giving employment to the industrious, and diffusing universal comfort amongst a people whose patience is completely exhausted.

In closing this subject it may be proper to remark, that the three canals, here recommended, would open a circumnavigation, within the heart of the kingdom, to the unspeakable benefit of commerce, and the fisheries. A vessel setting out from Inverness to Edinburgh, and the east side of the island, might return by Glasgow, the Hebrides, and other parts, on the west side, and so *vice versa*, as might seem most beneficial to the parties concerned.

This inland navigation, amounting to about 500 miles, would include almost the whole trading part of the kingdom; a circumstance which requires the most serious attention; and the more so, when we consider with what facility it might be accomplished, and the smallness of the expence, compared to the solid and permanent

permanent advantages to the Highlanders in particular, and to the trade of these kingdoms in general, as will further appear by the following estimates:

By completing six miles of the canal between the Forth and Clyde, by which vessels under 100 tons would save near 500 miles, and elude all privateers,	}	60,000
By cutting two miles of land, and deepening seventeen miles of rivers, between Fort William and Inverness, which would save 200 miles,		
By cutting five miles between Loch Crinan and Loch Fyne, which would save 100 miles.	}	17,000

Expence £. 127,000

Land to be cut, 13	}	Navigation saved, 800 miles.
Rivers deepened, 17		

30

The accumulated loss sustained by the tedious and hazardous passage round the Pentland Firth, in delays, damages at sea, shipwrecks, captures, extra freight, and insurance, amounts in one year only, to more than would complete the above works of general utility; and, if to this we add the great object of relieving the distresses of 400,000 people, of bringing them into the line of action, and of opening new sources of wealth and commerce within our own island, it is matter of astonishment that these works have not been completed long ago.

A Review of the Herring Fisheries.

THE whole coast of Scotland may be considered as one continued fishery; distinguished however by various names:

1. The

1. The western, or Loch Broom fishery.
2. The northern, or the Orkney and Shetland fishery.
3. That on the east side of the kingdom.

The Western, or Loch Broom Fishery.

The arguments already advanced respecting the distresses of the Highlands, from the want of towns, markets and granaries, will acquire considerable force from the following review of the herring fishery, the discouragements under which it labours, and the piteous situation of those who are under the necessity of following it, in the present neglected state of these townless shores.

The west of Scotland presents a coast, taken in a direct line, from the Mull of Cantire to Cape Wrath, of 250 miles; and, if to that extent, we add the head lands, the shores along the bays, and lakes, by which it is every where indented, and frequently to the depth of twenty or thirty miles within land, we may safely estimate the whole at more than 2000 miles. But it is to be observed that the shores of this district are not confined to the mainland only. The Hebride isles, which are 300 in number, and some of them above 40 miles in length, cover the whole western continent, from one end to the other; and, consequently, present a double coast; besides the numerous seas formed by the irregular distances and directions in which the islands lie. If, therefore, we were to particularize the circumnavigation of each respective island, with its bays and lakes, and sum up, in one view, the whole extent of those seas, destined by nature for valuable fisheries, it would be found to exceed the whole coast of the European continent, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

Hitherto this boundless source of national wealth hath been conducted under such distressing circumstances as are shocking to humanity. The summer fishery

fishery is tolerable, but nothing can equal the horrors of the winter's scene. The buffes set out in October, and have to cruize throughout this vast Archipelago, amidst storms, or heavy gales, till the shoals have been discovered, frequently at the distance of more than 200 miles from the places whence the vessels took their departure; and, however incredible it may appear, the buffes are accompanied, in all these dangers and difficulties, by the poor natives in their little open boats, though barely able to keep upon the surface of the waves.

The fishery is performed in the night time, by the boats belonging to the respective vessels, and the natives: the success is generally proportioned to the roughness of the sea. The herrings are commonly found amongst the bays, or lakes, whose barren and thinly inhabited shores afford no comfort, either to the weary, or the sick. The situation of those who are employed on shore, in gutting the herrings, for the small pittance of three halfpence per barrel, is, if possible, still more calamitous. This branch is performed by women and children, who travel thither, in all inclemencies of weather, carrying on their backs the infants, the meal, the kettle, and other little matters, which the townless coast does not afford.

They, most generally, enter upon the cold business without any shelter for themselves, or their infants; without even a change in diet, from their arrival, till their departure. Here are seldom any lodgings for the sick, or the dying. The heath, the caverns, or the woody shores, are their bed; the snow, or the hoary frost, their covering.

These circumstances are not only distressing to the people, but highly prejudicial to the fisheries, which are now on the decline, and will, in all probability, dwindle to a meer name, unless speedy, effectual measures shall be taken to remove impediments, and to meliorate distresses which reflect dishonour upon the boasted humanity of Britain.

The

The expence in purchasing and fitting out the buffes, agreeable to the act of parliament, is very considerable. Every vessel of eighty tuns ought to have eighteen men, three boats, 20,000 yards of netting, 144 barrels of salt, besides empty casks, and stores for a three months voyage. The captain and mariners generally engross the principal shares of the venture, on which they stretch their credit to the utmost limits. Should the enterprize fail, through want of success, shipwreck, a bad market, or any other cause, the loss is severely felt, not only by those who were immediately concerned in the undertaking, but also by their friends and neighbours, who assisted in fitting them out, in the hopes of a successful fishery, to the mutual advantage of all parties.

Such being the expence and precarious state of the herring fishery, government, to encourage this nursery for seamen, granted a bounty, of fifty shillings per tun, to all adventurers, from both kingdoms. While the bounty was regularly paid, the fishery was carried on with spirit, and promised the most solid benefits to the public, as well as individuals. But these agreeable prospects were of short duration. The bounty fell into arrears, and was withheld from year to year, till at length the payment of it, even at any distant time, became matter of doubt. Meanwhile, that useful body of men, who had embarked in these expensive undertakings upon the faith of parliament, unable any longer to pacify their creditors, found themselves reduced to the sad alternative of a jail, or, of flying to a country, which is destined to become the refuge, and asylum, of the unfortunate, the injured, and the oppressed, from all parts of these kingdoms, and of Europe.

The bounty thus injudiciously withheld, was afterwards reduced to thirty shillings per tun, but on the strongest assurances of its being regularly paid, when due. It was so for a time, when the fishery gradually revived, and bade fair to arrive at a greater height

height than in any former period. These favourable appearances were again checked through the non-payment of the bounty; the credulous adventurers were glad to sell out at thirty or forty per cent. loss; and a fishery which, some years ago, employed near 300 buffes, besides some thousand Highlanders in their small boats, did not in 1782 employ fifty vessels, throughout the whole western coast of Scotland, and the Hebrides.

In addition to these discouraging circumstances, the salt used in curing the herrings for home consumption is liable to a duty, and even the hoops, brought from Holland, are not exempted; so that, upon the whole, government gives with one hand, and takes with the other. But this is not all; its gifts, from the injudicious delays in payment, instead of promoting the fisheries, not only defeat that important object, but contribute to deprive the country of its valuable subjects, whom it first ruins, and afterwards drives to foreign parts.

Still more injudicious is the distinction made between British herrings sold to Ireland for re-exportation, and those for the home consumption of that kingdom. The latter is subject to a duty, which, though small, amounts to an embargo, because the Irish having a fishery of their own, free (as the country which they inhabit) from all impositions, and encouraged by their parliament, will never purchase herrings at a British market, except in years when these fish do not visit their coasts. Of the herrings exported from Ireland, it may be proper to remark that their barrel contains twenty-eight gallons only, whereas the British must hold thirty-two, under a penalty.

Respecting the natives who assist in completing the cargoes of the buffes, it is to be observed that each boat contains four men, whose joint stock is far too scanty for the expence of sails, ropes, nets, &c. When the

the fishery happens to be successful, they are enabled to carry a small pittance home to their respective families, besides discharging the debts contracted in fitting 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 districts. A boat arrives with the melancholy tidings of the general failure; of the violence of the storms, and the lives which have been lost. Report, which never sleeps, flies over the mountains, morasses, lakes, and torrents, 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 these shores, an occasional failure in the fisheries, might be repaired by industry, and the family kept together; but in the present state of that 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 a small gratuity or bounty to every boat, immediately granted. These boats may be registered, and put under such regulations as the legislature shall judge most expedient for the general benefit of the state. By such measures this useful class of men will
be

be induced to remain in their native country ; the number of seamen will be increased, and exactly ascertained ; a grateful, high-spirited people, proud of the attention thus paid them, will, in all times of national distress or danger, be eager to rush upon the mouths of cannon, in defence of our empire, constitution, liberties and commerce.

The Orkney and Shetland Fisheries.

BUT all the various discouragements, above enumerated, are trivial, when compared to the national loss, sustained by our permitting the Dutch, French, Hamburgers, and other foreigners to engross the greatest part of the Orkney and Shetland fisheries.

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. History gives us no light respecting the origin of the Dutch fisheries, which have, in latter times, been permitted on the coasts of Scotland, so very prejudicial to the commercial interests of that country. Suffice it therefore to observe, that in the estimates handed down by Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, and other navigators of the last century, this fishery had then arrived at a height which almost exceeds credibility. Sir Walter Raleigh relates, “ That, in 1603, the Dutch sold to different nations as many herrings as amounted to 1,759,000 pounds sterling. 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, be-

sides 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 vast commerce carried on by the Dutch, 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 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 yourselves and country by it.

"I confess 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 the like manner made it die, till his majesty (Charles 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 befeeming so blessed and benign a prince: and now I will descend to the particulars of the Hollanders buffes, as well in their taking herrings, as cod, and ling, and the seasons of the year for both.

"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

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 bus 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 foil 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, 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 sorts, 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

all parts of Europe, I will give you an account of it, as it has been carefully observed and taken out of the customhouse books beyond the seas.

“ In four provinces within the Sound, viz. Koenigsberg, Melvin, Stetin, and Dantzick, there is vended in a year betwixt 30 and 40,000 last of herrings; which will amount to more than 620,000 pounds; *and we none.*

“ Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Leisland, Rie, Regel, Narpe, and other towns within the Sound, take off above 10,000 lasts, worth 160,000 pounds.

“ The Hollanders send into Ruffia above 1500 lasts of herrings, sold at 27,000 pounds; *and we not above thirty or forty lasts.*

“ Stode, Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden, and upon the river Elbe, in fish and herrings, above 6000 lasts, 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 lasts, amounting to 440,000 pounds; *and we none.*

“ 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 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 their fishing; not by hostility, or uncivil usage, nor to deprive them by his majesty's prerogative, which the law of nations allows us; or 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

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 breath; 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 school-master 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 beholden 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 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

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 vast riches, which are yet in store, from this inexhaustible source, to all British subjects, who shall search after them,

He describes the various qualities of salt most proper for the fisheries, made on the coast of Europe and Africa. "And, says he, for such salt as shall be used in the Lewis (one of the Hebride islands) there is no place lies more convenient, for the making of salt of any kind, than in that island, the sea having an extraordinary saltness, and the country affording so great plenty of fuel*.

"The English and Scottish fishermen that shall use that fishing, shall find as great, and as extraordinary profit and gain, by receiving their salt at the island when they shall there arrive, as the freight of their ships will come to; for whereas they use now to bring in their ship the best part of their lading in salt, finding their salt made ready to their hands, instead of salt, they shall lade themselves with casks, and other things wanting for their use."

Nature having thus bestowed the herring fishery on the Scottish shores, as an equivalent for her scanty dispensations in 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 much earlier at

* This is not the case at present, unless he means turf. To the scarcity of timber in those islands, is added an impolitic duty on coals carried thither from the Clyde, a grievance which requires immediate redress.

foreign markets than the Dutch, but also be enabled to sell their cargoes somewhat cheaper.

Many have been the conjectures why foreigners are indulged with the monopoly of this fishery, but no person hath yet been able to advance an argument in favour of it. To suffer our own people to starve, emigrate, and desolate the country, through want of employment, by thus permitting strangers to seize the provisions, and means of commerce, which nature designed for the natives only, is one of those paradoxes in politics, so peculiar to the present age, and which will remain inexplicable till the end of time.

“ 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 in 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 bus has a large mile length 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

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 buffes 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 coasts 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 itation for such herring, they followed the herring, picked up their loadings of spent big-belly'd ones on the coasts of Caithness, Buchan, Bamff, 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*, are appointed constantly to keep that very rout, 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.”

Besides the detriment to the British fishery as above related, and frequently mal-treating the natives, the Dutch, by means of their 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 in support of it. Of this we have an instance in the year 1771, when the herrings exported from Glasgow,

gow, and the ports of Clyde, to Ireland, America, the West Indies, and elsewhere, amounted to 14,818 barrels only. Those exported from the north, and eastern shores of Scotland were still less considerable. But so soon as foreigners are prohibited this fishery, or subjected to certain regulations, so soon will our own people export, possibly, to the amount of 3 or 400,000 barrels of red and pickled herrings annually; the good effects of which, will even reach the capital, and every manufacturing town in England, by the demands for goods, to supply the wants of an active people thus enriched.

Of late years the Dutch herring fishery hath been on the decline, in these seas. This is partly owing to the great increase of commerce and wealth, amongst that people, and partly to the want of markets, arising from the rivalship of the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Hamburghers, &c. who now frequent the Scottish seas, and are equally expert in curing, as the Dutch. The fishery, though the hands be changed, remains invariably the same, to all those who choose to resort thither. It is an inexhaustible mine of wealth, sufficient to enrich a considerable part of the Scottish nation, besides the giving employment, as in Holland, to people of thirty different professions.

The fisheries are the natural, and most permanent exports of Scotland to foreign parts. It was by means of the fisheries that the princes of that kingdom were enabled to erect, in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, those numerous and magnificent ecclesiastical edifices, whose ruins, even at this time, are beheld with admiration. It was the fisheries which procured that gallant nation the weapons and means of self-defence, against all invaders, however formidable; and which enabled them not only to defend their liberties, but to drive their enemies with great loss and disgrace, from a country which, with indefatigable perseverance, they labour to subjugate. It was the fisheries which lined the eastern coasts with populous thriving towns, filled their ware-houses with the various

rious produce of Europe, their cellars with the choicest wines; and which, combined with services performed by Scotsmen in the armies of contending princes, gained that nation many distinguished privileges abroad, which it enjoyed uninterrupted, while it remained a separate kingdom.

To the decay of public spirit, after the death of James V. was owing the decay of the fisheries, and the decline of national importance. In proportion as Scotland lost sight of its true interest, and neglected to prosecute the fisheries with its former vigour, in the same proportion did the Dutch by those means rise to power, wealth, and fame.

If, therefore, the Scots wish to recover their hereditary patrimony, the stable source of commerce, navigation, and national consequence, they will embrace this season of commercial regulation, to secure the fisheries to their rightful owners, either by a total prohibition of all foreigners from fishing within a limited distance of the Scottish shores; or, by subjecting them to such tonnage, or duties, as will prevent them from engrossing foreign markets. This the Scots 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; and, if report be true, they exclude all foreigners from sharing therein, by purchase or otherwise. The proposition, now suggested, would answer another valuable end in favour of Scotland. The annual revenue, thus paid by foreigners, might be vested in the board of trustees at Edinburgh, to be by them appropriated, unalienably, within that kingdom, and upon such objects of national utility, as might seem most conducive to the general welfare.

Of the Eastern Fisheries.

THE herring fisheries on the east side of Scotland were, antiently, very considerable; insomuch, that 3 or 400 vessels resorted annually, from various parts of Europe, to a fair held at St. Andrews, then a town of two miles in circumference, and which possessed above seventy vessels, and a flourishing commerce. That place was plundered, and completely ruined by Cromwell's army, and hath not, to the present time, been able to recover itself. The same fate befel Dundee, and all the populous trading towns on the Forth, which were, formerly, the glory of North Britain.

A small herring fishery is, however, carried on by boats along that side of the island, from Wick in Caithness to the river Forth, but subject to sundry duties and fees, which it would be expedient to abolish.

Nothing can contribute more to the full restoration of these eastern fisheries, than navigable communications to the west side of the island; where, should the East Country markets prove at any time unfavourable, the people would always find a demand at Glasgow, or Greenock, for that of the West Indies. These navigations would also facilitate the correspondence between the East Country and Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, the Canaries, and other Western Islands, where herrings are highly esteemed. By thus enjoying every possible chance of markets, the fisheries would gradually increase, and those eastern shores recover their former splendour.

Having, in this manner, connected the various herring fisheries under one general head, stating their importance to mankind, and the means by which they may be rendered more subservient to the commercial interest of the British kingdoms; it is hoped that the following outlines of a plan, for the improvement of the *Western Fisheries*, will not be deemed

deemed unworthy of notice; especially, as the utility of the proposal, is strongly enforced by the very distressed situation of the inhabitants.

The expediency of erecting Villages and Harbours in the West Highlands—The plan of those Villages—The most proper situations—Estimates of the Expence.

THE necessity of bringing the Highlanders nearer to the Low Countries, by means of inland navigation, hath already been mentioned. The facility and ease by which that business may be completed, hath also been explained: and no argument, of any weight, can be advanced against its being carried immediately into execution. A requisition founded on humanity, justice, and national expediency, cannot have many opponents. Happy would it be, was this the only expence necessary to extend the fisheries, and to establish in those parts, a populous colony of useful subjects. In a country where soil and climate have been so niggardly of their favours, some further indulgence is requisite. The people should be comfortably lodged, and accommodated with provisions, utensils, stores, and firing. This implies the erection of villages at convenient distances, and in the most eligible situations on those extensive shores.

After having selected the particular lakes destined to become the scenes of population and business, it would be necessary to examine into the depth of water, the rivulets, timber, metals, soil, and other particulars; and to have drawings of each respective lake, for the inspection of government, and the public.

The business thus far advanced, an act of parliament would be requisite to enable the board of trustees at Edinburgh, to purchase sundry lands, whereon to erect the buildings, and to accommodate the same with small gardens and fields. Every village, would also require a territorial revenue, from 2 to 300 pounds, for the support of a clergyman, free-school,

school, repairs, and other purposes, at the discretion of the trustees in time being.

The expence of lands, thus purchased, for the various purposes of building, accommodating, and endowing every respective village, may be estimated at 10,000 pounds.

The buildings requisite at the first establishment of the proposed villages are,

1. A key or breast, for small craft.
2. A range of warehouses, for casks, staves, hoops, salt, nets, fish, oil, grain, meal, skins, wool, flax, bark, timber, coals and other bulky articles.
3. Sheds, for persons employed in gutting, salting, and curing the herrings; with lofts where the people may be sheltered at night, from the inclemency of the weather. Every village should also be furnished with materials for erecting temporary sheds or tents for the conveniency of occasional distant fisheries.
4. A small market place.
5. A corn mill.
6. A church, and house for the minister.
7. A school house, where reading, writing, the common rules of arithmetic, and practical navigation, may be taught gratis.
8. A public inn.

There might, possibly, be some difficulty in procuring useful mechanics to settle in these remote parts, previous to the regular establishment of fisheries, and commercial intercourse. Therefore, to encourage adventurers, as coopers, carpenters, net makers, blacksmiths, &c. it would be necessary to build fifteen or twenty dwelling houses, where these persons might live rent free; each house to be accommodated with three small inclosures. 1. For a garden and offices. 2. For potatoes. 3. For the support of a cow.

Such luxuries as these, with variety of fish at no expence, would draw thither useful workmen from every

every quarter, and give stability to all the valuable purposes proposed by the public.

Considering the great plenty of materials for building in these parts; as stone, lime, timber, slate; and the cheapness of workmanship; a village, thus composed of small neat houses, might be raised by contract, at no great expence. The whole, including the keys, warehouses, &c. might possibly be completed for 10,000 pounds; consequently the erecting of ten commodious seaport towns, would cost no more than

	100,000
Endowing of ditto	100,000
The inland navigations, as stated in page 43	127,000

£. 327,000

A sum scarcely equal to the average expence of Gibraltar for one year only, and which would soon be repaid by an increase of trade and revenue. But, should any of the towns fail of success, so as not to answer the valuable ends proposed by government, the lands, and other property, could at any time be sold, and the money refunded to the Exchequer, or applied to some other public uses.

The most eligible situations for Towns.

THE situations most proper for the erection of towns, magazines, or marts, seem to be at the under-mentioned places on the mainland.

1. At the proposed junction of the Atlantic with Lochfyne, in Argyleshire. This situation hath the advantage of a soil partly level, and tolerably fertile. The surrounding districts abound in black cattle, woods, slate, white marble, and limestone. The cattle are driven to the Low Countries for sale; the woods are used in forges, and burnt for charcoal to supply the iron works in Lancashire. Efdale and

F

other

other small islands on the coast, are composed entirely of slate, of which near three millions are transported annually to various parts of Britain, Europe, and America. This place having the ocean on the west side, and Lochfyne on the east, enjoys every possible advantage for the fisheries. Situated amidst the shoals of herrings which occasionally visit Lochfyne and the Firth of Clyde, the inhabitants would be ready on the first approach of these fish, and in all kinds of weather, to sink their nets; thereby gaining, almost at their doors, the means of commerce and wealth. Or, should the herrings appear on the west side of the Peninsula, the people, by means of the canal, would soon arrive at the fortunate lake or bay.

Their local situation, and superior opulence, would also enable them to embark in the white fishery with stouter boats, and better manned and provided, than any which the indigent people on these western shores can at present afford. This place would likewise become the great resort and thoroughfare of mankind, a central mart, to which the Highlanders from all parts of the mainland, and the islands, would bring their fish, oil, feathers, skins, wool, timber, bark, slate, kelp, and other useful articles of commerce, as to a ready market; or, should that fail, they would find themselves within two tides of Greenock upon the Clyde, of itself a considerable mercantile town, but still more important, from its being the chief port of Glasgow, a city well known in the commercial world. On the other hand, the people of the Low Countries would resort to this Highland mart, to sell or barter their various manufactures; and even the English riders, who in all seasons, and in all kinds of weather, pay their respects to every town in Scotland, would find the way to the banks of Lochfyne, with their samples from London, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and other industrious towns of that populous kingdom. Upon the whole, the
island

island of Great Britain does not present a situation more conducive to general utility, than the proposed opening, or pass, to this *terra incognita* of our island, abounding in woods, mines, and inexhaustible fisheries. It would be the key to the West Highlands, and to those numerous, helpless islands which have hitherto been excluded the society of mankind; whose hospitable and virtuous natives, have been left to the mercy of boisterous elements, and unpropitious seasons, to languish, and to perish through famine and neglect. This therefore becomes the first object of attention in the improvement of these western shores; the key stone to the whole arrangement; worthy the immediate attention of the legislature, and calling strongly, upon the feelings of every liberal, humane mind.

Lochfyne, besides the narrow channels at its entrance, is the largest of all the Scottish lakes, being forty miles in length, from one to four in breadth, and from fifty to seventy fathoms in depth. The herrings sometimes crowd in shoals to the very head of it; pursued by the larger fishes, and attended by gulls and other voracious sea fowls, which skim incessantly upon the surface of the waters.

On the west side of this lake is Inverary, the summer residence of the antient and illustrious house of Argyle, descended from a line of kings; a family of distinguished warriors, patriots, and statesmen; the hereditary patrons of arts, science and improvements; to whom their country is chiefly obligated for that excellent institution, *The Board of Trustees*, and the present flourishing state of that important staple, the linen manufacture.

The environs of this magnificent seat, abound in thriving plantations; some of the trees are of a great age, and in fine perfection. The inhabitants of the town are well lodged in houses of stone, lime, and slate. They are fully employed in arts and manu-

factures ; plentifully supplied in the necessaries of life ; and in every respect happy under the benevolent hand of the present proprietor. A noble example to the gentlemen of the Highlands, whose efforts, if assisted by government, may, even in the present age, reclaim their hitherto useless country.

2. Keeping due north, upon the western shore, we come to **OBAN BAY**, defended from west winds by the island of Kerrera, and from other winds, by the high lands on the continent. This bay is in depth from eleven to twenty-six fathom water. Besides, the whole sound of Kerrera is in effect a harbour, or at least a commodious road, with twenty fathom water, and good anchorage almost throughout. There are two havens in the island, one having an outlet to the north east, the other to the north west ; infomuch that vessels may enter and depart without inconve- niency, and with any wind. Oban is also in the tract of the fishing buffes and coasters passing to and from the North Highlands ; and, being situated at the entrance of the great Loch Linnhe, it may be considered as the western port of the proposed navigation between the Atlantic and Inverness. A beginning hath already been made towards forwarding a town at Oban, which, besides its being almost surrounded with lakes, bays, and fisheries, stands in the most fruitful part of Argyleshire, called Mid-Lorn. In its neighbourhood there is an iron furnace, the property of Englishmen, from Lancashire, who bring the ore to this place on account of the natural woods in its vicinity.

3. **LOCH SUNART**. A fine lake penetrating twenty miles into the country of Morvern in Argyleshire ; it is shaded with woods, enriched with small islands, and hath a profitable lead mine at Strontian. The district around Loch Sunart contains 2500 inhabitants ; the isle of Mull, to which it is contiguous, hath 4000. This lake opens into the north entrance of the Sound

of Mull, facing Tobirmoire Bay, an extensive circular basin, secure from all winds, and of sufficient depth for ships of the line.

4. **BERNERA.** Here terminates the military road from Edinburgh and Glasgow, on the south, and from Inverness and Fort Augustus, on the east. It is the usual pass between the continent and the Isle of Sky, and was on that account judged a proper station for a garrison, which, in 1722, was accommodated with barracks sufficient to lodge 200 men. Bernera hath Loch Duich on the north, Loch Urn * on the south, and the great island of Sky, containing from 12 to 15000 people, in front; from which it is separated by a narrow but navigable channel. Being thus a great thoroughfare by land and water, abounding in people, cattle, fish, and timber, it hath a strong claim to public assistance in the forming of a town.

Here Dr. Johnson experienced the hard fate of all travellers who are under the necessity of putting up

* Mr. Pennant thus describes Loch Urn, which curiosity led him to explore in a boat.—“ Beyond that was another reach, and an instantaneous and agreeable view of a great fleet of buffes (August 6) and all the busy apparatus of the herring fishery; an unexpected sight at the distance of thirteen miles from the sea. A little further the Loch has a very narrow inlet to a third reach: this strait is so shallow as to be fordable at the ebb of spring tides; yet has within, the depth of ten and seventeen fathom: the length is about a mile; the breadth a quarter. About seven years ago it was so filled with herrings, that had crowded in, that the boats could not force their way, and thousands lay dead on the ebb.

“ The scenery that surrounds the whole of this lake, has an alpine wildness and magnificence, the hills of an enormous height, and for the most part clothed with extensive forests of oak and birch, often to the very summits. In many places are extensive tracts of open space, verdant, and only varied with a few trees scattered over them: amidst the thickest woods aspire vast grey rocks, a noble contrast! nor are the lofty headlands a less embellishment; for through the trees that wave on their summit, is an awful sight of sky, and spiring summits of vast mountains.

“ On the south side, or the country of Knodyart, are vast numbers of pines, scattered among the other trees, and multitudes of young ones springing up.”

at the inns of these neglected regions. Having travelled from Fort Augustus through an almost uninhabited tract of near fifty miles, he was told at Glenelg, that on the sea side, he would come to a house of lime and slate and glass. This image of magnificence raised his expectations. At last he arrived at the inn, weary and peevish, and began to enquire for provisions and beds. Of the provisions the negative bill of fare was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine. He did not express much satisfaction. Here, however, he was to stay. A new disappointment awaited him. He goes to examine his lodging. Out of one of the beds, on which he was to repose himself, started up, at his entrance, a man black as a cyclops from the forge. Sleep, however, was necessary. A faithful guide from Inverness, at last found some hay, which the inn could not supply. He directed the Highlander to bring a bundle of it into the room, and slept upon it in his riding coat. Mr. Boswell being more delicate, laid himself sheets with hay over and under him, and lay in linen like a gentleman.

The lakes on this coast are so numerous, extensive, and important, that it is difficult to pass over any one of them without saying, Here is a proper station for a town, a harbour, a market, and a church. We must however, agreeable to our limited plan, omit the description of three fourths of these extensive waters, though, all of them, the occasional resort of those kind visitors which compose the riches of the Caledonian shores.

5. GARE LOCH. Passing by Loch Duich, Carran, Kisserne, and Torridon, we come to Gare Loch a capacious bay extending several miles within land, inhabited by 3000 people, who are alternately engaged in the herring and white fisheries. Besides the deep indented shores of this part of the continent, here is a channel, forty miles in width, bounded on the

the west by the Lewis or Long Island *, whose shores, as well as the intervening sea, are one continued receptacle of white fish, herrings, seals, &c. but those sources of wealth are almost lost to the poor natives, from their remote situation, and the equally hazardous navigation by the Pentland Firth, and the Mull of Cantire. To this district therefore, the proposed passage, into Loch Fyne, and the Clyde, will be attended with the most solid advantages †.

6. LOCH EWE. This capacious bay penetrates eight miles into the country, where it receives, through a narrow passage, the waters of Loch Maree, a beautiful fresh water lake, fifteen miles in length, of great depth, abounding in salmon, char, and trout. Of the last mentioned, is a species which weighs from twenty-five to thirty pounds. The banks and headlands of this lake are, as usual, fringed with woods. The narrow strait which unites the waters of Loch Ewe and Maree is the central station between Inverness on the east, and Lewis on the west, communi-

* A range of islands connected, or nearly so, at low water; and extending from north to south 120 miles in length. The southern parts are the most fruitful of all the Hebrides: the whole might, by proper management, give employment to 10,000 able seamen.

† "Herrings, says Mr. Pennant, offer themselves in shoals from June to January; cod fish abound on the great Sand Bank, one corner of which reaches to this bay, and is supposed to extend as far as Cape Wrath; and south, as low as Rona, off Sky, with various branches, all swarming with cod and ling. The fishery is carried on with long lines, begins in February, and ends in April. The annual capture is uncertain, from 5 to 27,000. The natives at present labour under some oppressions, which might be easily removed, to the great advancement of this commerce. The want of a town is very sensibly felt in all those parts: there is no one commodity, no one article of life, or implement of fishery, but what is gotten with difficulty, and at a great price, brought from a distance by those who are to make advantage of the necessities of the people. A town would create a market, a market would soon occasion a concourse of shipping, who would then arrive with a certainty of a cargo ready taken for them; and the mutual wants of stranger and native would be supplied at an easy rate."

cating with the former, by a military road, with the latter, by a government packet. It is the last thoroughfare between the two seas, in Great Britain; on which account, as well as its situation for the fresh, and salt water fisheries, it hath a claim to public attention.

7. **LOCH BROOM.** The entrance to this celebrated lake forms a capacious bay, twelve miles in length, and from five to ten in width. Loch Broom extends nine miles farther into the country, is generally one mile in width, and of great depth. This lake on the west, and the Firth of Cromarty on the east, approach so near each other, that the distance between the two seas does not exceed thirty miles. The produce of the country around Loch Broom are cattle, which are generally purchased by graziers from Yorkshire, also timber, mountains of marble and limestone. The rivers and fresh water lakes communicating with Loch Broom abound in salmon, trout, and char. The shores are populous, but the people are discontented, and strongly disposed to emigrate*. On these accounts Loch Broom appears to be a proper station for a town or village, and still more so when we consider it in a commercial light.

This lake is not only the greatest resort of herrings in Britain, but the fish have the reputation of being the richest, largest, and most delicious of any

* "The parish of Loch Broom, says Mr. Pennant, is one of the largest on the Mainland of Scotland, being thirty-six miles long, and twenty broad. It has in it seven places of worship, but is destitute of a parochial school. None of the people except the gentry understand English. Dispirited and driven to despair by bad management, crowds were now passing, emaciated with hunger, to the eastern coast, on the report of a ship being there loaded with meal. Numbers of the miserables of this country were now (1774) migrating: they wandered in a state of desperation; too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves, for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land, to starving for life in their native soil."

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that have been taken in the European seas *. It hath therefore been the chief scene of the Western fishery for many ages, and is, at present, the most usual rendezvous of the busses from the Clyde, though much discouraged by the dangers of a long navigation, which, as hath already been observed, might be shortened at a trifling expence.

8. From Loch Broom to Cape Wrath, the lakes diminish in size, though not in number, and the coast is less populous. It is a country little known, and almost cut off from any intercourse with mankind. Lying, however, in the tract of shipping to and from the Baltic, a harbour towards Cape Wrath, would prove a most desirable shelter amidst the hazardous navigation, and frequent hurricanes on that northern shore.

Having thus appropriated the most considerable part of the supposed fund, in forming a line of small, but useful harbours, for the conveniency of these distressed inhabitants, the improvement of the fisheries, and the benefit of navigation; it is proposed to apply

* “ At Yarmouth, says Sir William Monson, we may account the goodness of the herrings spent; for betwixt Winterton and Orfordness they use to spawn, and are called by the Hollanders the ropesick herrings, which they forbear to take.

“ From Orfordness the herrings direct their course to the North Foreland in Kent, where they furnish both the English and French shores with so many as are taken by both nations, though they be both shotten, and of the worst kind.

“ An easterly wind carries them the length of our channel, till they arrive at the Land's End in Cornwall, from thence they divide themselves like a fleet of ships that should be directed by a general; some go through St. George's Channel, betwixt England and Ireland; others to the westward of Ireland, till they arrive at the Islands of Hebrides the place of rendezvous; and we may suppose they are at home, by the strength and goodness they find in that place; for though they run the length of our channel lean and sick, yet as soon as they repair to those islands, they become the largest, the fairest, and the best herrings in the world; and here they are taken in loughs and harbours, as I have said, and valued at forty shillings the last above others.”

the

the remaining moiety, on the north and eastern shores, with a view to the same valuable purposes.

After passing round Cape Wrath, we enter upon an extensive coast facing the northern ocean, which hath always been considered by mariners as the most dangerous, and difficult navigation in these kingdoms, if not in Europe. To the dark fogs, and frequent hurricanes of the north seas, are added the whirlpools, counter tides, and violent currents of the Pentland Firth, occasioned by the vast weight of the ocean falling upon the narrow channel which separates the continent from the Orkney Islands. The rapidity of these currents, at certain periods of the tide, often baffle all the efforts of the most skilful seamen, to prevent vessels from being driven against the rocks or shores on either side of this tremendous passage. The navigation is equally hazardous in calm, as in stormy weather; because, in a dead calm, the ship, not being under the government of the helm, is hurried on, with irresistible velocity, to whatever direction the current leads, whether towards the impending rock, the sandy beach, or the open sea. On the other hand, should a vessel be driven into the Firth by the violence of a tempest, in the dark winter's night, her situation is dreadful beyond description. Such is the force of the winds and waves, that stones of vast size are torn from the cliffs, and heaved over the high rocks, into the adjoining fields*.

Notwithstanding

* The caverns formed by the violence of the ocean upon these shores, excite the admiration of every curious traveller. Some of them reach so far under ground that no person dares venture to the extremity. They are the resort of seals and sea dogs, which the natives, at the risk of their lives, turn to good account. These bold men enter the caverns in boats, and having lighted their torches, make a loud noise, which brings down the animals in a confused body, with frightful shrieks and cries. They pass out of the cave in such numbers, that the men are obliged to give way until the torrent hath spent itself, when they fall upon the stragglers, whom they knock on the head with clubs. The value of the seal consists

Notwithstanding these obstructions to the navigation from Ireland, Bristol, Liverpool, and the whole western coast of Great Britain, to the Baltic, nothing hath been done to assist that navigation, and to lessen the frequent disasters which every succeeding winter brings upon those who are engaged in it. Here are no towns, harbours, lighthouses, dock yards, or carpenters for the repairing of damages. The unfortunate vessel, though reduced to the greatest distress, must proceed to the Baltic, or the Irish channel, before she can receive the smallest repair. A coast of near 400 miles from Ireland to the Orkneys, could not, in the greatest emergency, furnish a sail, a cable, or an anchor. These considerations serve to enforce the expediency of two harbours on this northern front of our island; one near Capé Wrath, and the other within Dungsby Head. Nor is the relief of the natives, and the improvement of the country, a matter of less importance. Here is a coast extending above seventy miles in length, abounding in white fish, seals, oysters, and other shell fish. Its rivers are more copious than those on the east and west sides of that district; they issue from lakes which are said to swarm with salmon, besides the incredible numbers which come in with the tides, of which, report says, 3500 have been taken at Thurso in one morning. The country lying upon the coast is more fruitful than might be expected from its northern situation; it is highly improveable, and abounds in limestone, marble and iron stone. The numerous remains of Pictish houses, Scottish castles, and other buildings upon the north and east side of this district, seem to indicate a greater degree of population in former times. Its importance is further confirmed by the Danish historian Torfæus, in his account of the attempts made by his

consists in its oil, which is of a superior quality, and brings a high price, but the people of these shores are too poor to carry on a regular fishery.

countrymen

countrymen to obtain a settlement in these parts, and the able defence maintained by the natives, through a series of ages, till at last the Danes, tired out with fruitless expeditions, bade a final adieu to that country.

Of the many commodious bays along this coast, that of Loch Eribole claims the preference, being one of the finest roads for shipping in Europe, and so capacious that ships of the line may enter it at low water, and find good anchorage. Its situation near Cape Wrath, renders it still more worthy of consideration, as it would be a safe retreat to vessels upon their passage round that promontory.

Proceeding eastward we come to Thurso, a place of great antiquity, and at present the first, and only town, between the Irish Channel and the Pentland Firth. Its utility on this narrow strait, need not be mentioned; happily for mariners, it hath a commodious bay of forty feet water, where ships may ride out any storm in perfect safety, but it is without a good harbour, and all those conveniencies so necessary to the wants of shipping in this hazardous strait.

Passing round Dungsby Head, we enter the British Sea *, which presents a line of coast extending near eighty miles in length, without a harbour, and scarcely a town that merits notice. It hath all the advantages of the fisheries, which have so often been described, though in a less degree than those on the western coast. It is commodiously situated for com-

* Stiled in foreign maps, the *German Ocean*, but with great impropriety, as it barely touches that empire; whereas it washes the whole eastern shore of Great Britain from the Pentland Firth to the Straits of Dover. Neither hath it any claim to the appellation of *ocean*, which implies a great body of water without any entire separation of its parts by land, as the Atlantic, and the Pacific Ocean. A *sea* being a smaller collection of water, confined between lands, but communicating with the ocean, justifies the deviation which I have made from the usual custom, respecting the name of what ought properly to be called, *The British Sea*.

merce,

merce, and the people are remarkably industrious. The only place that hath the appearance of a port, is Wick, a small but antient borough-town, situated at the mouth of the river Wick, which forms a tide harbour for a few vessels of small burden, and might be improved. But, at the distance of three miles north, is Sinclair Bay, a capacious road, with good anchorage for shipping of any size. As this bay lies directly on the east entrance of the Pentland Firth, as Thurso does on that of the west, the expediency of a harbour on the former, must appear obvious to any person who chooses to consider the subject, and who wishes to assist the distressed mariner, and promote the commerce of his country. Of still greater importance will this place appear, when it is known, that from Wick to the Firth of Cromarty, a distance of sixty miles, the shore is bold, rocky, and utterly inadmissible to sea vessels of any size, the waters of Dornoch excepted, which, however, are of no great utility to navigation, by reason of shallows and quick sands. Neither can the Firth of Cromarty, though one of the finest harbours in the world, be considered as an asylum to ships in distress, because it lies out of the track of navigation. The coast along the Murray Firth, though more commodiously situated, is, however, destitute of good harbours; consequently, a ship passing from one side of Great Britain to the other, by the Pentland Firth, cannot be accommodated with the smallest assistance between Peterhead and Belfast Loch, a voyage of 500 miles! As the same inconvenience attends the Baltic and East Country trade in general, it is unnecessary to speak further on the subject.

We shall therefore conclude this survey, by observing, that the money expended in improving the Highlands, will, at the same time, preserve the property of the merchants, save the lives of the mariners, promote the commerce, and facilitate the navigation, of all the three kingdoms,

Of

*Of the Famine ; the Failure of the Fisheries ; and the
Hurricanes of 1782.*

While I was engaged in the preceding pages, an event of the most calamitous nature, befel the inhospitable regions which I had been describing. The year 1782 proved remarkably cold and wet, the crops over great part of Europe were more or less injured, and the northern climates experienced a scarcity, amounting to a famine. The scanty crops in the Highlands of Scotland were green in October, when a fall of snow attended with frost, prevented every species of grain from arriving at maturity. The labour, the seed, and the straw were lost. Potatoes, which in bad seasons had proved a substitute for grain, were this year frost-bitten, and rendered entirely useless. Thus the earth withheld its bounty for the support of man and beast. During this distress at home, no relief could be obtained from abroad. Ireland, the granary of the Hebrides and western shores of Scotland, shut its ports against the exportation of grain ; those of the Clyde were unable to give any assistance ; while, on the eastern side of the kingdom, the hazards of enemies cut off the necessary supplies from Germany, the Baltic, and, in a great measure, from England.

Thus deprived of every resource, by the double calamity of war and scarcity, many hundred persons languished and died through the want of sustenance. The husband and the parent, unable to behold these scenes of distress without endeavouring to relieve them, set out, amidst frost and snow, upon the long and almost impracticable journey to Inverness, where they expected to purchase a little grain with the produce of their cloths or furniture, which they had previously sold, in the districts where they resided. Several of those who had engaged in this generous enterprize,

enterprize, fell a sacrifice to hunger and cold, in their way to the market. They were found dead on the roads, in caverns, and amongst thickets, where they had taken shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, while the small, emaciated horses, the companions of their distress, could scarcely stand or walk.

Such was the dreadful situation of the mainland, and the islands, during the winter and spring; and though expresses were dispatched to the Lowlands, by the clergy and others, imploring immediate relief for a perishing people, it doth not appear that application had been made to government, for that purpose, before the beginning of the summer 1783, when a generous supply was readily granted.

Let us now suppose that a few small harbours and granaries were established at proper distances, along these western shores, and that the communications to the Lowlands were shortened by means of inland navigation; such calamities, if not in a great degree prevented, might be so far mitigated, as to save the lives of thousands, besides obviating the necessity of occasional calls upon the Treasury for the relief of those parts.

The year 1782 furnishes another argument in favour of these proposals. The annual arrival of the herrings in the West Highlands had never been known to fail, completely, till this remarkable year, when these little visitors seemed to conspire with the seasons, in order to rouse the notice of government towards these distant shores. While the elements kept back or destroyed the regular produce of the earth, the herrings abandoned their well known lakes, directed their course towards the Irish channel, or stopt there, after their usual progress round Lands End; and here the Highlanders, not being provided with proper vessels, were unable to follow them.

This

This was not all. While those people were deprived of grain, roots, milk, vegetables and herrings, their usual food in good seasons; an almost uninterrupted succession of storms, such as had not happened within the memory of man, prevented them from attempting the white fishery; neither could they, had the weather been moderate, go to sea without the means of sustenance. Here therefore was a double famine; the cup of affliction and distress, arising from every possible cause, was now full. From this *ne plus ultra* of human depression we entertain a hope that matters will revert into a contrary direction, under the auspices of a benevolent sovereign and parliament, to whose humane, as well as political attention, that country and people are most humbly recommended.

A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

Corroborating Proofs respecting the calamitous
State of the Highlands.

*Extract from Dr. Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain,
published in 1774.*

IN delivering the History of the Hebrides, and their inhabitants, we have shewn (at least as far as the few lights we have would allow) what they once were, and by what a series of misfortunes the inhabitants of them were gradually reduced from being a populous, civilized, and thriving people, into that low and wretched state in which they now are. It is to establish this fact incontestably, that so much notice has been taken of the ruins and remains of ancient buildings erected in former ages, which from their solidity and extent clearly evince, independent of history and tradition, a superior number of people, by whose labour and for whose use they were raised.

By the description of some of the principal isles, it is hoped they are proved to be in themselves, and from their natural advantages, still very considerable, worthy of public attention, and capable of being thereby recovered. But this arduous task of retaining, restoring, and retrieving so many countries, seems, in the present circumstances of the empire of Great Britain, to be a matter of much too great importance to be left without some further deduction.

In the first place, then, let it be observed, that these neglected isles are, even at this day, far from being destitute of things necessary for the subsistence of much larger numbers than are at present contained in them *, and that they are likewise very far from wanting

* The doctor must mean various species of fish, and the returns which may easily be procured in exchange for these, so soon as commerce shall be introduced amongst the people. With regard to grain, the main support of all European nations; these islands are in general so deficient, that even the best seasons do not supply above one third of the people. This is particularly the case with Jura, Mull, Sky, and Lewis; which islands, comprehend more than two thirds of the whole Hebrides. Ilay, Lismore, Colonsay, Tirey, Cannay,

wanting many of those materials which industry in other countries renders objects of commerce, and which might be consequently rendered so in these, by the proper application of the same plans. Encouragement will soon beget industry, industry improvements; and these will proceed with a quick pace amongst an ingenious and spirited people. It is not to be expected that all or even any great numbers of these improvements should be immediately attempted; but there is nothing more probable than that gradually these, and many others, which it surpasses the power of a private person to suggest, will take place, as opportunities offer from the proposed alterations in the state of these countries, and the circumstances of those who inhabit them.

In order to accomplish so great and so desirable a work, it will be absolutely requisite that the public, for its own sake, should afford its assistance; and therefore it is highly expedient, before this can be expected, to state succinctly the motives which ought to persuade the particular attention of the state to the rescuing these isles from their present low and dejected condition. It would, in the first place, add a very considerable province to the British Empire, of which though we have long had both the title and possession, yet this has been in a great degree without utility; and, as from a long deduction of facts we have clearly shewn, has for near 200 years * been reported by the best judges a negligence equally detrimental and disgraceful to government. By this means multitudes who have been for a series of years, and if things go on in their present state will be for ever, unprofitable to the community, might be connected with and rendered useful to society. This is a point of infinite importance; *for whatever benefits accrued to individuals must at the same time turn to the emolument of the state. On views far less probable, and much more uncertain, large sums have been spent, and annual supplies given, for the settling and maintaining more distant colonies, which having in a reasonable space answered our expectations, fully justifies the policy of such measures, and thereby renders it clearly inexcusable to remain blind to the innumerable advantages which with more than equal certainty might be secure to the state, by taking proper notice of countries that lie at our own doors.*

Harris, North and South Uist, are fertile, and pleasant. If to these we add sundry small islands whose soil is equally good, and also some narrow tracts of good-lands in Jura, Mull, Sky, and Lewis, the improveable parts of the Hebrides will, collectively, be found to contain above 700 square miles, or 470,000 square acres, statute measure, being equal in size to the county of Surrey. Still more important will the Highlands appear, if to the improveable islands and districts of the Hebrides, we add the fertile tracts of the Continent; the vallies, glens, banks of the lakes, and other arable lands throughout that great division of our island; the whole, at a moderate computation, containing more than 2500 square miles, or 1,600,000 square acres; being the dimensions of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, which compose a twentieth part of England and Wales.

* When Scotland became no longer the residence of its Kings.

Extract

Extract from Mr. Pennant's Tour in Scotland 1769, and Voyage to the Hebrides 1772, published in 1774.

Jura. This parish is supposed to be the largest in Great Britain, and the clerical duty the most troublesome, and dangerous: It consists of Jura, Colonsay, Oransay, Skarba, and several little islands, divided by narrow and dangerous sounds, forming a length of not less than sixty miles; supplied by only one minister and an assistant.

Ilay. Much flax is raised here, and about £2000 worth sold out of the island in yarn, which might better be manufactured on the spot, to give employ to the poor natives, a set of people worn down with poverty; their habitations, scenes of misery. Notwithstanding the excellency of the land, above £1000 worth of meal is annually imported: a famine threatened at this time, but was prevented by the seasonable arrival of a meal ship; and the inhabitants, like the sons of Jacob of old, flocked down to buy food. The country is blessed with fine manures: besides sea wreck, coral, shell, sand, rock and pit marle. What treasures, if properly applied, to bring wealth and plenty into the island!

Colonsay. Their poverty prevents them from using the very means Providence has given them of raising considerable subsistence. They have a good soil, plenty of limestone, and sufficient quantity of peat; a sea abounding with fish, but their distressed state disables them from cultivating the one, and taking the other. Pass by four ruined chapels; but notwithstanding from this circumstance, Oransay and Colonsay might be supposed to have been isles of sanctity, yet from the reformation till within the last six years, the sacrament had been only once administered.

Jona. The view of Jona was very picturesque: the east side, or that which bounds the sound, exhibited a beautiful variety; an extent of plain, a little elevated above the water, and almost covered with the ruins of the sacred buildings, and with the remains of the old town, at present in a very ruinous condition.

Arrive at the burying place of Oran: a vast enclosure; the great place of interment for the number of monarchs who were deposited here; and for the potentates of every isle; and their lineage; for all were ambitious of lying in this holy spot. The place is in a manner filled with grave stones, but so overgrown with weeds, that very few are at present to be seen. I was very desirous of viewing the tombs of the kings, described by the dean of the isles, and from him by Buchanan: the former says, that in his time there were three, built in form of little chapels: on one was inscribed, *Tumulus Regum Scotiæ*. In this were deposited the remains of forty eight Scottish monarchs, beginning with Fergus II. and ending with the famous Macbeth: for his successor, Malcolm Canmore, decreed, for the future, Dumferline to be the place of royal sepulture. Fergus was the founder of this *mausoleum*,

(Boethius calls it *Abbatia*), and not only directed that it should be the sepulchre of his successors, but also caused an office to be composed for the funeral ceremony.

The next was inscribed, *Tumulus regum Hiberniæ*, containing four Irish monarchs; and the third, *Tumulus regum Norwegiæ*, containing eight Norwegian princes, or more probably vice-roys, of the Hebrides, while they were subject to that crown. Mr. Frazier, son to the dean of the isles, informed Mr. Sacheverel, governor of the Isle of Man, who visited Jona in 1688, that his father had collected there 300 inscriptions, and presented them to the earl of Argyle; which were afterwards lost in the troubles of the family. All the tombs lie east and west; the head to the west; probably from a superstition that at the general resurrection, they may rise with their faces to the east.

At present, this once seat of learning is destitute of even a school-master; and this seminary of holy men wants even a minister to assist them in the common duties of religion,

Cannay. At seven o'clock in the evening find ourselves at anchor in four fathom water, in the snug harbour of the isle of Cannay. As soon as we had time to cast our eyes about, each shore appeared pleasing to humanity; verdant, and covered with hundreds of cattle: both sides gave a full idea of plenty, for the verdure was mixed with very little rock, and scarcely any heath: but a short conversation with the natives soon dispelled this agreeable error. They were at this very time in such want, that numbers for a long time had neither bread nor meal for their poor babes: fish and milk was their whole subsistence at this time: the first was a precarious relief, for, besides the uncertainty of success, to add to their distress, their stock of fish-hooks was almost exhausted; and to ours, that it was not in our power to supply them. The ribbands, and other trifles I had brought, would have been insults to people in distress. I lamented that my money had been so uselessly laid out; for a few dozens of fish-hooks, or a few pecks of meal, would have made them happy*.

The crops had failed here the last year: but the little corn sown at present had a promising aspect: and the potatoes the best I had seen: but these were not fit for use. The isles I fear annually experience a temporary famine: perhaps from improvidence, or from eagerness to increase their stock of cattle, which they can easily dispose of to satisfy the demands of their landlords, or the oppressions of an agent. Abundance of cod and ling might be taken; there being a fine sand-bank between this isle and the rock Heisker, and another between Skie and Barra; but the poverty of the inhabitants will not enable them to attempt a fishery. When at Campbeltown, I enquired about the apparatus requisite, and found that a

* If such be the condition of those who possess the most fertile islands of the Hebrides, how great must be the distress of the inhabitants of the large barren islands, and the greatest part of the opposite continent!

vessel of 20 tons was necessary, which would cost 200l.; that the crew should be composed of 8 hands, whose monthly expences would be 14l.; that 600 fathom of *long line*, 500 hooks, and two *snay* lines (each 80 fathom long) which are placed at each end of the long lines, with buoys at top to mark the place when sunk, would altogether cost five guineas; and the vessel must be provided with four tets: so that the whole charge of such an adventure is very considerable, and past the ability of these poor people*.

The proprietor's factor, or resident agent, rents most of the island, paying two guineas for each *penny-land* [a small portion of ground, so named from some old valuation]; and these he lets to the poor people at four guineas and a half each; and exacts, besides this, three days labour in the quarter from each person. Another head tenant possesses other penny-lands, which he lets in the same manner, to the impoverishing and very starving of the wretched inhabitants. It is said that the factor has in a manner banished sheep, because there is no good market for them; so that he does his best to deprive the inhabitants of cloathing as well as food. At present they supply themselves with wool from the island of Rum, at the rate of eight pence the pound. All the cloathing is manufactured at home: the women not only spin the wool, but weave the cloth. This island, Rum, Muck, and Egg, form one parish. Cannay is inhabited by 220 souls; of which all, except four families, are Roman Catholics; but in the whole parish there is neither church, manse, nor school: there is indeed in this island a catechist, who has nine pounds a year from the Royal Bounty. The minister and the popish priest reside in Egg; but, by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either indifferently as they happen to arrive. As the Scotch are oeconomists in religion, I would recommend to them the practice of one of the little Swiss mixed Cantons, who, through mere frugality, kept but one divine; a moderate honest fellow, who, steering clear of controversial points, held forth to the Calvinist flock on one part of the day, and to his Catholic on the other. He lived long among them much respected, and died lamented.

Rum. At the bottom of Loch Syriofard, is the little village Kinloch, of about a dozen houses. We entered the house with the best aspect, but found it little superior in goodness to those of Ilay; this indeed had a chimney and windows, which distinguished it from the others, and denoted the superiority of the owner: the rest knew neither windows nor chimnies; yet beneath the roof I entered, I found an address and politeness from the owner and his wife that were astonishing: such pretty apologies! for the badness

* See the state of the buffes employed in the herring fishery in page 44. Were the natives of these western shores enabled to purchase or build small stout buffes for that fishery, the same vessels would also suit the white fisheries; and, between both, a race of hardy seamen might find employment throughout the whole year.

of the treat, the curds and milk that were offered; which were tendered to us with as much readiness and good-will, as by any of old Homer's dames, celebrated by him in his *Odyssey* for their hospitality. I doubt much whether their cottages or their fare was much better.

The little corn and potatoes raised in this island are very good; but so small is the quantity of beans and oats, that there is not a fourth part produced to supply their annual wants; all the subsistence the poor people have besides, is curds, milk and fish. They are a well-made and well-looking race, but carry famine in their aspect. Are often a whole summer without a grain in the island; which they regret not on their own account, but for the sake of their poor babes. In the present oeconomy of the island, there is no prospect of improvement. The mutton here is small, but the most delicate in our dominions, if the goodness of our appetites did not pervert our judgment: the purchase of a fat sheep was four shillings and six pence. No hay is made in this island, nor any sort of provender for winter provision. Notwithstanding this island has several streams, here is not a single mill. The inhabitants of Rum are people that scarcely know sickness. It is not wonderful that superstitions should reign in these sequestered parts. I must not omit a most convenient species of second sight possessed by a gentleman of a neighbouring isle, who foresees all visitors, so has time to prepare accordingly.

Here are only the ruins of a church in this island; so the minister is obliged to preach, the few times he visits his congregation, in the open air. The attention of our Popish ancestors in this article delivers down a great reproach on the negligence of their reformed descendants: the one leaving not even the most distant and savage part of our dominions without a place of worship; the other suffering the natives to want both instructor and temple.

Skie. Meet great droves of fine cattle, on their way to change of pasture. See a small quantity of very poor flax, raised from the seed of the country, a very unprofitable management. Skie is so divided by branches of the sea, that there is not a place five miles distant from a port; such numbers of good harbours are there in a place destitute of trade, and without a single town. Reach Loch Bracadale. Exchange our horses for a boat. Pass over this beautiful land-locked harbour abounding with safe creeks. Cod-fish swarm here in the herring season pursuing the shoals: a man with a single hand-line caught in three hours as many as were sold for three guineas, at the rate of two pence a-piece. Take leave of several gentlemen, who, according to the worthy custom of these islands, conveyed us from place to place, and never left us till they had delivered us over to the next hospitable roof, or seen us safely embarked.

Skie is the largest of the Hebrides, being about sixty measured miles long;* the breadth unequal, by reason of the numbers of lochs,

* Mr. Pennant must have been misinformed in this particular, as appears by the latest and best maps, wherein Sky does not exceed forty-six statute miles in

lochs, that penetrate far on both sides. The quantity of corn raised in tolerable seasons in this island, is esteemed to be about 9000 bolls. The number of mouths to consume them near 13000 : migrations, and depression of spirit, the last a common cause of depopulation, having since the year 1750 reduced the number from 15000, to between 12 and 13000 : 1000 having crossed the Atlantic, others sunk beneath poverty, or in despair, ceased to obey the first great command, INCREASE AND MULTIPLY. The wisdom of legislature may perhaps fall on some methods to conciliate the affections of a valuable part of the community : it is unbecoming my little knowledge of the country to presume to point out the methods. It is to be hoped the head will, while time permits, recollect the use of the most distant members.

Character of the Highlanders. The manners of the native Highlanders may justly be expressed in these words : indolent to a high degree*, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement ; or I may say, from experience, to lend any disinterested assistance to the distressed traveller, either in directing him on his way, or affording their aid in passing the dangerous torrents of the Highlands : hospitable to the highest degree, and full of generosity : are much affected with the civility of strangers, and have in themselves a natural politeness and address, which often flows from the meanest, when least expected. Through my whole tour I never met with a single instance of national reflection ! their forbearance proves them

to

in length. Dr. Campbell falls into the same error ; and a gentleman who furnished him with some particulars respecting this island, says, that he found it to be eighty miles in length !

* This remark can only be applied to those who inhabit the interior parts of these deserts, and depend chiefly on grazing of cattle, for the means of subsistence. Where there are no towns, arts, manufactures, harbours, or fisheries, the people, consequently, remain in a state of inactivity. We have seen the industry of those who inhabit the maritime parts ; toiling and labouring by land and water, without ceasing ; while the females at home are employed not only in spinning, but in weaving cloaths for the family, of both sexes. We also find great numbers of these people dispersed over the Low Countries ; some, in the capacity of menial servants, others, employed in useful arts, particularly at Glasgow, and other manufacturing towns upon the Clyde, where they excel in all the domestic qualities of industry, sobriety, and attachment to their families.

Mr Pennant seems to acknowledge this disposition for industry, at the close of his voyage, where he says, " The mighty chieftans, the brave and disinterested heroes of old times, by a most violent and surprising transformation, at once sunk into the rapacious landlords ; determined to compensate the loss of power, with the encrease of revenue ; to exchange the warm affections of their people for sordid trash. Their visits, to those of their forefathers, are like the surveys of a cruel land-jobber, attended by a set of quick-sighted vultures, skilled in pointing out the most exquisite methods of oppression, or to instruct them in the art of exhausting their purses of sums to be wasted in distant lands. Like the task-masters of Egypt, they require them to make brick without straw. They leave them in their primeval poverty, uninstructed in any art for their future support ; deprived of the wonted resources of the hospitality of their lord, or the plentiful boards of his numerous friends. They experience

to be superior to the meanness of retaliation*. I fear they pity us; but I hope not indiscriminately. Are excessively inquisitive after your business, your name, and other particulars of little consequence to them: most curious after the politicks of the world, and when they can procure an old news-paper, will listen to it with all the avidity of Shakespear's blacksmith. Have much pride, and consequently are impatient of affronts, and revengeful of injuries. Are decent in their general behaviour; inclined to superstition, yet attentive to the duties of religion†, and are capable of giving a most distinct account of the principles of their faith.

Most of the antient sports of the Highlanders, such as archery, hunting, fowling, and fishing, are now disused. The amusements by their fire-sides were, the telling of tales, the wildest and most extravagant imaginable: music was another: in former times the harp was the favourite instrument, covered with leather and strung with wire, but at present is quite lost. Bagpipes are supposed to have been introduced by the Danes: the oldest are played with the

an instantaneous desertion; are flung at once into a new state of life, and demand the fostering hand as much as the most infant colony. The powers of their souls are sunk with oppression, and those of their bodies lost with want. They look up in despair at the deserted castles; and, worn out with famine and disease, drop into an unnoticed grave. You degenerate progeny of hospitable chieftans, return to your native country; inform the people with your presence; restore to them the laudable part of the antient manners; eradicate the bad. Bring them instructors, and they would learn. Teach them arts adapted to their climate; they would brave the fury of our seas in fishing. Send them materials for the coarser manufactures; they would with patience sit down to the loom; they would weave the sails to waft your navies to victory; and part of them rejoice to share the glory in the most distant combats. Select a portion of them for the toils of the ocean: make your levies, enroll them; discipline them under able veterans, and send annually to their ports the smaller vessels of your tremendous navy. Trust them with swords, and a small retaining pay. If you have doubts, establish a *place d'armes*, in vacant times, the deposite of their weapons, under proper garrison. They would submit to any restrictions; and think no restraints, founded on the safety of the whole, an infringement of liberty, or an invasion of property. Legislature has given them their manumission; and they no longer consider themselves as part of the live stock of their chieftain. Draft them to distant climes, and they will sacrifice their lives in the just cause of government, with as much zeal as their forefathers did under the lawless direction of valiant leaders. Limit only the time of their warfare; sweeten it only with the hopes of a return to their native country, and they will become willing substitutes for their southern brethren. Occupied in the soft arts of peace, *these* should extend your manufactures; and *these* would defend your commerce. Persuade government to experience their zeal; and let courtly favour rise and fall with their actions."

* The same observation may be extended to the whole Scottish nation, who, instead of insulting strangers that reside amongst them from England or elsewhere, pay them a more than ordinary degree of respect. National distinctions are unknown in that country, neither does the appointment of an Englishman, or an Irishman, to a place of profit or honour, give the people any concern.

† They even exercise the duties of religion while on board the herring fleets. Every Sunday morning the oldest man in each boat performs to his little audience, the part of a clergyman in, psalmody, reading the scripture, and prayer. It is much to be regretted that so many thousands of people thus disposed, should be deprived not only of ministers, but of books on practical religion, which they are unable to purchase.

mouth,

mouth, the loudest and most ear-piercing of any wind music; the other, played with the fingers only, are of Irish origin: the first suited the genius of this warlike people, roused their courage to battle, alarmed them when secure, and collected them when scattered. This instrument is become scarce since the abolition of the power of the chieftans, and the more industrious turn of the common people.

Extract from Doctor Johnson's Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland, 1773, and published in 1775.

I had desired to visit the Hebrides or western isles of Scotland so long that I scarcely remember how the wish was originally excited; and was in the autumn of the year 1773 induced to undertake the journey, by finding in Mr. Boswell a companion, whose acuteness would help my inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation and civility of manners are sufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed.

Inverness. We were now to bid farewell to the luxury of travelling, and to enter a country upon which perhaps no wheel-carriage has ever rolled. At Inverness therefore we procured three horses for ourselves and a servant, and one more for our baggage, which was no very heavy load. We took two Highlanders to run beside us, partly to shew us the way, and partly to take back from the seaside the horses, of which they were the owners. One of them was a man of great liveliness and activity, of whom his companion said that he would tire any horse in Inverness. Both of them were civil and ready-handed. Civility seems part of the national character of the Highlands.

Near the way, by the road side, we espied a cottage. This was the first Highland hut that I had seen; and as our business was with life and manners, we were willing to visit it. To enter a habitation without leave, seems to be not considered here as rudeness or intrusion. The old laws of hospitality still give this licence to a stranger.

When we entered, we found an old woman boiling goats-flesh in a kettle. Her husband, who is eighty years old, and her eldest boy, were at work in the wood. Her two next sons were gone to Inverness to buy meal, by which oatmeal is always meant. Meal*
she

* Meal from barley and pease is much used throughout that country, especially in years of scarcity, when the people can neither procure oatmeal, nor afford to pay the high price it then brings. When oatmeal sells at a shilling the peck, that from barley and pease is only eight pence. So late as the year 1750, the medium price of oatmeal was upon an average of four or five years, no more than seven pence the peck; it hath since risen gradually to the average price of one shilling, and was in 1782 at the high price of one shilling and tenpence.

she considered as expensive food, and told us, that in spring, when the goats gave milk, the children could live without it. With the true pastoral hospitality, she asked us to sit down and drink whisky. She is religious, and though the kirk is four miles off, probably eight English miles, she goes thither every Sunday. We gave her a shilling, and she begged snuff; for snuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage.

Fort Augustus, to Sky. The country is totally divested of its wood, but the stumps both of oaks and firs, which are still found, shew that it has been once a forest of large timber. From our landlord at Anoch we first heard of the general dissatisfaction, which is now driving the Highlanders into the other hemisphere; and when I asked him whether they would stay at home, if they were well treated, he answered with indignation, that no man willingly left his native country. Of the farm, which he himself occupied, the rent had, in twenty-five years, been advanced from five to twenty pounds, which he found himself so little able to pay, that he would be glad to try his fortune in some other place. Yet he owned the reasonableness of raising the highland rents in a certain degree, and declared himself willing to pay ten pounds for the ground which he had formerly had for five*.

We had, by the direction of the officers at Fort Augustus, taken bread for ourselves, and tobacco for those Highlanders who might show us any kindness. We were now at a place (Glensheals) where we could obtain milk, but must have wanted bread if we had not brought it. A woman, whose hut was distinguished by greater spaciousness, brought out some pails of milk. The villagers gathered about us in considerable numbers. When our meal was over, Mr. Boswell sliced the bread, and divided it amongst them, as he supposed them never to have tasted a wheaten loaf before. The woman whose milk we drank, seemed unwilling to take any price, but being pressed to make a demand, at last named a shilling. One of the by-standers, as we were told afterwards, advised her to ask for more, but she said a shilling was enough. We gave her half a crown, and I hope got some credit by our behaviour; for the company said, if our interpreters did not flatter us, that they had not seen such a day since the old laird of Macleod passed through their country. At Glenelg, where the negative catalogue of provisions was very copious, we had an eminent proof of Highland hospitality. Along some miles of the way, in the evening a gentleman's servant had kept us company on foot with very little no-

tenpence. As oatmeal is the general food of the great body of the people in that kingdom, its price should be so regulated as not to discourage manufactures and commerce. In this view, the medium price should not exceed nine, or at most, tenpence.

* Were there towns or markets in the Highlands, the plea for raising rents fourfold might have some foundation in equity; but as there are no towns throughout these extensive and barren regions, an augmentation of cent. per cent. upon rents, in the space of twenty years, ought to satisfy any man who is endued with reason, or the common feelings of humanity.

tice on our part. He left us near Glenelg, and we thought on him no more till he came to us again, in about two hours, with a present from his master of rum and sugar. The man had mentioned his company ; and the gentleman, whose name, I think, is Gordon, well knowing the penury of the place, had this attention to two men, whose names perhaps he had not heard, by whom his kindness was not likely to be ever repaid, and who could be recommended to him only by their necessities.

Sky. Armidel, the residence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, is a neat house, with a wall'd orchard, shaded by tall ash-trees of a species uncommonly valuable. This plantation deserves attention, because it proves that the present nakedness of the Hebrides is not wholly the fault of nature.

From Armidel we came at night to Coriatachan, the residence of Mr. Mackinnon, by whom we were treated with very liberal hospitality, among a more numerous and elegant company than it could have been supposed easy to collect. The weather was next day too violent for the continuation of our journey ; but we had no reason to complain of the interruption. We saw in every place, what we chiefly desired to know, the manners of the people. We had company, and, if we had chosen retirement, we might have had books. I never was in any gentleman's house of the Highlands where I did not find books in more languages than one. Literature is not neglected by the higher ranks of the Hebridians.

At the tables where a stranger is received, neither plenty nor delicacy is wanting. Not long after the morning dram, may be expected the breakfast, a meal in which the Scots, whether of the Lowlands or Mountains, must be confessed to excel us. The tea and coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with honey, preserves, and marmalades. If an epicure could remove by a wish, in quest of sensual gratifications, wherever he had supped he would breakfast in Scotland. A dinner in the western islands differs very little from a dinner in England. Their suppers are, like their dinners, various and plentiful. The table is always covered with elegant linen. At the first intermission of the stormy weather we were informed that the boat, which was to convey us to the island of Raafay, attended us on the coast. We had from this time our intelligence facilitated, and our conversation enlarged, by the company of Mr. Macqueen, minister of a parish in Sky, whose knowledge and politeness gave him a title equally to kindness and respect, and who, from this time, never forsook us till we were preparing to leave Sky, and the adjacent places.

When we came near Raafay, we saw the laird's house, a neat modern fabric, and found Mr. Macleod, the proprietor of the island, with many gentlemen, expecting us on the beach. Our reception exceeded our expectations. We found nothing but civility, elegance, and plenty. After the usual refreshments, and the usual conversation, the evening came upon us. The carpet was then rolled off the floor : the musician was called, and the whole company was invited to dance, nor did ever fairies trip it with
greater

greater alacrity, When it was time to sup, the dance ceased, and six and thirty persons sat down to two tables in the same room, After supper the ladies sung Erse songs, to which I listened as an English audience to an Italian opera, delighted with the sound of words which I did not understand. The ladies not thinking themselves equal to the work of translating the songs, I enquired the subjects, and was told of one, that it was a love song, and of another, that it was a farewell composed by one of the Islanders that was going, in this epidemical fury of emigration, to seek his fortune in America.

The family of Raafay consists of the laird, three sons, and ten daughters. For the sons there is a tutor in the house, and the lady is said to be very skilful and diligent in the education of her girls. More gentleness of manners, or a more pleasing appearance of domestick society, is not found in the most polished countries*.

This island is like the other islands, I think, generally naked of shade, but it is naked by neglect; for the laird has an orchard, and very large trees grow about his house. Near the house at Raafay is a chapel unroofed and useles; through the four islands which we visited, we neither saw nor heard of any house of prayer, except in Sky, that was not in ruins. If the remembrance of papal superstition is obliterated, the monuments of papal piety are likewise effaced. The want of churches is not the only impediment to piety; there is likewise a want of ministers. A parish often contains more islands than one; and each island can have the minister only in its own turn. At Raafay they had, I think, a right to serve only every third Sunday. All the provision made by the present ecclesiastical constitution, for the inhabitants of about a hundred square miles†, is prayers and sermon in a little room, once in three weeks: and even this parsimonious distribution is at the mercy of the weather: and in those islands where the minister does not reside, it is impossible to tell how many weeks or months may pass, without any public exercise of religion.

At Talisker in Sky, we very happily met Mr. Duncan Maclean, a young gentleman, the eldest son of the laird of Col, heir to a very great extent of land, and so desirous of improving his inheritance, that he spent a considerable time among the farmers of Hertfordshire and Hampshire, to learn their practice. He worked with his own hands at the principal operations of agriculture, that he might not deceive himself by a false opinion of skill, which if he should find it deficient at home, he had no means of completing. If the world has agreed to praise the travels and manual labours of

* The circumstantial description here transcribed of high-life, in Sky and Raafay, may serve for that of the whole Hebrides, as related by our learned traveller. He every where meets with the same manners, politeness, and hospitality, among the gentry, and the few clergymen with whom he conversed. Of the latter he speaks with particular respect, and seems to regret that men, in whom are combined the gentleman, the christian, and faithful pastor, should profess modes of religious worship different from the church of England.

† Raafay is twelve miles in length, three in breadth, and contains near one thousand inhabitants.

the Czar of Muscovy, let Mr. Maclean of Col have his share of the like applause, in the proportion of his dominions to the Empire of Russia. He has introduced into the island the culture of turnips, of which he has a field, where the whole work was performed by his own hand. His intention is to provide for his cattle in the winter. This innovation was considered by a gentleman of the neighbourhood as the idle project of a young head, heated with English fancies; but he has now found that turnips will really grow, and that hungry sheep and cows will really eat them. By such acquisitions as these, the Hebrides may in time rise above their annual distress. Wherever heath will grow, there is reason to think something better may draw nourishment; and by trying the production of other places, plants will be found suitable to every soil*.

Col. Wherever we rode over the island of Col, we were pleased to see the reverence with which the people regarded the young laird. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dress; his only distinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as soon as he appeared, they forsook their work and clustered about him: he took them by the hand, and they seemed mutually delighted. He has the proper disposition of a chieftan, and seems desirous to continue the custom of his house. The bagpiper played regularly, when dinner was served, whose person and dress made a good appearance, and he brought no disgrace upon the family of Rankin, which has long supplied the lairds of Col with hereditary musick.

A country that has no money, is by no means convenient for beggars, yet here are some who wander from island to island. We had, in our passage to Mull, the company of a woman and her child, who had exhausted the charity of Col. Life is here, in some respects, improved beyond the condition of some other Islands. In Sky what is wanted can only be bought, as the arrival of some wandering pedlar may afford an opportunity. But in Col, there is a standing shop, and in Mull † there are two. I have in Sky had some difficulty to find ink for a letter; and if a woman breaks her needle, the work is at a stop. There is not in the western islands any collection of buildings that can make pretensions to be called a town, except in the isle of Lewis, which I have not seen. If Lewis is distinguished by a town, Col has also something peculiar. The young laird has attempted what no islander perhaps ever thought on. He has begun a road capable of a wheel-carriage. He has carried it about a mile, and will continue it by annual elongation from his house to the harbour ‡.

Mull.

* In many parts the heath grows to the height of three feet, a certain indication of an improveable soil. See experiments on heathy soils, by Mr. Barclay of Uric near Aberdeen. *Pennant's Tour 1772*, vol. 2. page 152.

† An island 35 miles in length, containing 5000 inhabitants.

‡ This gentleman never forsook the Doctor and Mr. Boswell, till he had lodged them under the hospitable roof of his chief, Sir Allan Maclean of Mull. At this place Sir Allan, at the request of his guests, agrees to accompany them to the famous island of Jona, which lies at no great distance. Just as the com-

pany

Mull. This island had suffered like Sky by the black winter of 1771. Where the climate is unkind, and the ground penurious, so that the most fruitful years produce only enough to maintain themselves; where life unimproved, and unadorned, fades into something little more than naked existence, and every one is busy for himself, without any arts by which the pleasures of others may be increased, if to the daily burden of distress any additional weight be added, nothing remains but to despair and die. In Mull the disappointment of a harvest, or a murrain, among the cattle, cuts off the regular provision; and they who have no manufactures can purchase no part of the superfluities of other countries. The consequence of a bad season, is here not scarcity but emptiness; and they whose plenty was barely a supply of natural and present need, when that slender stock fails, must perish with hunger.

To this short abstract, we shall subjoin the doctor's humane, and sensible reflections on the present spirit of emigration. There seems now (says he), whatever be the cause, to be through a great part of the Highlands a general discontent. That adherence, which was lately professed by every man to the chief of his name, has now little prevalence; and he that cannot live as he desires at home, listens to the tale of fortunate islands, and happy regions, where every man may have land of his own, and eat the product of his labour without a superior.

Those who have obtained grants of American lands, have, as is well known, invited settlers from all quarters of the globe; and among other places, where oppression might produce a wish for new habitations, their emissaries would not fail to try their persuasions in the isles of Scotland, where, at the time when the clans were newly dismissed from their chiefs, and exasperated by unprecedented exactions, it is no wonder that they prevailed.

Whether the mischiefs of emigration were immediately perceived, may be justly questioned. They who went first, were probably such as could best be spared; but the accounts sent by the earliest adventures, whether true or false, inclined many to follow them; and whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; so that departure from their native country is no longer exile. But some relate that these adventurous visitants of unknown regions, after a voyage, passed in dreams of plenty and felicity, are dispersed at last upon a sylvan wilderness, where their first years must be spent in toil, to clear the ground which is afterwards to be tilled, and that the whole effect of their undertaking is only more fatigue and equal scarcity.

pany was ready to embark, "we now parted, says the doctor, from the young laird of Col, who had treated us with so much kindness, and concluded his favours by consigning us to Sir Allan. Here we had the last embrace of this amiable man, who, while these pages were preparing to attest his virtues, perished in the passage between Ulva and Inch Kenneth."

Some method to stop this epidemick desire of wandering, which spreads its contagion from valley to valley, deserves to be fought with great diligence. In more fruitful countries, the removal of one, only makes room for the succession of another : but in the Hebrides, the loss of an inhabitant leaves a lasting vacancy ; for nobody born in any other parts of the world will choose this country for his residence ; and an island once depopulated will remain a desert, as long as the present facility of travel gives every one, who is discontented and unsettled, the choice of his abode.

Let it be inquired, whether the first intention of those who are fluttering on the wing, and collecting a flock that they may take their flight, be to attain good, or to avoid evil. If they are dissatisfied with that part of the globe which their birth has allotted them, and resolve not to live without the pleasures of happier climates, I know not by what eloquence they can be persuaded, or by what offers they can be hired to stay.

But if they are driven from their native country by positive evils, and disgusted by ill-treatment, real or imaginary, it were fit to remove their grievances, and quiet their resentment. That they may not fly from the increase of rent, I know not whether the general good does not require that the landlords be, for a time, restrained in their demands, and kept quiet by pensions proportionate to their loss*.

To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably, by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politicks. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful, are worthy of a statesman ; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider, that where there was formerly an insurrection, there is now a wilderness.

* This would prove only a temporary remedy at best, for so soon as the pensions were discontinued, so soon would the rents be raised, and all the money thus expended, would be lost entirely to the public, without having produced any permanent effect. It would be better to strike at the evil at once, by bringing these people nearer to the Low Countries, by establishing marts where they might sell their cattle, fowl, fish, and the produce of their industry ; where, in return they could supply themselves with necessaries for the fisheries, and provision for the winter ; where also, they would have opportunities of attending the duties of religion, a circumstance of greater force amongst a religious people than may be imagined, and which would almost extinguish the desire of quitting their native country. Let, therefore, the money which the doctor proposes to grant in pensions, be thus appropriated to more valuable purposes, and emigration will no longer desolate the land.

N° II.

Remarks on the *Short Tour of Scotland*, comprehending the Southern Division of that Kingdom, and a considerable Portion of the Highlands.

AMONG the benefits arising from turnpike roads, is that of travelling for health or pleasure over this extensive and beautiful Island. It is an amusement by which an overgrown, luxurious capital, distributes a portion of its superfluous riches through eighty-five counties, and an incredible number of villages, some of whom consider the money thus acquired, as their staple or main support.

On the other hand, the traveller finds his curiosity gratified, his knowledge extended, or his health restored; while the scenes of penury and distress which often present themselves to view, especially in the countries which we have been describing, will, in the comparison, impress his heart with gratitude towards the Deity, and teach him a lesson of contentment, which, till then, he possibly never had the pleasure of enjoying so completely.

Thus travelling diffuses reciprocal benefits, from the centre, to the most remote corners of Britain; and with a view to this important end, I have drawn up the following Remarks upon that part of the road which is least known, though not the least conducive to health, as all those who have made the experiment, readily acknowledge.

Travelling in the Highlands of Scotland, is no longer attended with the dangers and insurmountable difficulties; the want of necessaries, and other inconveniencies, which deterred our ancestors from visiting these mountainous wilds. The people are studious to oblige. Provisions, especially fish, tame and wild fowl; small, but delicate beef, mutton and lamb, are plenty, to those who can afford to pay for them; wines, and spirituous liquors, are yet unadulterated in that country; bed, and table linen, far exceed the expectations of every stranger; but these observations are only applicable to the main roads, which are now generally accommodated with carriages.

The best season for an excursion into Scotland, is, from the middle of May, till the first of August. The weather is then generally dry and clear, a circumstance of the first importance to those who travel either for health or pleasure. The glory of Scotland is its picturesque views, and romantic scenery, which, to explore with satisfaction, requires both a clear sky, and ample time: whoever hurries along in a close carriage, arriving late, and setting out early, must return with a very superficial knowledge of the country, and the manners of the people.

There are three roads which lead from England to Edinburgh; that by Berwick, on the east; Wooler in the centre; and Carlisle on the west.

Berwick, is situated on the north side of the Tweed 335 miles from London, and 53 from Edinburgh. After passing through an improvable country called the Merse, the traveller arrives at Coldingham moor, the eastern extremity of a ridge of hills, which, under various names, extends from Coldingham to the Firth of Clyde, on the west, thereby crossing the kingdom from sea to sea, and dividing the south of Scotland into two parts. No traveller can therefore reach Edinburgh or Glasgow, without passing these hills; but the trouble of ascending them is amply repaid by the grandeur of the prospects which they command, in the descent northwards.

At the distance of twelve miles from Berwick, the road takes a slanting, north-west direction, on the declivity of the hills, and gradually opens a most extensive view of the north-coast, as far as the promontory of Red Head, in the Shire of Angus. That distant prospect is, however, soon intercepted by the coast of Fife, which stretches along the north side of the Forth, as far inland as the eye can perceive. The entrance of that noble river is distinguished, on the north side, by the Isle of May, and on the south, by the Bass island, a rock of considerable height, and covered with an incredible number of Solan geese. The Forth, though only nine miles wide at its entrance, expands within to eighteen miles; contracts at Edinburgh, to five miles; and, at the Queen's Ferry above Edinburgh, to two miles; widens again to near four miles, which it holds for a considerable extent; is navigable for merchant men as high as Aloa, fifty miles from the sea; and for coasters, as far as Stirling. The Forth was, antiently, the chief scene of commerce and navigation in Scotland, and it is, consequently, lined with towns, some in ruins, and others beginning to resume the appearance of business. The gentlemen's seats, on both sides of the river, are numerous, large, and strongly built.

We must now return to our traveller, who, by this time, is contemplating the pass of the Tees, a deep chasm or glen, over which a bridge of 130 feet in height is now building by subscription. A pleasant, fertile, and populous country, called the Lothians, now opens on every side, through which, a straight, level road of thirty-five miles leads to Edinburgh. The old custom of enclosing with stone dikes begins to be exploded by gentlemen who have any regard to the ornament of their country, the warmth of the grounds, or the protection of the cattle, from the piercing winds of winter, and the flies in summer*. Hedge rows interspersed with spiral trees, as beech, larches, aspines, and Luckcombe oak, † would be incomparably preferable, in respect of beauty, utility, and duration.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, being environed on the east side with hills, no appearances of the city are discovered till the traveller hath arrived at the base of Arthur's seat, where he

* To the want of shade, as well as the want of grass, is owing the leanness of the black cattle in Scotland. In very hot weather they run from place to place during the greatest part of the day, and thus waste themselves.

† See a full account of this tree in Dodley's Annual Register, vol. 6. page 107.

finds himself at once amidst smoke and business. This city consists chiefly of one regular, well-built street, extending in a north-west direction, the length of an English mile; and rising, in a gradual ascent, upon the summit of a hill, which terminates in a perpendicular rock, whereon the castle is built.

The houses in the main street are generally five or six stories high in front, and from six to ten stories backwards; owing to the rapid declivity of the hill on both sides of the street; the whole town exhibiting, at a distance, the appearance of vast buildings; crowding for protection under the wings of the castle, which rises majestically to the height of 300 feet, overlooks the whole city; and commands an extensive view of the river Forth, and the adjacent countries.

The views from Edinburgh are its glory; as its incommensurable buildings, its narrow dirty lanes (there called closes); are its disgrace. On the north-east side of the town is the Calton hill, affording a variegated, and most enchanting prospect; but these are lost in the comparison with what Arthur's seat commands. This hill rises from the lower end of the town, to the height of 656 feet, being nearly double the height of the cross on the top of St. Paul's London, which is 340 feet.

Edinburgh is situated on the south side of the Forth, at the distance of two short miles, and hath thereby the benefit of sea breezes, which, in winter, blow pretty fresh on a city of such elevation. The descent on the north side, terminates in a narrow valley; formerly a sheet of water, called the north Loch. It extends the whole length of the town from east to west, and is bounded on the north by a rising ground; now connected with the city by a magnificent bridge, whose centre arch is ninety feet high.

This high ground stretches in a parallel direction with Edinburgh; it is a mile in length, flat on the summit, and hath a gentle descent on each side. Nature could not have formed a place more suitable for enlarging an over-crowded city; and, consequently, the magistrates in 1767, formed the out-lines of a new town, upon a regular plan of architecture. The houses were to be of stone and slate; commodious, elegant, uniform, and the height limited to three stories. The streets were to be from 90 to 120 feet wide, perfectly straight, and to cross each other at right angles. The north Loch, at present an unwholesome quagmire, was to be formed into a canal, bordered by a terrace walk, and the ascent to the new town ornamented with shrubberies, &c. A plan of this intended feat of elegance was published on copper plate, and lots of ground were immediately taken by the nobility, gentry, and principal inhabitants, upon building leases.

Thus far the business was conducted with taste and judgment. "But when gentlemen had begun to build elegant houses on the faith of the new plan, they were surprised to find the spot, appointed for terraces and a canal, beginning to be covered with mean irregular buildings; and work-houses for tradesmen." Thus the magistrates, not contented with an increase of revenue both sudden
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and unexpected, had nearly ruined the town, by deviating from the elegant plan which they themselves had published. The consequence was a suit before the house of peers, in which the Magistrates were cast, with loss and disgrace; besides the mortification of having the management of this business transferred to the hands of the Lord President of the Court of Session, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The raising of this new city upon the most magnificent design, is a matter of the greatest consequence to the whole nation, as it will draw a resort of company, and consequently an influx of money, to that impoverished part of the island. Of this, there is not the smallest doubt; for, notwithstanding some deformities, owing to the tasteless absurdities of the magistrates, it surpasses, upon the whole, any pile of buildings in these kingdoms, of the same extent.

One half of the high ground is already covered; and, in a few years, the whole will be engaged. The original plan, which was drawn by an ingenious architect, is so judicious in all its parts, as to preclude the possibility of improvement thereon, one instance excepted, which experience hath pointed out to be highly expedient.

The main streets, which run the whole length of the town, from east to west, are three; viz. Prince's-street, which, having a southern aspect, faces the old town; Queen-street, which, having a northern aspect, faces the river Forth; and George street in the centre. The first and last mentioned streets consist of one row of houses only; consequently, the very elevated, and open situation of those streets, expose the inhabitants to the cutting winds, and violent storms, of that northern climate.

As a remedy to this inconvenience, let the descent from those streets be planted with quick growing spiral trees, of the most ornamental species; these, in a few years, will rise above the level of the streets, and gradually screen the first stories; while the summit may be planted with double rows of trees, so as to protect the upper stories of the houses from the cold blasts of winter, and afford a most agreeable shade in summer. Trees, thus disposed, will correct the air, embellish the town, and form a convenient, healthful walk to the inhabitants. All schemes of covering the open side of these streets with houses, or shops, to the height of one story, as proposed by an anonymous writer, ought to be considered as the delusive projects of interested persons, more attentive to private views, than the ornament, and benefit of their country.

As this new town is circumscribed on every side, excepting the north, it would be expedient in the magistrates to have a view to the purchase of lands towards the Forth, and Leith water, whereon to mark the lines of regular streets, to be carried forward, in straight directions, to these rivers. Edinburgh begins to surmount its misfortunes, in the loss of the court and parliament; manufactures and commerce, the true sources of wealth, are again resumed, and bid fair to extend the capital as far as those waters will permit.

Besides the benefits of an increasing commerce, this city is considered as the modern Athens, in politeness, science, and literature. The writings of its professors, divines, and lawyers, are every where read, and admired. In the healing art, it hath no equal. A seminary thus celebrated, must naturally bring thither many students from various parts of Europe and America; a consideration which affords fresh arguments in favour of open airy streets, and commodious low houses, furnished, where practicable, with small gardens.

The distance from Edinburgh to Perth is forty miles, almost due north. The first object that presents itself is the river Forth, which may be crossed at Leith, where it is seven miles over, or at the Queen's Ferry, nine miles above, where the passage is only two miles. Both of these roads unite at Kinross, a pleasant town on the banks of Loch Leven, a lake of twelve miles in circumference, ornamented with woody islands, on one of which, the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots was imprisoned by her subjects. Thus far the country is very fine, and well improved; consisting of gentle risings, and rich crops of grain, but without those hedges, interlined with trees, which ornament the plains of the south.

From Kinross, the country assumes a mountainous appearance, very proper for sheep, but injudiciously cut up, in many parts, for the raising of slender crops of grain, a custom too prevalent throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland.

The descent from these hills opens a view of Stratherne, a rich valley, 30 miles in length; bounded on both sides by verdant sheep-walks; interspersed with the seats of nobility and gentry; and beautified by the numerous windings of the river Erne. Cross the bridge, and ascend the base of Moncrief hill, commanding an extensive prospect of Perth, the Tay, and the Grampian mountains.

This is the shortest, and most usual road to Perth; but travellers, who wish to see the remains of a city, celebrated formerly for science and commerce, must, after their passage from Leith, keep along the east-coast of Fifeshire, till they arrive at St. Andrews, whose ruins, at a short distance, exhibit a picture of Gothic magnificence, and Christian barbarity.

The town consisted of four streets of considerable length, and proportionable breadth, running parallel to each other, in straight lines. Three of the streets still remain; of the fourth, hardly a vestige is to be seen. Further particulars, respecting this fallen city, would be painful in the recital.

After passing through an open country of nine miles, the traveller arrives at the banks of the Tay, where that river is two miles in breadth; it widens above, to three miles; and is navigable for coasting vessels as high as Perth, from whence much salmon is exported to London. The ferry can only be crossed after half flood, when stout boats are continually plying for passengers to Dundee, a handsome town, finely situated for trade, and long celebrated for the commercial spirit of its inhabitants, who are equally distinguished for their taste, in whatever relates to ornament, or utility.

The

The distance from Dundee to Perth is twenty-two miles, through the Carle of Gowrie, esteemed the garden of Scotland, but which, its envious neighbours say, is denied fire in winter, water in summer, and the grace of God all the year. There are two roads through this delightful spot; the lower and the upper. The lower road is upon the edge of the Tay, and hath a near view of the opposite coast of Fife, which rises in a gentle ascent from the water, and in beauty and fertility is little inferior to the northern shore. The upper road commands one of the richest views in Great Britain, and is consequently preferred by all those who travel for health or amusement. It is carried along the margin of the Gowrie hills, whose sloping sides are every where covered with rich fields of wheat, clover, or thriving plantations.

Within a few miles of Perth, these hills begin to close upon the river; the terrified stranger finds himself environed by lofty impending precipices, clothed however to a considerable height with natural woods; a specimen of the rude magnificence so frequent in the Highlands, which is now at no great distance.

Perth stands upon the west side of the Tay; it consists chiefly of two handsome streets; is, upon the whole, an elegant town, and admits of great improvement. Its shady walks on the banks of the Tay, the opposite hills covered with rising plantations, the handsome bridge, from whence there is a view of an extensive plain bounded by distant mountains, compose a justly admired landscape.

But no traveller, who is not in a deep decline, should leave this place, until he hath ascended the hill of Moncrief; where, having gained the summit, his labour will be amply repaid. Vain would be the attempt of the most fertile imagination, to display, by description, the scenery which that hill commands. The soft, and the rude touches of nature, are so finely blended, that the eye alone, can delineate them.

On leaving Perth, the Grampian mountains appear in full view, stretching in a north-east direction, from Lochlomond to Aberdeen; having in front, the valley or plain of Strathmore, of considerable extent and fertility; the great theatre of Scottish valour, in defence of their country and liberties; and is therefore styled, by way of pre-eminence, *classic ground*. The Caledonians had long beheld, with deep concern, the encroaching spirit of the Romans, in Britain; their vigilance, perseverance, and progressive conquests, from the Thames northward, till they arrived at the base of these mountains. Here the Caledonians, seeing themselves invested by sea and land, with a view to the complete conquest of the island, made vigorous preparations, to check the further progress of those hostile intruders. Having collected the force of the nation, and lodged their wives and children in places of security, they marched forward in good order, and with a bold countenance, till they came within sight of the Roman legions, whom they no longer considered as invincible. While Agricola was animating his victorious legions, exhorting them to put an end to a struggle of fifty years with one great and important day, the royal Caledo-

nian pathetically addressed his countrymen, in a speech of considerable length, of which the following abstract, from Tacitus, is here inserted, as a specimen :

“ Against their pride and ambition (said he) you will in vain seek a remedy or refuge from any obsequiousness or humble behaviour. These plunderers of the earth, these ravagers of the universe, finding countries to fail them, endeavour to riddle the wide seas and the ocean. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor, their ambition. Neither the eastern world, nor the western, vast as they are, can satiate these general robbers. Of all men, they alone thirst after acquisitions, both poor and rich, with equal avidity and passion. Devastations, murders, and universal destruction, they by a lying name style *empire* and government; and when they have spread a general devastation, they call it peace. Dearest to every man, by the ties of nature, are his children and kindred. These are snatched from us to supply their armies, and doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth. Our wives, daughters, and sisters, however they escape violence from them as from open enemies, are debauched under the appearance of friendship. Our goods are their tribute, our corn their provision, our bodies and limbs their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through woods, and drains in bogs, under continual blows and outrages.

“ The Brigantes *, even under the conduct of a woman, burnt their colony, stormed their entrenchments, and, had not such auspicious beginnings degenerated into sloth, might have with ease cast off the yoke and recovered their former liberty. Let us, who are yet unsubdued, who still preserve our forces intire, and want not to acquire, but only to secure, liberty, shew at once, in the very first encounter, what kind of men Caledonia has reserved for her own vindication and defence. Here you see a general, here an army; there tributes and mines, with a long train of calamities and curses, ever attending a state of slavery. Whether all these are to be for ever imposed and borne, or we forthwith avenge ourselves for the attempt, this very day must determine. As therefore you advance to battle, look back upon your ancestors, who lived in the happy state of liberty; look forward to your posterity, who, unless you exert your valour in this very field, must live for ever in a miserable state of servitude.”

Many battles were fought in this struggle between the thirst of empire, and the love of freedom. The Roman legions, more through their military knowledge, than superior bravery, generally prevailed; but the Caledonians, aided by their mountains and morasses, though often defeated, were never completely subdued. What the Romans could not, therefore, acquire by the sword, they endeavoured to accomplish by policy. Having stationed themselves in the centre of the kingdom, as appears by the camps

* The Brigantes inhabited Yorkshire, Lancashire, Dorham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. They made a brave defence, under Queen Boadicea, and were the last of the South Britains who submitted to the Romans.

still visible in the front of the mountains, they created a distinction between the Caledonians of the east, and those of the west side of the country. To the former, they gave the name of *Picti*; to the latter, that of *Scoti*. In order more effectually to divide the nation against itself, they prevented all social intercourse, fomented jealousies, and encouraged feuds, themselves acting as auxiliaries, as occasions required, and prudence dictated.

When the Romans were called home, in the fifth century, to defend the centre of their tottering empire, against the unceasing attacks of Goths, Vandals, and other Barbarians; the two nations of Scots and Picts, who had long been the tools of Roman policy, became, in their turn, zealous, not for freedom, but for conquest. Those plains remained the theatres of fierce conflicts, till the middle of the ninth century, when the Scots finally prevailed, and the whole country, now re-united under one monarch, took the name of Scotland. The seat of government was transferred from Rothsay, Dunstaffnage, Inverlochy*, and other castles of the ancient Scottish princes, to Scone, and its neighbourhood, as being more inviting, and also more central and commodious, for repelling the ravages of the Danes, a people who had carried terror and desolation throughout the whole kingdom, but more particularly the eastern coast facing the Baltic. Those districts were, therefore, still devoted to the rage of war, which was rendered more destructive, from the aversion of the Danes to Christianity. The Scots proved generally victorious; and, at length, the invaders, tired out with fruitless enterprises, abandoned their precarious conquests, about the middle of the eleventh century, during the reign of the famous Macbeth. No place therefore, in Britain, affords so great a variety of ancient remains; such delicious morsels, whereon the antiquary may gratify his curiosity, and the critic display his learning †.

Twelve miles from Perth, the traveller arrives at the noted pass of Birnam wood, and must bid adieu, for a while, to verdant hills, extensive plains, and populous towns. The scene changes instantaneously to lofty mountains, covered with heath, or natural woods; to narrow vallies, winding streams, and extensive lakes. Wherever he directs his course in the Highlands, he is accompanied by wood and water. Every valley (called in that country strath or glen), hath its stream meandering from side to side, and dividing the whole into a number of little verdant peninsulas. The beds of these rivers, are sand or pebbles, barely covered in summer, but which, during the autumnal and winter floods, seem scarcely sufficient to contain the great body of water that rolls along with frightful impetuosity. When, upon a thaw of snow, every mountain pours forth its tribute

* There still remains a fragment of the castle of Rothsay, and a considerable part of Dunstaffnage. They are conjectured by antiquaries to be nearly coeval with the Romans in this island. The castle of Inverlochy seems, by its architecture, to be of later construction.

† They consist chiefly of *Roman encampments*, at Strageth, Ardoch, Comerie, and Delvin. *Roman highways* are also visible in many parts, connecting the different encampments and the lesser stations.

bute in numerous little cascades, and every rill is swelled to a river, the inhabitants of the vallies see themselves environed on every side, with impending danger to themselves, their cattle, and their

Caledonian fortresses. These were generally placed on, or near, the summits of the Grampian hills, and commanding extensive views of the vallies underneath. They were surrounded with ramparts formed of loose stones, having entrenchments or ditches on the outside. Here the Caledonians lodged their women and children in times of danger, while the young and the brave gave battle to the Romans. The most conspicuous of these poits are at Blairgown, the two hills of Cater-thun, and Denoon castle.

Historical pillars or obelisks. These are both instructive and curious. They were erected in commemoration of signal victories gained by the Scots over the Danes, and are generally ornamented with a rude sculpture, or bas relief of men on horseback, and other emblematical figures and hieroglyphics, which have been accurately described by the antiquaries of the last and present century. These obelisks derive a particular consequence from their being found upon this north-east side of Great Britain, and no where else. Some of these stones are erected at Aberlemni near Brechin. Other pillars of curious workmanship, representing chariots, horsemen, human figures, animals, and centaurs, are found at the village of Meigle. The death of Malcolm II. at Glamis, is represented on various stones near that castle.

Round towers. These are supposed to be of Pictish construction, but their uses have not reached posterity. There are only two columns of this singular architecture in Britain, viz. one at Abernethy near Perth, whose height is 72 feet, and circumference at the bottom 47 feet. The other tower is at Brechin; its height is 103 feet, its circumference near the bottom 48 feet; the thickness of the wall at that part is seven feet two inches, and at the top, four feet six inches.

The Palace of Scone. Kenneth II. upon his conquest of the Picts in the ninth century, having made Scone his principal residence, delivered his laws, called the *Macalpine laws*, from a *tumulus*, named the *Mote Hill of Scone*. The same prince conveyed to this place from Dunstaffnage, the coronation chair of his predecessors, and here it was used for that purpose by his successors, down to the year 1296, when Edward I. of England carried it to London, to the great mortification of the Scottish nation. Their kings, however, continued the practice of being crowned here till the reign of Charles II. the last monarch who honoured Scone with that ceremony. Mr. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, has a small ivory image of a monarch sitting in this chair, with a crown on his head, a book in his left hand; and, seemingly, in a contemplative mood, as if he was preparing to take the coronation oath. His beard is long and venerable; his dress, particularly his robe edged with fur or ermine, is distinctly represented. The figure was found among the ruins of Dunstaffnage, and being, consequently, engraved before the conquest of the Picts, it is to be considered as one of the greatest curiosities now in the island. It corroborates the few remains of antient Scottish records; it represents the dress of those early times; and, it discovers a knowledge of the art of sculpture, wherein the Scots seem to have made considerable proficiency, of which the above-mentioned historical stones, are visible proofs. Of the Royal Palace of Scone, the abbey, church, and other magnificent buildings, nothing now remains; they were completely destroyed in the year 1559, when there ensued, says Bishop Spotswood, a pitiful devastation of churches, and church-buildings, throughout all parts of the kingdom.

Birnam Wood, and Dunfinane. The place called Birnam Wood is a lofty hill on the west side of the Tay, immediately on the entrance of the Highlands. Dunfinane is a small, but steep hill on the east side of the Tay, on the summit of which, Macbeth built and fortified his imaginary impregnable castle, as a place of security against the attacks of his rival Malcolm III. No part of the building now remains; but the ditches which surround its *æra* are still visible. The neighbourhood abounds in *tumuli* and other antiquities.

grain.

grain. Bridges, especially those of modern construction, are thrown down, trees are torn away, and even stones of considerable weight yield to the pressure of the torrent.

All the accumulating waters, from every direction, in a circuit of fifty miles, are received by the Tay; and this noble river, after collecting the various streams of the centre of the kingdom, falls into the sea below Perth. A river so considerable must, at proper seasons, facilitate the floating of timber, from the glens, and interior parts of the Highlands; of this favourable circumstance the gentlemen of those parts seem now to be duly sensible. Its banks afford a rich prospect of future wealth, arising, in many places, from grounds which could not otherwise be brought into use.

The Tay flows from the north, and receives at Dunkeld the river Bran, whose picturesque banks, improved by art, contribute greatly to the beauties around that elegant seat. The road northward, hath already been described, as an accumulating treasure to the noble proprietor, and extremely pleasant to the traveller. At Logyrait, eight miles above Dunkeld, the Tay and the Tummel unite their copious streams. The natural beauties of this place are disgraced by a mean village, which, though the station of two ferries, hath neither inn nor stable.

From Logyrait northward, the fine scenery of art and nature continues as far as Blair, a residence of the family of Athole during the hunting season.

Thriving plantations, picturesque walks, cut with great labour, expence, and perseverance, through rocks, and impending precipices, over glens darkened with timber; a series of five natural cascades, forming upon the whole near 200 feet in height, abundantly repay the traveller, whose curiosity leads him thus far into the Highlands.

From Blair northward, there are two roads; one leading to the pleasant shire of Murray; the other to Fort Augustus, and Lochaber, now Fort William. Neither of these roads being passable for carriages, travellers, whose business or curiosity leads them to the north of Scotland, generally go by the lower or eastern road through Aberdeenshire.

Blair, is therefore, the most northerly stage of *the Short Tour of Scotland*; the traveller hath no choice of returning by another road to Logyrait; nor will he, after a second review of this romantic country, be sorry for the disappointment. Logyrait, situated at the conflux of the Tay and the Tummel, is also the central point where the roads from Dunkeld, Blair, Taymouth, and other parts of the Highlands, unite. From this place the traveller now proceeds westward, along the north side of the Tay, which winds, in considerable reaches, through a beautiful valley fifteen miles in length, called Strathtay, abounding in grain, meadows, and plantations. The water which glides through this fine tract receives, on the north side, the river Lion, two miles below Taymouth, the seat of the earl of Braedalbane, already described, but all description fails in the attempt to convey suitable ideas of its magnificence.

Here

Here the Tay issues in a copious stream from Loch-Tay, a lake fifteen miles in length, one in breadth, and from 50 to 100 fathom in depth. Its banks, on both sides, are fruitful and populous: the road westward, is finely diversified by the windings of the lake, and the various appearances of the mountains; some, impending in rugged precipices, others, rising gradually, to a majestic height.

The west end of this lake exceeds, in the opinion of some persons, all the scenery of Dunkeld, Blair, or Taymouth. Here the Tay, and the Lochy, seem emulous in displaying their respective beauties, before they are blended with the lake.

The views of these rivers; of the lake, the islands, and the towering mountains, discover, every where, the patriotic hand of the late earl of Braedalbane; to whose munificence, the public are also indebted for the roads, the bridges, and the commodious inns of this extensive, but towless region.

Here, at Killin, the traveller may consider himself in the centre of Scotland, and nearly at the medium distance between Dunkeld and Lochlomond, the two main openings into the Highlands, from the south. The road still leads westward, through Glendochart and Strathfillan, watered by the Tay, which hath its source amidst tremendous mountains, whereon stands the inn of Tyndrum, remarkable for being the most elevated habitable situation in the kingdom. The waters now take a western direction through the little vale of Glenurchie, till they are lost in Lochawe, a narrow fresh-water lake, twenty-four miles in length, shaded on the west side with wood, and ornamented with twelve small islands, whereon are the ruins of a convent, and two castles. At Lochawe, the traveller is at the western boundary of his journey, and at no great distance from the Atlantic ocean, and the Hebride islands, which may be seen from the summit of the hills.

Having thus nearly crossed the kingdom from sea to sea, he returns towards the south-east direction, and soon arrives at Inverary, pleasantly situated on a small bay, formed by the junction of the river Aray with Lochfyne. This place hath long been the principal residence of the family of Argyle, whose heroic deeds and steady patriotism make a conspicuous figure in the history of their country. The present seat is a modern construction, begun, and completed, by the late Duke Archibald, who also formed the design of an entire new town, upon a commodious, elegant plan, becoming the dignity of the capital of Argyleshire, a country most admirably situated for manufactures and the fisheries. Of this circumstance, the present duke seems to be fully sensible; the town is rebuilt conformable to the original plan; manufactures are introduced and patronised; roads and bridges are every where formed; agriculture, planting, and the raising a better breed of sheep, are every where encouraged.

We cannot quit this subject without remarking the comparative, happy situation of mankind, under the three noblemen, whose contiguous estates occupy the greatest part of a tract, extending from the borders of Aberdeenshire, to Campbleton, and the western ocean.

Emigration, so fatal to that kingdom, and to Britain, is scarcely known upon the estates of Argyle, Athole, and Braedalbane; an infallible proof of judicious measures, and humane usage.

Inverary is situated within a day's journey of the Low Countries; but travellers, who incline to vary the scene, will make a previous excursion, for a few days, to the peninsula of Cantire. The first part of this journey is carried along the east side of the peninsula, bounded by Lochfyne, as far as the Taibar, where the neck of land is only one mile in width. From this place, the road crosses to the west side of the peninsula, washed by the Atlantic, of which the traveller hath an unbounded view, there being no land between that coast and North-America. The south Hebrides now appear at the distance of a few miles, some, rising above the clouds; others, almost level with the sea. On the east side of the peninsula, is the opening of the Clyde, bounded, at the distance of thirty miles, by Airshire, and Galloway. Nearly in the centre of this narrow sea, the rock or craig of Ailsa rises, in the form of a sugar loaf, to a great height. Its inhabitants are solan geese, and other large birds, who live on the bounty of the sea. The south prospect lays open the entrance into the Irish Channel, and an extensive view of Ireland. Here, therefore, the traveller, now placed at the extremity of a narrow, but far projecting slip of land, hath a full view of the Atlantic, the Irish channel, the mouth of the Clyde, the kingdoms of Scotland, and Ireland, with the south Hebrides; prospects, easier to conceive than describe.

The passage between Cantire and Cattle Cary in Ireland, is usually performed by ferry boats, in three or four hours; and from Cantire to the Giants Causeway, in the space of half a day. Those who choose to return to Inverary by water, may be supplied with a boat at Campbleton, a handsome trading town, lying at the bottom of a fine bay, on the east side of Cantire. They will coast along the lotty isle of Arran at the entrance of the Clyde, and from thence up Lochfyne, where they may land at pleasure.

Imprest with the sublime grandeur, and vast expanse, of these views, the traveller will now behold the beauties of the little Highland capital, with diminished rapture; still less will he, after passing round the head of Lochfyne, be elevated with the gloom and nakedness of Glencroe, the most neglected tract throughout the whole tour, though extremely proper for various species of planting, which would here find an easy and cheap conveyance by water.

Having emerged out of this solitary glen, he finds himself in view of Loch Long, a salt water lake, twenty-two miles in length, communicating with the Clyde, facing Greenock. This lake is the eastern boundary of Argyleshire, a portion of which county, and of Perthshire, composes the whole route of the traveller, since his departure from Dundee.

After passing through a little fertile tract, ornamented with planting, upon the head of Loch Long, the traveller enters Dunbartonshire; and, at the distance of a mile, arrives at East Taibar, situated

ated amidst natural woods, on a high eminence, immediately above Loch Lomond, and about ten miles from its head. This celebrated fresh-water lake is ornamented with twenty-eight islands, some of them considerable in extent, and stocked with deer. It is twenty-five miles in length, and above five where widest. Its greatest depth is 720 feet, where it washes the base of Ben Lomond, a mountain which rises to the height of 3240 feet, above the surface of the water.

The elevation of the road, from the Tarbat southward, contributes greatly to the pleasure of the traveller, especially after passing the point of Firkin, which instantaneously opens the wide expanse of the lake, and all the luxuriancy of its woody islands, and deep indented shores; fertile, verdant, and every where fringed with wood. On the edge of a small bay, is the seat of Sir James Colhoun of Luss, who inherits, through a long series of ancestors, the greatest part of these picturesque domains.

The outlet of this lake forms the beautiful water of Leven, celebrated, in soft pathetic lines, by Dr. Smollet, to whose memory an obelisk hath been erected on its banks, near the place where that benevolent friend of mankind first drew breath. This river glides in a copious stream over a pebbly bottom, till it joins the Clyde, five miles below. It abounds in salmon and trout; its banks form one continued wood, intermixed with villas, meadows, and corn fields. Here also, the manufacturers of Glasgow; induced by the qualities of the water, have established the greatest bleacheries in that kingdom.

These appearances announce, to the traveller, his return to the Low Countries, to which Dunbarton, an antient, decayed royal borough, is the western entrance. Here the Leven, navigable for vessels of 200 tons, falls into the Clyde, where the latter is a mile wide. At the point or angle, formed by the junction of these rivers, a perpendicular, double pointed rock, rises to a great height, and hath been occupied, from the earliest annals of the Scottish history, as a castle, and armory. The natural situation of this castle, at the conflux of two navigable rivers, gives it a most extensive and variegated prospect over the shires of Renfrew and Dunbarton, which it fully commands; part of Lanerksire, wherein are seen, at the distance of fifteen miles, the numerous spires of Glasgow; Cowal, in Argyleshire; and the crowded summits of the Grampian mountains, in Perthshire.

The road from Dunbarton to Glasgow, though mostly on a level, is uncommonly delightful. It is carried along the north side of the Clyde, and hath throughout, an extensive view of Renfrewshire, which forms the southern shore. At the distance of a full mile from Dunbarton, commences a ridge of hills, which, under various names, extends, in a north-east direction, to Stirling. Of these hills, Dunbuck is the western extremity. It rises immediately from the road, with such awful majesty, that romance itself cannot figure a nobler object. Eastward, the hills rise to a still greater height,

height, and are clothed for a short space with oaks, which are cut down every twenty years, for the bark.

At the distance of three miles from Dunbarton, where the hills dip into the Clyde, barely leaving a passage for travellers, was begun, or ended, the famous Roman wall, vulgarly called Graham's Dyke; from Graham or Grimus, (governor of Scotland, during the minority of its prince), who, upon the departure of the Romans in the fifth century, broke through the northern barrier, drove back the trembling Britons, and recovered the southern division of the kingdom, which the Romans had long usurped*.

At the distance of half a mile eastward, the road, rising in a gentle ascent facing Erskine house, a seat of Lord Blantyre, astonishes the traveller with the grandeur of its views. Here stands Kilpatric, or Cell Patric, so named from its being the birth-place of the famous St. Patric, a clergyman of this place, afterwards the apostle of Ireland. Every real or imaginary event of remote antiquity, hath its tradition: St. Patric, while fishing on a small rock in the Clyde, facing this place, was seized by Irish pirates, and carried to their country, where he became a great man. From this circumstance, the rock is called *Patric's Stone*. At Dunbarton, a fair held in March, is called, in honour of the Saint, *Patric's Mass fair*.

Hitherto the road displays a full view of the wide expanse of the Clyde; the picturesque intermixture of hills, woods, seats, and plantations. To the grandeur of this western prospect, a gentle elevation, after leaving Kilpatric, lays open the soft scenery of the Clyde towards Glasgow, whose spires make a conspicuous figure in the landscape. South-east, at the distance of five miles, is a full view of Paisly, a large, irregular town, remarkable for its gauze manufactures, which adorn the heads of the British ladies, and even those of Paris, as appears by the commissions sent from that capital. From this hill, to Glasgow, the road is straight and level; the villas are numerous; the farm-houses, small but neat; the fields inclosed in the true stile of judicious husbandry. These pleasing objects denote the neighbourhood of a large commercial city, striving to correspond, in taste and elegance, with the beauties of its environs.

Glasgow owes the regularity of its streets to a fire, which, in 1652, burnt one third of the city, including 80 warehouses, and the habitations of 1000 families. This calamitous event, is recorded in a letter from Colonels Overton and Blackmore, to Oliver Cromwell, and by which it appears that Glasgow contained from 15 to 20,000 people, amongst whom were some wealthy merchants.

Unfortunately for this, and all the towns in Scotland, the builders have copied the Gothic, unhealthy, and most inconvenient practice of the French, instead of the clean, the decent, and commodious dwellings of England, where the whole building is occupied by one tenant only. From this error, in the re-building of Glasgow, that city is, at present, a medley of beauty and deformity. The

* From this hero is descended the illustrious house of Montrose.

houses have, outwardly, an appearance of elegance; the streets are, mostly, straight and wide; but the town is disgraced by its narrow, unwholesome lanes, or closes; by the inconveniences of an over-crowded population, every house being inhabited by various families, and of various ranks in life. The builders had no conception of small neat houses, from twenty to twenty-five feet wide, containing a kitchen and cellars under ground; a shop, parlour, and yard; a first floor for letting out to occasional lodgers; a second and third floor for the family. Neither did they discover the utility of open, airy courts, and back streets, for the residence of clergymen, lawyers, and other professions that do not require shops.

The principal inhabitants, sensible of the mistakes of former times, and willing to repair them, have lately built several small streets composed of private houses only. These dwellings are commodious, substantial, and elegant; accommodated with gardens, offices, and all the conveniences of a country seat. Perfection, however, is not the work of a day, or year, but of long observation, and gradual experience. While a stranger admires the elegance of these new buildings, he is greatly disappointed in the appearance of the streets. This is owing to the irregular position of the houses, some, being placed forwards; others, a considerable way back. Neither hath any regard been paid to uniformity in the colour of the stone, every person consulting his own fancy only, in the position of his house, and the materials of which it was to be composed: irreparable injuries to the elegance of the town, and will be regretted by posterity. One street, however, hath hit, fortunately, upon symmetry and proportion, the good effects of which are perceivable at first sight.

Nature hath been remarkably favourable in respect of situation, whereon to extend the present emporium and ornament of the north. The town is bounded southward, by the Clyde; northward, by a gentle ridge of hills, lying in a parallel direction with that river. These two natural boundaries scarcely admit of any mistake in projecting new streets; yet, if unassisted by a spirited magistracy taste and judgement, mistakes may, and will happen. Every builder will consult his own convenience; and thus a spot, formed by nature for health and ornament, will be obscured, and irretrievably lost to the community. It would therefore be expedient to lay out, upon a regular plan, the whole front of the rising ground from the High-street to Anderston, and even beyond that village*. A city, so distinguished for the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, the variety of its manufactures, and the extent of its commerce, should look forward, with an invariable view to magnificence, and national honour.

* It might be proper, for the information and conveniency of the inhabitants, to publish on copper-plate a handsome plan of the town, including the proposed additions, and the western environs; as far as the Kelvin, a river which, in less than half a century, may become the boundary on that side.

The great ornament of Glasgow is its very respectable and much-frequented university, whose professors have long been eminent in the various branches of science, and classic education. This seminary stands on a rising ground, close upon the country, and is possessed of a large garden for the conveniency of the students; adjoining to which is a botanic garden, an observatory, and a handsome, well-furnished library.

When the Romans raised the well-known northern barrier against the Caledonians, commonly named Graham's dike, they erected stones with inscriptions, which denote that certain parts of the work were made by detachments of such and such legions. These stones have been collected by the University, together with altars, and other monuments of Roman greatness, which are highly entertaining to the antiquary.

About thirty years ago, a son of the family, which is the head of the Clan Macfarlane, made a valuable present of astronomical instruments to this University. And, in 1783, Dr. Hunter, late physician to the Queen, bequeathed to it his famous anatomical preparations, library, and museum, which will be a benefit and ornament not only to this place, but to the whole kingdom.

The editions of the classics which were printed under the inspection of the professors, with the types of the ingenious Mr. Wilson, and by the celebrated Messrs. Foulis, are held in such esteem abroad as to sell nearly at the price of antient manuscripts. His present majesty when Prince of Wales, Archibald duke of Argyle, and many other persons of taste and learning, patronised these elegant editions.

Nor must I, as a well-wisher to science, and useful arts, forget to mention the apparatus for natural philosophy in this University, it being unanimously esteemed the most extensive and most useful in the world. It was brought to that perfection at the expence, and by the unremitting labour of Mr. Anderson, who not only gives lectures on the mathematical and scientific parts of natural philosophy to those who are designed for learned professions, but who likewise gives separate lectures to artists and manufacturers, in the most simple and engaging manner.

At the north extremity of Glasgow stands its magnificent cathedral, the only entire building of that description now in Scotland. It owes its preservation to the spirit and good sense of the tradesmen, who in 1579, upon hearing the beat of drum, for collecting the workmen appointed to demolish this venerable edifice, flew to arms, and declared, that the first man who pulled down a single stone should that moment be buried under it. No monument hath been erected to the memory of those virtuous citizens.

There are two main roads leading from this city to Edinburgh; the south road, consisting of forty-four miles, through a level, and in general a well-improved country: and the north road, which, though fifty miles in length, is generally preferred, on account of its views, and the towns through which it passes, or which are contiguous.

The distance by this road to Stirling is twenty-eight miles, thro' a broken, rough country, very little indebted to modern improvements.

ments. The ridge of lofty, verdant hills before-mentioned bound the northern view. On the south, the road is enlivened by the navigation of the great canal, designed to open a communication for coasting vessels, between the east and the west seas. Next to the navigations completed by the Duke of Bridgewater, this is the greatest work in our island, since the time of the Romans. It begins near the mouth of the Carron upon the Forth, and is raised by 20 locks, in a tract of 10 miles, to the amazing height of 155 feet above the full sea mark. From thence it is carried in some places through soft moss, in other places through solid rock. Besides the locks, which are 20 feet wide, and 75 feet long, it is crossed by 18 roads or draw-bridges; and at Falkirk, it is carried over the great road, by means of an aqueduct bridge. By the same kind of bridges it is also carried over a number of rivers, of which the water of Logie near Kirkintulloch is the principal, and here the arch of the aqueduct bridge is 90 feet wide. The canal is 56 feet in breadth, at the surface; 7 feet deep, and navigable for sea vessels of 80 or 90 tons. Its proposed length is 30 miles, of which 24 have been finished by a subscription of 150,000*l.* beyond which the proprietors are unwilling to proceed; and the work hath consequently remained *in statu quo*, since the year 1775, when the people were discharged from their labour. It stops at the large river Kelvin, over which it must be carried, at an expence of some thousand pounds; besides nineteen locks, to convey it through a rough country, into the Clyde. The subscribers, to indemnify themselves for the large sum already expended upon this incomplete navigation, have been obliged to levy a toll far too high for bulky goods in general, and which, on some articles, amounts nearly to a prohibition.

At a short distance beyond Kilsyth, the road to Stirling takes a northern direction, and gradually opens a view of the Forth, which, from the Queen's Ferry to Alloa, hath all the appearances of an extensive inland lake.

Stirling is built upon a hill environed with rich plains; and rises, like Edinburgh (of which it is the miniature), in a gentle ascent westward, where it is bounded by a perpendicular, lofty rock, called the Castle, once the seat of kings, and the national councils. The royal palace serves at present as barracks to a few invalids; the parliament house, their lumber room. This building is 120 feet in length, and of proportionable height. It hath been stripped, in the true Scottish manner, of its ornaments and galleries; the roof, unassisted by the public, is mouldering away; and of the royal gardens some few vestiges only can now be traced.

The views, which claim the preference, in Scotland, are those from Cantire, and Stirling Castle; the first, as the reader will perceive by the map, are of kingdoms, islands, seas, promontories, and far distant shores. Those from Stirling are purely inland, displaying all the beauties and softness of an Italian landscape, agreeably intermixed with seas, plantations, and lofty downs or sheep-walks. Amidst this scenery, the river Forth winds, in a most picturesque manner, to Alloa, forming, in the short tract of

six miles by land, a navigation of twenty-four miles or upwards. Above Stirling, the landscape is equally engaging, if not more so. Here the windings of the Forth are less frequent, but more extensive. This western view is bounded by Ben-Lomond, and the Grampian mountains, whose summits are perceived from every direction throughout the centre of the kingdom.

The distance from Stirling to Edinburgh by the Queen's Ferry is thirty six miles. The first stage to Falkirk commands an extensive view of both sides of the Forth; the rich plain, called the Carse of Falkirk, the carron manufactory, famous for its cannon, and an endless variety of tools and furniture in cast iron. Near Falkirk the traveller passes under the aqueduct bridge formerly mentioned; and at this place also the canal is raised above one hundred feet in the course of a mile, by means of ten locks, and at the expence of 18,000 pounds; one of the most extraordinary works of art in these kingdoms, and which nothing but ocular demonstration could convince of its reality. A most delightful journey, upon the south banks of the Forth where that river is above three miles wide, leads to the elevated and magnificent seat of the earl of Hopeton, situated above the narrow strait at the Queen's Ferry, and commanding a complete view of the river and its islands, from the sea to Stirling.

A short and pleasant stage, through a well inclosed country, carries the traveller to the base of Edinburgh castle, which, though he hath lately traversed the Grampian mountains, will command his admiration.

Travellers who entered Scotland by the eastern roads, through Berwic or Kelso, generally return by the west, through Carlisle. The first stage from Edinburgh rises to a considerable elevation above that city, and affords, at the distance of ten miles southward, a most extensive view of the Forth, the Lothians, and the country of Fife, overtopped by the summits of far distant mountains.

Here the traveller takes a final leave of the northern Caledonia; and having passed the narrow ridge of hills which crosses that part of the kingdom from sea to sea, he is carried through a pastoral country, amidst verdant downs, rural streams, and long winding solitary vales.

In passing these extensive tracts, he will have sufficient leisure to contemplate the works of God as having been exhibited to his view, in a boundless variety of forms and appearances, and all designed for valuable purposes, which it is the business of man to discover and improve. This will bring to mind what hath been done, and what remains to be done; the vast tracts of country, yet in a state of nature; the many thousands of sober, well disposed people, who are thereby lost to themselves, their families and the state. He will perceive that the kingdom through which he hath passed, its vallies, seas, lakes, and islands, is a great store yet in reserve for the aid of a dismembered empire, in strength, in commerce, and national consequence, whenever government shall be disposed to call forth these important sources.

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E R R A T A.

- Introduction page xii. line 15, for atack, *read* attack.
— xvi. line 22, *instead of* those kingdoms, *read*
these rival kingdoms.
Page 28, line 21, for Sunderland, *read* Sutherland.
— 60, line 38, for labour, *read* laboured.
— 72, line 15, for are, *read* is.
— 110, line 39, *instead of* magistracy taste, *read* magistracy of
taste.

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