122-17 重複132-13 For Encouraging the Linnen Manufacture O F SCOTLAND, &c. Humbly submitted to Parliament. Price One Shilling.

There is now in the Press,
The Second Edition corrected of,

HE Interest of Scotland consider'd with Regard to its Police in employing the Poor, its Agriculture, its Trade,
its Manufactures, and Fisheries.

# REASONS

For Encouraging the

## Linnen Manufacture

OF

## SCOTLAND,

And other PARTS of

### GREAT-BRITAIN.

Humbly submitted to Parliament.

By the AUTHOR of The Interest of Scotland consider'd, &c.

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REASONS for Encouraging the Linnen Manufacture
of Scotland, &c.

octety is founded upon the universal and necessary Dependence that Mankind have upon one another, for their common Safety, and mutual Aid and Assistance; and social, or civil Liberty, upon Laws that secure to every Individual the free Use and Enjoyment of the Fruits of his own Labour, Industry, or Invention; and which ascertain, measure, and determine the Power and Authority of the civil Magistrate, as well as the Obedience of the Subject: But these Laws cannot retain their just Force, unless the People are capable (by the Means of profitable Labour) to live free from any base or service Dependance upon their

their wealthy Superiors, or other Persons of high Rank, Quality, or Station. Nor can any State support the necessary Expence of its Government, its civil, military, and ecclesiastical Establishments; and much less can it bear the Expence of a War, unless the People are so universally employed in prositable Labour, that even those of the lowest Class are able to bear some Proportion of these unavoidable Burthens.

Men of Condition lie under many obvious Ties to be industrious and frugal; but Perfons of a mean Spirit and slothful Disposition, who chuse to live by a base and service Dependance, or by pursoining and begging from others, rather than to make a suitable Provision for themselves by their own Labour, are under no Tye, other than good Habits of Diligence and Assiduity in Business, which are forced upon them by a rigorous Execution of good Laws.\*

Civil and National Liberty then depend chiefly on these two Principles, viz. Encouragement to Industry, by an absolute Security of Property; and a rigorous Execution

\* By the 23d and 25th of Edward the Third of England, and 2d of Richard the Second, The Poor were compelled by Act of Parliament to work, and that at such Rates as be Employer could afford; and Rules are thereby laid win to settle the Price of their Labour, whereby the Madurst give no more, nor the Servant take more, than Law allowed, that the meaner Sort of Manufacturers might be as well served as the rich.

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cution of proper Laws and Rules of Police, to oblige every one that is able to work, to labour for himself and the Publick; that none be a Burthen upon it, other than those, whose Service to the Publick is indispensably

necessary. Every Nation, where Industry is thus encouraged, and Idleness in the lower Class restrained, must become rich and powerful; for the Ways to maintain and support Mankind by profitable Labour, free from any fervileDependance, are more numerous than are the Demands that arise from Necessity and the real Conveniencies of Life. The Gratification of fensual Appetites, and Provisions for Pleafure and Diversion; the imaginary and mistaken Views of Conveniency: In short, whatever Luxury, Vanity, Whim, or Caprice can suggest, are all so many Funds of Bufiness to employ the ingenious, diligent, and industrious Poor, at the Expence of the Rich, without any base Dependance upon them. He who fells a Commodity, tho'it be a useless Toy, depends no more upon the Buyer for his Money, than the Buyer does upon him for his Goods; and a Tradesman, Manufacturer, or Artificer, who may have a Hundred or a Thousand Customers, in the Way of his Business, altho' he may think himself (as he most certainly is) much obliged to them all for their Custom, yet is under no servile Dependance upon any of them; for

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in all Commerce, the Obligations betwixt

Buyer and Seller are reciprocal.

It were endless, and indeed impracticable, to enumerate all the Commodities that are used in common Life, and the various Means, whereby Multitudes, who have no other Property than what they acquire by their own Labour, do nevertheless subsist themselves and Families comfortably, and likewise contribute largely towards the publick Burthens. The chief Skill confists in preventing the overlooking of any Branch of Business, or of breeding up to any one Employment a greater Number of Persons than can live by it. In this Event the Publick suffers greatly; for those who cannot earn their Bread in the Way they have been educated, must either go abroad to follow their Business in soreign Parts, where there may be a greater Demand for it, or remain at Home a Burthen upon the Publick.

The only Way to cure this national Evil, is to bring to Perfection, by publick Care and proper Encouragements, the Knowledge and Skill in the making and finishing for Sale some manufactured Commodity of universal Use, that may be sold in Foreign Parts, as well as for Home Consumption. Those Nations who have had the Wisdom to put this sovereign Remedy in Practice, have reaped great and manifold Advantages by so doing. Their People are thereby increased, and

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all their spare Hands maintained at the Expence of Foreigners. A Stock for foreign Trade is thereby likewise created, whereby the Individuals who deal in it are enrich'd, and the publick Wealth greatly advanced.

No Nation can serve it self with every thing it uses, and unless we are able to sell to Foreigners Goods to as great a Value as those we buy from them, our national Wealth, and of Consequence our People, must daily

diminish.

Provisions are too bulky, and their Price at foreign Markets too precarious and uncertain to be relied on as an Article in foreign Trade; nevertheless the practical Knowledge of Agriculture ought to be universally improved to the greatest Persection, and preferred to every other Branch of Business whatever, because the Success of every other Business in a great Measure depends upon it; for the Price of Labour must (in every Country) be in Proportion to the Price of Provisions. This I only mention, having already spoken somewhat particularly on this Subject in the first part of a former Discourse \*. Nor shall I here take Notice of any Branches of Business, other than such as are capable of employing great Numbers of People; but confine my felf to the Confideration of those Manufactures, which by the Help of proper Care and Encouragement,

<sup>\*</sup> Interest of Scotland, &c. Part I.

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we may reasonably hope to bring to such a a Degree of Persection, and carry to so great an Extent, that in Time we may be able, not only to serve the Home Consumption, but also to export them in such Quantities, as may be equal in Value to our Demands for those kinds of Goods that are to be purchased in foreign Parts, cheaper than they can be made at home.

Commodities which turn to the greatest Account for Exportation in foreign Trade, and which are of the greatest Benefit and Advantage to those Nations who make and export them, are commonly called Bale - Goods, from the Manner of making them up for the Market: Their Carriage is easy and convenient, their Values are high, and are in a great Measure the sole Purchase of Labour; as for Example, The richest piece of Silk Stuff, or the finest piece of Linnen Cloth, are, except the Mulberry Leaves that feed the Worms, or the Rent of the Ground whereon the Flax grows, all the Fruit of Ingenuity, Skill and Labour. By a Trade of this kind the Merchants are enrich'd, the People multiplied, and all employ'd and comfortably maintain'd by profitable Labour, and the publick Wealth and common Strength and Power of the Nation greatly advanc'd.

These Goods are used in wearing Apparel and Houshold Furniture, and made of Wooll, Flax, Silk, Cotton, or mix'd; as Silk and Woollen.

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Woollen, Linnen and Woollen, Silk and Linnen, Silk and Cotton, Linnen and Cotton, &c. As Hemp is used for the most Part in Sail-Duck and Cordage, Manufactures that employ but few Hands in Comparison of these others, which if properly improved and taken Care of, are sufficient to employ all our Hands that can be spared from more necessary Labour; I shall pass it, and take a short View of the present State of these other Manusactures in this Nation.

If this Island of Great Britain may be considered, as it is now united in all its Parts. and inhabited by a People speaking the same Language, (a few in the Highlands of Scotland and Wales excepted) all govern'd by the same Laws, which secure to them equally their Properties, Liberties, civil and facred Rights; and all subject to the same Rates and Taxes, impos'd on them by their own Consent in Parliament, for their common Defence and Security, the whole making one People under one Government, bound by all the Ties of Society, that form and constitute one Common-wealth; Britain, I fay, in this Respect may now be justly said to be but one Nation, wherein all these Manufactures have been long fince introduced, and are now carried on amongst us, but with very different Success.

The Woollen Manufacture in all its Branches is already improv'd to the greatest Per-B 2 fection. fection, and sufficiently extended to answer all Demands for Exportation, as well as the

Home Confumption.

The Manufacture of Silken Goods has been long ago introduced; and fince those Goods are become of more universal Use, especially for Men's Wear as well as Women's, (to the great Prejudice of the Woollen Trade) it is very much improv'd and extended; but not hitherto sufficient to answer all our Demands for Home Consumption. The Manusactures of Cotton Goods, and of mix'd Goods, are sufficiently improv'd and extended, to answer the Demands for them, both from Abroad and at Home.

These Manufactures have been thus improv'd, and are now carried on in feveral Towns and Counties of England only; and possibly the Inhabitants of those Parts where they are so carried on, may be sufficient for the Purpose; as People always multiply and increase where comfortable Bread is to be earned for Labour; and in those Kinds of Manufacture, even the Children, by the Time they are fix or seven Years of Age, are capable of doing so much, at some one Branch or other of the Business, as to defray the Expence of their own Maintenance and Education, at least to fave to their Parents the greatest part of that Charge. These, by their early Application to Labour, under the Direction of a good Master, make the best and the most skilful Workmen; and by their early Habitudes in working, are likewise the most diligent and laborious. It is by their Means, that those Places (where any Kind of Manufacture is once so far establish'd) acquire in a great Measure a Monopoly in the Trade, as being able, by the Goodness and Cheapness of the Commodity, to undersell those who are not so well stock'd with sufficient and industrious Workmen.

The Manufacture of Linnen Goods has likewise been attempted at different Times and Places in England, but with small Success, as it never was push'd with Vigour, or cherish'd with proper Care and Encouragement from the Publick. The Reason of this Indifference may possibly flow from an Apprehension, that a Manufacture of this Kind might have interfered with their great Staple, the Woollen Trade, that principal Source of their private and publick Wealth, and national Power; and that they were ferved with that Commodity by other Nations, who took from them Woollen Goods to a much higher Value, whereby they were greater Gainers by this Exchange in the Course of Trade, than if they had ferved themselves with that Commodity of their own Manufacture.

If the Wealth and Strength of a Nation (which depend upon the Industry of the People) are confin'd to certain Parts and Countries of it only, and not diffused and extended o-

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ver the whole: Those Places where the Inhabitants are neglected and indulg'd in Idleness, must be greatly impoverish'd and thinned of People, which must prove a great Loss and a Weakening of the whole, and in some Events may endanger the publick Safety, and Security of the whole. But when the People are, in every Corner of a Nation. employ'd in profitable Labour, and a different Kind of Business carried on in different Shires and Places, then Manufactures and handicraft Employments of every Kind, are improv'd to Perfection, and carried on with Success; an Inland Intercourse and Commerce is establishid, and all the Parts of the Nation have an useful and necessary Dependance upon one another, and are all capable to bear an equal as well as a proportional Share of the publick Burthens, for the common Support and Security of the whole.

When a Nation arrives at the perfect Knowledge and Skill in the making and finishing for Sale, any one Commodity of universal Use, that may be sold to Account in large Quantities at foreign Markets, as well as at Home, such a Manufacture proves a mighty Source of private and publick Wealth, and of national Strength and Power. Per-Ions of all Ranks and Conditions feel the Benefit of it, foreign Trade and Navigation are greatly increased by it, and in some Measure must always depend upon it; Numbers of

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poor, that must otherwise have been a Burthen upon the Publick, become most useful and serviceable to the Publick; as they are profitably employed, and well able to maintain themselves and their Families by their own Labour, and capable of bearing fome Share of the publick Burthens. Such a Manufacture is like the great Water-Wheel, that gives Motion to the whole Machine. and fets all its Parts a going; for many various Ways of living, that are in Appearance independent of it, do nevertheless owe their very Being to it; and under the Favour of the Wealth that is acquir'd by it, and the foreign Correspondence and Commerce, and Inland Traffick and Circulation, that are establish'd, carried on, and supported by it; many other Branches, and useful Manufactures of leffer Moment, may be, and generally are introduc'd and improv'd to Perfection.

When the right and proper Knowledge, and best Way of working, of any Manufacture, is once so thoroughly understood, that the Commodity is made perfectly good of its Kind; and all its Parts (if it confifts of divers) feverally wrought and carried on by different Hands, with fuch Dexterity and Expedition, as it may be fold at reasonable Rates; the Manufacture will always extend it self in Proportion to the Demand for it.

Every prudent Administration lays the Foundation of the Wealth of its People, and Strength

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Strength of its Government, upon some Staple Manufacture that may be fufficient to employ its People, and to raise a Stock for Exportation, to answer its Demands from foreign Parts; but no State can possibly secure to it felf a Monopoly in any Manufacture for ever; and therefore no wife Nation will ever trust absolutely to their Staple Manufacture, be their Advantages in the making of it ever so great. But while their foreign Trade and inland Commerce flourishes, and their national Wealth and Strength is increased, under the Favour of their Staple Manufacture, wherein they excel other Nations; these golden Opportunities will be improv'd, in bringing in, and carrying on to Perfection the Knowledge of making and finishing several other useful Commodities, wherewith they are served from other Nations, thereby to lessen by Degrees their Demands upon these Countries, who may have acquired the greatest Skill in that particular Manufacture; and when the State of their Trade with those Parts shall make it necessary, they will extend that Manufacture, in order to supply not only the whole Home Confumption, but also to rival them who formerly excelled in it, in the Sale of it at foreign Markets.

The Prosperity or Decay of a Nation, depends much upon the Capacity, Vigilance, and Disposition of its Governours. In absolute Monarchies, where lawless Will is

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the Rule of Government, the People are commonly few and miserable; for neither Trade, Manufactures, or any Branch of Business beneficial to Mankind, can possibly thrive or prosper, where the Possession of

Property is precarious.

Free States have, in this Respect, great and manifold Advantages; where the Properties of the Subject are secured, Justice administer'd, and the People protected and defended in the free Exercise and Enjoyment of their civil and facred Rights, by fix'd Laws and Rules of Life, univerfally known and understood; for thereby Industry and Diligence is encouraged, and oppress'd For reigners allured and invited to partake of the Blessings of civil Liberty. Nevertheless. an absolute Prince, of an extensive and manly Genius, who is neither afraid nor jealous of his Subjects, although they are both rich and numerous \*; or a tractable Prince. who has the Happiness to entrust the Management of publick Affairs to an able Ministry; may be prevail'd on to dispense with the arbitrary Exercise of his Power in many Particulars, for the Encouragement of Trade and Manufactures; thereby to advance his own Prowess and Grandeur, by the Increase of the Wealth and Numbers of his People. But as those common Means, that enrich and strengthen

<sup>\*</sup> The Linnen Manufacture was established in France by King Henry IV. and the Manufacture of Broad-Cloth, in the Reign of Lewis XIV.

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rements founded upon a precarious Bottom, so does the Building always stand upon a tottering Foundation; for a Fabrick of this Kind, that may have cost the Work of Ages to rear it up, may, by the Caprice or Bigotry of a weak Prince, be entirely destroy'd in one Reign; prevertheless, no free State ought to trust to Accidents of this kind in their Favours.

Under arbitrary Governments, Exemptions from Duties may be unduly acquired, by a selfish Minister or corrupt Favourite, which make Inequalities in Trade very prejudicial to the trading Interest of a Country; the Improvement of Land may be likewife difcouraged, where no fixed Rate is by Law established for the levying of a Land-Tax: and particular Manufacturers and Traders may, by the Means of such like arbitrary Meafures, be so much discouraged, as to give over their Business, or to leave their native Country to follow it elsewhere, when they find it impracticable for them to carry it on with Profit at Home. But scarce any Instance can be given, that ever a Prince, even under the Influence of the worst Advice.

† The Trade and Manufactures of the Netherlands were destroyed, and the Traders and Manufacturers dispers'd and banish'd by Philip II. and the best Tradesmen and Manufacturers of France of divers Kinds, were banished by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and carried with them the Knowledge of their Business to other Countries.

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did banish Multitudes of People at once, or force them by the Severity of Persecution to save their Lives by Exile; except where the Power of the Clergy was greater than the Power of the civil Government, and a whole Nation oblig'd, by the Iniquity of the Times, to submit to the blind Zeal, relentless Cruelty and Pride of its Spiritual Guides.

Although this enormous Power in the Clergy still remains in many Countries of Europe, yet are Mankind in this Respect. much wifer in these our Days, than in former Times; their ambitious Projects are now-a-days very little regarded, especially when they interfere with the common Interests of a Nation, or the publick Concerns of the State: Their Curses are despised by Princes and Men of Sense, even of their own Perswasion, and not very frightful to the common People; they may govern Men of weak Minds, but their Influence is but small in national Councils. Therefore ought every Nation, where the Protestant Religion prevails, wifely to improve the Advantages it affords, in allowing but few Hollidays, and Times for Idleness and Riot, in the People. This of it felf, cateris paribus, is sufficient to enable the Subjects of Protestant Countries to underfell those of the Popilo Perswafion, in every manufactured Commodity.

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The best Tradesmen, or the most skilful Artists, may be prevailed on to leave their own Country (though a free one) to settle in foreign Parts, even where the Government is arbitrary, upon their own Terms; and, if Faith is kept with them, by the Means of private Monopolies, particular Exemptions, and personal Indulgences, they may be determined to fix the Residence of themselves and Families, and to promote and dissuff the Skill and Knowledge of their Profession.

Every Country is Master of its own Municipal Laws, and National Oeconomy: And, when a State intends to set up any Manufacture formerly unknown in their Country, to surnish themselves with any one Commodity of their own making, the Importation of those Kinds of Goods they intend to make themselves may be prohibited, or such heavy Duties laid upon them, as they cannot possibly be sold so long as any of their own making are to be got.

By fuch a Regulation, their People may be obliged to pay extravagant Prices for their own Manufactures, until the Makers, by the Increase of skilful and diligent Workmen, shall be capable to sell their Goods at reasonable Rates. Thus may a Manusacture of any Kind, by these and such like Means, be introduced, improved, and extended, in any Country whatever; nor can the wisest

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Administration possibly hinder it: But the Loss that may thence arise to the Country that was formerly posses'd of the Manusacture, in the Course of its Trade, may be

prevented by proper Reprizals.

It is the Duty of every Administration to watch carefully over the Conduct of neighbouring Powers, as well as to preserve the Peace at Home, by punishing of Disorders, and by discouraging of Faction, Parties, and Seditious Practices, which are the greatest, if not the only Bane of Free States; and to render Government easy and agreeable at Home, and desirable to industrious Foreigners, by mild Measures, and by a just, impartial, and equitable Management in all their

Proceedings. By a careful Observation of the Measures of foreign States, timely Provision may be made to prevent and anticipate the Dangers of foreign War; in being sufficiently furnished and provided with the only Argument that can prevail upon ambitious Princes to be quiet, viz. a Capacity and Readiness to repel Force by Force: Which is the only fure Way either to preserve, or to procure an advantageous and honourable Peace. And when any of our Manufactures are set up in foreign Parts, then ought we to set on Foot the Manufacture of such Commodities, as we are wont to buy from those, or other foreign Countries, and to improve and extend them by every Means and Way in our Power, thereby to preserve the Balance of Trade in our own Favours \*.

In the rudest Times, when War was managed by the Militia and Trained Bands, or by Commissions of Array, whereby all the Subjects without Distinction, were obliged to arm, as Occasion and Necessity required: even in those Times, when almost all our Lands were held by military Tenures, England turned its Thoughts upon Manufacture, thereby to increase the Wealth and Numbers of its People, by employing all the Hands that could be spared from the Sword and Plough, in useful Labour, which though less necessary, prov'd nevertheless to be more beneficial to the Nation.

They wisely began with the Manufacture of those Materials, which had been the greatest Support of their foreign Trade and Navigation, even when they were exported in Kind; and which were the best Source they had for raising of publick Taxes at the Expence of those Foreigners, who then manufactured the Commodity. As they were possessed of the Materials in great Plenty, they easily foresaw, that the Manusacture of them would prove a fufficient Fund of Bufiness

\*By the 1st of K. Richard III. a Law was made for the Improvement of Woollen Goods, and afcertaining the Sufficiency of the Commodity before exposed to Sale: And likewise for restraining the Importation from Foreign Parts, of those Kinds of Manufactures that were made at Home.

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finess for employing all their spare Hands for Ages to come; and as the Manufacture was improv'd and extended, it could not fail to answer all the valuable Ends and national Purposes of a national Staple Com-

modity.\*

Under Favour of the gradual Progress that was made in the Woollen Manufactury from this early Beginning, in the Reign of Edward III. to the Time of Queen Elizabeth, England, by the Accession of the skilful and wealthy Manufacturers of the Netherlands, became at last the sole Mistress of the Woollen Trade in all its Parts and Branches. It continued to be fo for many Ages, and (notwithstanding the interfering of other Nations in some Branches of that Trade) yet in many Respects, it may still be said to be

The private and publick Wealth of England was so much increased by these Manufactures, directly; and by the Influence they had upon Navigation, foreign Trade, and inland Commerce; and upon the private Fortunes of Persons of all Ranks, as well as the particular Dealers; that the Appearance furpriz'd all Europe upon the first Occasion the Nation had to exert itself.

In this very Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Nation was threaten'd to have been swallowed up by the mighty Power of Spain,

See pag. 14, 15.

and an Armament provided for the Purpose, the greatest that ever was known; an Armament so great, that it exhausted the Riches of that wealthy Monarchy, and occasioned the mortgaging of its Funds, and funk its Credit for Ages; and reduc'd its Power, (that had been for some time terrible to its Neighbours) within due Bounds. This Invasion was likewise favoured by a powerful Popilo Faction at Home, making its last Struggle to regain its lost Power to inslave and oppress Mankind: But to such a Height had the Power of England arrived by that Time, by the Extension of its Trade and Manufactures, and so firm was the Spirit of the Nation in the Defence of its Liberty, that (during the short Time they had to prepare for their Defence, after they had certain Notice that this mighty Storm that had been so long a gathering, was to break upon them;) they had a Naval Force equipp'd and ready to meet them at Sea, and a Land Army sufficient to have encounter'd them on Shore, although the Prince of Parma had joined them; and so great was the National Wealth of England at this Period, that more Money was granted by the People in Parliament for this Service, than was sufficient for the Purpose.

Foreign Conquest, especially in Point of Trade and Manusacture, is no less dangerous to the Conquerors themselves, than to those (25)

who are subdued by them. Conquest cannot be maintain'd without a military Force, and that too a powerful one; which may some Time or other fall under the Direction of a single Person, who will employ it to reduce the whole, viz. Conquerors, as well as Conquer'd, without Distinction, to the same State of absolute and passive Submission to his own arbitrary Commands.

England express'd an early Sense of this, by its Jealousy of increasing the Power of the Crown that Way: This was apparent from its flat Denials on several Occasions, to assist its Kings in their foreign Wars; and at last they were convinced too, that disadvantageous foreign Conquests were rather a weakening of themselves, than any Accession of Strength or Power; as the Preservation of them put them often to an Expence both of Men and Money, without any suitable Returns. But,

From this happy Commencement of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, England steadily pursued Measures, agreeable to its real Interest; the Thoughts of Conquest were intirely laid aside, and that incomparable Administration fell in with the universal Bent and Disposition of the Nation, to increase Trade and Navigation by the Means of sorieign Colonies, and the Improvement and Extension of Home Manusactures.

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The Conquest of Scotland had been oftenin vain attempted at the Expence of much Blood and Treasure: \* But in this Reign England had a probable and a near View of shutting

\* Edward I. was an ambitious Prince, of a great and masterly Genius, possess'd of all the Qualities of a Conqueror and a Tyrant. By Fraud and Force he reduc'd Wales to his Obedience, and with all his Crast, Skill, and Might, improved the most favourable Opportunity that ever a Prince or Nation had to subdue a neighbouring State,

to conquer Scotland.

We had no Head, and our Country was much divided on Account of a disputed Succession: This determin'd the States of the Kingdom to oblige all the Pretenders to the Crown to submit the final Decision of their Claims to the King of England; who betray'd his Truft, and infifted, That Scotland should refign its Independency, and hold the Crown as a Fief of England. This was agreed to by the Competitors, at least by such of them as were most likely to fucceed by the King's Favour, and also by many of the Earls, and some of the most powerful of the Nobility, who were misled by fair Promises and plausible Pretences, of having their Power and Influence in their own Country enlarged; when an Appeal was to lie (at the Suit of any private Nobleman, against this nominal and vassal King that was to be placed over them ) to the King of England's Tribunal. But the Body of the People, and many of the Chiefs and Barons, spurn'd at the Thoughts of giving up their Liberties, and Independency of their Country.

King Edward foreseeing the Difficulties that lay in his Way, had a powerful Army in Readiness to invade us; whilst we were altogether unprepared, and in our publick Councils and national Resolutions greatly divided and broke to Pieces: But when Men are inspired with a just and true Spirit of Liberty, they are soon brought to despife Danger and to conquer, as well as to encounter the greatest Diffi-

culties

The Conquest of Scotland, in this Situation, was thought an easy Task; and upon this plausible Pretence

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shutting up this disagreeable and fruitless Scene of Strife and Contention with its nearest Neighbour for ever, and wisely D 2 paved

of becoming Master of the whole Island, was England engaged to prosecute the War with all its Power and Vigour; whilst the King's Design seemed to be no other than to reduce Scotland to a State of Obedience and absolute Dependency upon himself and his Successors; thereby to vest in the Crown of England an absolute and a despotick

Power.

Scotland was, by this long and bloody War, reduced to the last Extremity of Misery and Depopulation; but the Men we had were good and true, inur'd to Hardships, Toil and Danger, practifed in War, and determin'd to live free, or not to live at all. Their fix'd Purpose was to rescue their Country from the Oppression of a Foreign Yoke, and from native Traytors, who had basely given up its Rights; and to leave their Posterity in the same State of Freedom and Independency which had been transmitted to them by their Fathers, or to die in the Attempt like Freemen, in the glorious Cause of Liberty \*. England too was much wasted and reduced by this War, and the unjust Pretensions and persidious Designs of its Kings Edward I. H. and III. were at last bassled and deseated.

Had King Edward succeeded in his Design of a Conquest of Scotland, England had (probably) been reduc'd to a State of Servitude, and kept low by maintaining the Conquest of Scotland; where a powerful Army must always

\* See an orignal Copy of the Letter that was wrote to the People by the Chiefs of Scotland in the Reign of King Edward II. amonght the Archives in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh; wherein is an Expression to this Purpose; It is vain for the King of England to hope for a Conquest over us; He may extirpate us, but never can enslave us, &c. We have acknowledg'd and declar'd Robert Bruce to be our King, because his worthy Deeds deserve a Crown: But should he alter his Proceedings, and give up the Independency of the Crown, as John Baliol did, we will expel him, as we did Baliol, &c.

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paved the Way to a thorough Reconciliation, firm Peace, and lasting Amity, by Acts of Kindness and friendly Negotiations.

As the Plan of Government was in both Nations laid upon the same Foundation; so did they differ, almost as little from one another in the original Constitution of their Laws, national Customs and Practice, as they did in Language.\* This made the Union of the Crown, by the Accession of a Prince of our Royal Family to the Government of England easy and agreeable to both, and render'd an incorporating Union very practicable, when both Nations, from a just Sense of their real Interest, should be ripe

have been kept on Foot, not only to prevent a Revolt there, but also to secure the Obedience of the People of England to an arbitrary and despotick Power. France became not long after this Period, great and powerful, not by Conquest, but by the Union of several Provinces to France, not by any Constraint, but of Consent; and it's not unlikely, that we had been long since a Province to France. If England in that Event, had been in a better Situation, its Condition must have been at best low and precarious at this Day: Such are the happy Fruits of Conquest, that Idol of Vanity and Ambition, set up by crasty Princes, to be admired by the unthinking Multitude, until a Yoke of Servitude is wreathed about their Necks.

\* Our Books of Regium Majestatem, and Glanvile, are so nearly the same, that they appear to be Transcripts of one and the same Collection and Body of Laws, made by different Hands. These (in a great Measure still are, and) formerly were our only Law, before the Knowledge and Practice of the Civil Law was introduced amongst us,

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for it. Happy had it been for both, if this Union had followed close upon the Back of the other, especially for us; because the Power of the two Nations severally, was at that Time much nearer to an Equality, than it proved to be some Ages after, when the

Union at last took Effect.

England may date its real Greatness, and absolute Security from this Æra of the Union of the Two Crowns; whereby it was not only reliev'd from Inroads and Depredations on the Border, and from an immense Expence of Men and Treasure, in maintaining almost a continual and a bootless War with Scotland: But instead thereof, an inveterate, and 'England's most troublesome Foe, become its firm Friend and Ally. Since that Time we have supplied the Navy of England with Numbers of good Sailors, and strengthened their Armies with a considerable Body of good Troops, as Occasion required: Many great Works in England, that require hard Labour, such as the Newcastle Coal-works, are likewise carried on by Numbers of Labourers from our Country; and many working Tradesmen, such as Journeymen-Taylors, Shoemakers, Gardiners Servants, and the like, leave us daily, and marry and settle in England. All these are bred up at our Expence, until they arrive at Man's Estate, and then England reaps the Benefit of their Service and Labour; and thereby (30)

thereby also saves at Home so many of its own Men for the beneficial Purposes of Manufacture.

The good Effects of the Union of the Crowns, as well as the Union itself, were prevented by the popular Disorders and State Convulsions in the succeeding Reign; when under Pretence of Prerogative, the Liberties of both Nations were invaded, and their Laws violated and dispensed with. This, amongst other bad Consequences, had this fatal Effect, that the mutual Trust and Considence of the King and People reciprocally in one another, upon which alone the Happiness and Security of both depends, was utterly destroy'd.

When these arbitrary Measures could be no longer carried on at the Expence of the Crown Revenues, and by the Means of several illegal and unprecedented Exactions and Contributions that had been levied from the People, without their own Consent in Parliament, the King was at last in a great Measure constrained to meet his People in Parliament; and then the national and popular Distrust and Jealoufy of the King appeared in most frightful Colours. No Propositions on the part of the Crown could be liften'd to, until such Concessions were made, and Security for the Performance granted, as might effectually put the Peoples Liberties beyond the least Apprehension of Danger for the future.

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The Demands of the Commons were so high and peremptory, that it is not to be wondred at, if they were not so readily agreed to, by a Prince sull of Title, who had been from his Infancy poisoned by Sycophants and prostitute Prelates, with false Notions of Prerogative, and an indefeasible Right to

despotick Power.

When such like unhappy Differences had fallen out between the Kings and their People of these Nations, in former Times, the Strength of the popular Side prov'd always too many for the Power and Influence of the Crown; and the Dispute generally issued in proper Concessions from the Crown, and declaratory Laws for the People's Security: But at this time Matters were carried to Extremity, and the Nation hastily involved in a most cruel and bloody civil War, which was carried on with fo much Violence and Indifcretion on both Sides, that when Concessions were made on the part of the Crown, greater than had been at first demanded, or had ever been thought necessary by Men of sober Sense; the People had it not in their Power to agree to them: For by that Time their Army was become Master, and fully sensible of its own Power and Influence; and those who had rivetted themselves in the Direction of it, obliged both Nations to bend their Necks under the fevere and oppressive Yoke of a military Government.

England,

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England, (no doubt) fuffered greatly by this Civil War: But Scotland nationally may

be faid to have been undone by it.

Our Historians say, that the Scots, on some Occasions, can hardly bear the gentle Reins of civil Government patiently; and are absolutely incapable of Oppression. As we were less tractable than our Neighbours to the Southward, we continued to struggle against the Torrent of military Power with more Spirit and Firmness than Discretion, until the Estates of many of our noble Families were wasted, and themselves kill'd or made Prisoners; and our Trade, and our Fisheries and Manusactures that support it, utterly destroy'd by the Slaughter and Pillage of the Dealers and Masters who carried them on.

After the Constitution was restored upon the old Foundation, and somewhat improv'd, which happened soon after the
Usurper's Death, England wisely pursued
its former Maxims of cherishing its Trade
and Manusactures; and even during the Usurpation, what England suffered by the Calamities of Civil War at Home, was in Part
made good to its foreign Settlements, which
were much strengthened and increased, by
the Transportation of Numbers of industrious
People, who had the Missortune to be obnoxious to the prevailing Power. But our
national Affairs have been ever since so much

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neglected, that we have not recovered of the Wounds we then received to this Day.

From the Time that England became sensible of the Folly of making, or maintaining of Conquests on the Continent, and was entirely deliver'd from the Expence and direful Effects of War within this Island; the natural Advantages of its happy Situation have been wisely improv'd, in securing its Freedom and Liberties at Home by good Laws; and its Independency from Conquest or Invasion from Abroad, by the Increase of the Wealth and Numbers of its People, which is a natural Effect of Liberty.

England is now no farther concern'd in foreign Wars, than is necessary for the Prefervation of such an Equilibrium of Power amongst foreign States, as that none of them may be capable (by extending its Dominion over its nearest Neighbours) to hurt us, or those free States our Allies, whose Policy and National Conduct is founded upon the same Maxims with ours.

Our foreign Trade and Navigation, do indeed oblige us to be always at the Expence of a Naval Force, to secure it from Insults in every Part of the known World: And the Sasety, as well as the Dignity of so great a Nation, requires often an Appearance of Naval Power sufficient to convince Mankind, that as no other Nation now has, or possibly can have, so great and so

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many natural and acquired Advantages in Navigation as this Island, and the Islands thereto belonging have, so no other Nation can possibly rival us in that Way.

England, by this Conduct, is become a mighty Eye-fore to those Powers, that aim at a universal Monarchy; whose best concerted Projects for Empire and universal Dominion, have been often controul'd and defeated by Great Britain and its Allies.

The greatest Powers of Europe know from Experience, that England, in its present Situation at Home, and with Regard to its natural Friendships and Alliances with those States, who, like us, aim at no Extent of Dominion, is not to be dealt with by open Force. Those Nations who owe their Freedom and Independency to us, must, in their Turn, assist and support us in time of Need, for their own Sakes.

Both Nations, by the Union of the Crowns, became so far one, that the Power of both was united in the common Defence of both against all foreign Invaders: But the late happy Revolution, and that excellent Law, or rather national Constitution, which we owe to the Revolution, called with us the Claim of Right, in England, the Bill of Rights, is so absolute a Security of the Rights and Liberties of the People, that every Individual, who has the similar Sense of the Blessings of civil Liberty,

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berty, must exert himself, ut pro aris & focis, as both do obviously depend upon it, to defeat every Attempt that shall be made to endanger or infringe it, either from Abroad, or by Factions or popular Disorders and Consusions at Home.

Hitherto the Advantages of the Union feem not to be fully understood; but when these shall be properly applied and sully improv'd, this Island, by the Industry and Unanimity of its Inhabitants, may arrive at so high a Pitch of national Strength and Power, as to be capable of itself, without any foreign Aid, to support itself by a defensive War, against any Power, or Combination of Powers, who shall have the Indiscretion to attack us.

We have, upon urgent Occasions, preferved the Liberties of other Nations, and secured our own, by stopping the greatest and the most ambitious Power on the Continent in its Progress by Conquest to universal Empire; and are thereby become the chief Object of its Resentment, as we are the greatest Obstacle to its exorbitant Power. Its unsuccessful Attempts to invade us, may possibly have determined its Administration to raise its national Power another Way, not by Conquest only, but by the same Means that had been used in England with Success. Foreign Trade and Navigation had been there early set on Foot,

carried on, and encouraged in the same Manner that is practifed by Trading Nations. viz. Foreign Settlements, Home Manufactures, and by Fisheries; both upon its own Coasts, and in remote and distant Seas; and at last it attempted to rival England in what they justly apprehended to have been the principal Source of the national Wealth and Power of England, the Woollen Manufacture; intending by those various Means that raise the Power of free States, to increase the Wealth and Numbers of its own Subjects, and thereby to carry on its ambitious Defigns with Effect; as the People, as well as their Properties, are in the Power, and at the Devotion of the Crown.

To fay how far this Attempt has succeeded, is not to the present Purpose; but it is most certain, that so far as any Country, that was formerly served in whole or in part with Woollen Goods from England, is now served with those Goods of its own making, so far must the Consumption of English Woollen Goods be diminished; but the Loss that England must have suffered in its Trade thereby, was happily prevented another Way.

The Manufactures of almost every Commodity used in Life, had been, under the Favour of the Woollen Trade, and the flourishing State that *England* was thereby brought to, introduced, and were going on (37)

and improving with some Success; but soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. they were improved to Perfection, and greatly extended, by the Accession of Numbers of good and skilful Workmen from the Continent. It was natural for People who were forced from their own Homes by the Severity of Persecution and Oppression, to fly for Protection to a free Country ther was govern'd by Laws; to a Country where Induftry was encouraged by an absolute Security of Property; and where Liberty of Conscience, as well as the civil and religious Rights and Liberties of the Subject, was established by Law; to a Country where their Business was already understood, and which had been served with Goods of their making to a great Value, from those very Parts whence they had been most inhumanly driven. This England owes to the Freedom of its Government, and the Excellency of its Laws: To these it owes the Improvement and Extension of the Silken Trade; the present State of the Manufactures of Hats, Hose, Cotton Goods, Mohair, Ironmongers and Cutlery Ware, Watches, the Toy Trade, and all the Branches of Hard Ware, Mirror and other Glasses of all kinds, and of many other Manufactures of lesser Note, are all owing to the Excellency of our Constitution. For all these have been introduced, fully improv'd, and extended, without

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without any Expence to the Publick; and the Loss that England might have suffered in Trade, by the Establishment of the Woollen Manusactures in a neighbouring Country on the Continent, was thereby prevented.

The natural and acquired Advantages that England has in the Woollen Trade, must always give it a Preference to other Nations, in the Sale of Woollen Goods at foreign Markets: But where the Manusacture of any Branch of the Woollen Trade, is set up and carried on by the Force of publick Encouragement, and by other Means that are in the Power of every independent State to put in Practice; in so far as any Country formerly served with English Woollens, is able to serve itself with those Commodities of its own Manusacture, so far must the English Woollen Manusactures be daily impair'd, in proportion, as these increase.

Great Britain, Ireland, and the Plantations, are now served with every manufactur'd Commodity of their own making, except Linnen, and a few Goods from India and China, such as Porcelane and Muslins.

Linnen is a Commodity of universal Use, and the Consumption of Linnen Goods of every kind, in wearing Apparel for Men and Women, and for Houshold Furniture, is near equal in Value to that of Woollen Goods. So long as England exported Woollen

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len Goods, to those Countries that serve it and its Plantations with Linnen, to a greater Value than the Commodities we had from them; so long was England a Gainer by its Trade to those Parts: But if the Manufacture of feveral Kinds of Woollen Goods, is now fet up, and improving and extending by the Means of Encouragement from the Publick; and by the Imposition of heavy Duties upon foreign Woollen Goods in those Parts; while our Demands for their Manufactures continue to be the same, then must the Balance of Trade be daily growing in their Favours against us. If this is the Case, then ought we to cure this growing Evil by any Means in our Power.

The various Manufactures that are now carried on in many Towns and Countries of England, may possibly be sufficient to employ all the spare Hands in those Parts, to such a Degree, that the Linnen Manufacture, although it was introduced and understood, as it is not, could not be there carried on to such an Extent, as to serve the Consumption of England and its Plantations, without a very great Increase of People: For those who have been bred to other Business, cannot if they would, work to Purpose in any other Manufacture, to which they have not been bred; and it would

would be rather a Loss than any Advantage to the Nation, to divert so many Hands from those profitable Employments so long as there is a Demand for these Commodities. But in Scotland half the People are in a Manner idle.

And I believe it will be admitted, that we have even at this Time a sufficient Number of People to carry on the Linnen Manufacture to a great Extent; and that we already in Part have, and by the Help of proper Encouragement from the Publick. may have, every natural and acquired Advantage that is necessary for the Support of so extensive a Manufacture; and that the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, (for the Northern Counties of England, where no Branch of the Woollen Trade is carried on, have already begun to profit by our Improvements, and who cannot fail to reap as much Benefit from our Improvements in the Linnen Trade as we do ourselves) I say, the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, may foon be capable to carry on the Linnen Trade to a sufficient Extent to ferve the whole Confumption of Britain and the Plantations; the Advantages whereof to the Nation, with Regard to Trade, and to publick and private Wealth, are felf-evident and obvious.

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Great Judgment, Circumspection, and Forecast is required in forming of a Design. and in laying of the first Plan of a Manufacture, that is intended to answer all the Ends of a national Staple Commodity. If the Materials are foreign, and in the Possession of one Country, the Manufacture must be always upon a precarious Footing; for in the Event of a War, or a Prohibition of Commerce with that Country, the Materials behooved to be purchas'd at Second Hands, and at so high Rates, that the Manufacture could not be carried on with Profit. And in Case that Country should set up the Manufacture of these Materials themselves, that natural Advantage of being the fole Masters of the Materials, would énable them to undersell other Nations in that Commodity \*...

If the Materials are entirely foreign, yet if they are to be got in several Nations, diffant and remote from one another, as the

This is the Case with England and France, with Regard to the Manufacture of their first Superfine Broad-Cloths, which are all made of Spanish Wooll. This Branch of the Woollen Trade makes a glaring Appearance in the Eyes of Gentlemen, who have entred no deeper into the Consideration of it, than the Cloaths they wear themselves; but in Reality this Branch of the Business bears not so great a Proportion in Value to all the other Kinds of English Woollen Goods, and is for the most Part used for the Home Consumption:

Materials for Silken Goods are, then the Manufacture may be carried on with great Security, without a Possibility of suffering for Want of Materials on any Event; especially by a trading Nation, who might be obliged in the Course of their Trade, to import the Materials in Exchange for other Goods, although they did not manufacture them themselves, but were obliged to reexport them to other Countries.

If the Materials are partly our own, and partly foreign, as Cotton, Iron, Copper, Brass, and many others are, then the Manufactures may in the same Manner be carried on with great Safety, without the least Apprehension of Loss or Inconveniency at any Time for Want of Materials.

If the Materials are entirely our own, and better of their Kinds than these Materials of the Product of other Nations are, then this natural Advantage enables us to get the better of other Nations in the Sale of the Manusacture at foreign Markets; for although these Materials of our own Product might be exported to foreign Parts, in Spite of all the prohibitory and penal Laws that can be contrived to hinder it, yet Foreigners under all these Inconveniencies, must purchase our Materials so much dearer than our own Manusacturers do, that we must still have a great Advantage over them in the Trade. This is

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our Case with regard to every Branch of the Woollen Manusacture, except Spanish Superfines.

If the Manufacture propos'd to be introduc'd and establish'd, is not at all underftood, which was the Case of Ireland with regard to the Linnen Manufacture at the Revolution, then the Publick must be put to: a very great Expence, to bring over upon high Encouragement skilful Workmen from foreign Parts, to instruct our People in the Knowledge of the Manufacture in all its Parts: and the Nation (should it encourage. the Manufacture by laying of Prohibitions or high Duties on the same Kinds of Goods from foreign Parts) must also suffer by the Manufacture, perhaps for Ages, until their own Manufacturers are capable, (by being fufficiently stock'd with good Workmen) to fell the Commodity as cheap as it can be furnish'd from foreign Parts; or that Loss must be made good to the Manusacturers out of some publick Fund, if they are to sell their Goods as cheap as Foreigners do, although by reason of the high Wages paid to foreign Artificers, and other Inconveniencies that every Manufacture labours under in its Infancy, they cost themselves much more Money than they can get for them: But happy it is for Great Britain, in the present Situation of its Trade, That

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The Linnen Manufacture in the North labours under none of these Difficulties or Disadvantages; the Manusacturer can upon no Event be at a Loss for Want of Materials to carry on his Business, nor the Dealer brought under any great Inconveniency by having the Commodity lying as a dead Stock upon his Hand for Want of a Vent for it in foreign Parts; and the Manufacture of this Commodity, fo indispensably necessary, and fo universally used, that is of so great Importance for this Island to be served with it of its own making, may be improved and extended without any Expence to the Publick, or present Loss to the Nation, other than the Countenance and Care of the Publick, to fecure and guard it from Frauds and Abuses, by a rigorous Execution of good Laws from Time to Time concerted, as Ocfion requires, and to put it upon the fame Footing with other Manufactures of the like Value and Importance to the Nation.

As to the first, the Materials at present are partly our own, and partly foreign; and if we pursue the Scent we are now upon, of dissuing the Knowledge of the best Method of preparing our Grounds for raising of Flax, and of preparing, managing, and dressing our own Flax for the Manusacture, we shall soon be capable to supply the Manusaction of every Kind of Linnen Goods with Flax

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of our own Growth. Every Kind of Linnen Goods is now made of Flax of our own raising, except Cambrick, and our finest Linnen for Shirting, above Two Thousand in the Reed Yard Wide; and when the best Method of raising, managing, and dressing of Flax shall be universally understood by our Farmers, we shall be Masters of the Materials of our own Product, sit for every Branch of the Linnen Trade; and the Farmers will find their Account so much in raising of Flax, that they may be capable to sell it rather cheaper than it can be imported from foreign Parts.

As to the other great Loss that attends the first Establishment of a new Manusacture; this Trade was introduced and established in Scotland many Ages ago, and had it been carefully cherish'd by the Publick, it must have been in a slourishing State at this Day; but it has been wofully neglected ever since the Civil Wars in the Reign of King Charles I. and was thereby reduced to a very low Ebb; but of late, since it became (as it ought always to have been) the Object of the publick Care, it has acquired fresh Vigour, and is now improving and extending with suitable Success.

The small Funds of our own which were destined for this Purpose by the Treaty of Union, &c. but never apply'd till the Year

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1727, are no doubt too scanty to bring it to Perfection, so soon as the common Interests of both Nations require. Was it to be promoted by as large Encouragements from the Publick as the Linnen Trade of Ireland was, that might be accomplish'd in a few Years, which may be the Work of an Age; but we are going on under the Favour of the finall Encouragements we have, and may possibly arrive at the great End we have in View, even sooner than we hope for. We have already made a full Discovery of our Imperfections, Defects, and Faults, in every Part of the Trade, and we are got into the right Way to amend and cure them; every Individual is sensible that his own particular Interest, as well as the Interest of the Publick, must be promoted by the Extension of the Linnen Trade, and is ready to contribute his Assistance accordingly.

The Money that goes from England to purchase Linnen Goods in foreign Parts, must be there circulated to maintain the Poor of those Countries at England's Expence, and can never return; but should any Money go from England to maintain the Poor that are employed in the Linnen Manusacture in any Part within the Island of Great Britain, it must return by many various Channels to London, the common Mart and Centre of the Trade of Great Britain; but the Truth is, that England

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England takes more Money from us than we take from them, because the Balance of Trade betwixt us and England is against us,

and probably will ever be fo.

Every kind of Goods that are made in England, and many foreign Commodities, fuch as Turkey, Arabian, Persian, Chinese, and Indian Goods, &c. which are imported to, and pay Duties at the Port of London, are used in Scotland, while we have no Commodities that can be fold to Account in England, except our Product, which confifts of black Cattle, Sheep, coarse Wooll, Coal now and then, some Barley, Begg, and Oats, and Linnen Goods. As the Consumption of Scotch Linnen increases in England, so must our Confumption of English Goods rife in Proportion; for as our People increase, and are capable to maintain themselves by profitable Labour, our Demands for such English Goods must increase also, and must always rife in Proportion to the Increase of our Wealth and Numbers of People. So that England must be as much a Gainer by being served with Linnen Goods from Scotland, as it now fuffers by being served with those Goods from foreign Countries, who at the same time that they serve England with Linnen, serve themselves with Woollen Goods of their own Manufacture.

Whether Scotland is to be confidered as it now is, a Part of the united Kingdom of Great

Great Britain, or as it was before the Union, an independent State; it is to us the fame thing: England and the Plantations are, with regard to Trade, foreign to us; we not only take from England and the Plantations all the kinds of Goods which were imported from thence before the Union; but also many other Commodities of various Kinds, which were before the Union imported from the United Provinces, and other foreign Parts, are now imported from thence only; whereby England is so far a Gainer in its Trade by the Union. We have no manufactured Commodity, which we can fell in any confiderable Quantities to Account in foreign Parts, but Linnen; therefore the Linnen Trade evidently is the only Manufacture we can carry on, which can possibly answer all the Ends of a national Staple Commodity. If the principal End of a national Manufacture is once attained, i.e. that we are capable to export Linnen Goods to fo great a Value, to those Countries upon whom we have the greatest Demands for Goods of various kinds, as shall enable us to balance these Demands, then under the Favour of the Linnen Trade, as it prospers, all the other Ends of a national Staple Commodity will be answered by Degrees, until the Balance of Trade betwixt us and foreign Nations by the Means of Industry and prositable Labour, is brought upon a Par:

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If the different Interests of every Part of the united Kingdom are severally consider'd as contributing jointly to the common Good, publick Advantage, Support and Security of the whole, then the Improvement and Extension of the Linnen Manufacture in the North, becomes a necessary Measure for the common Benefit and Advantage of the whole. The publick Wealth, Strength, and Security of every Nation depends upon the Industry and Frugality of Individuals, and in fo far as the People, or any Number of People, are wholly, or in Part indulg'd in Idleness, so far must the Common Wealth and Strength of the Nation be impair'd, and of Consequence its Security become proportionally precarious. But Numbers of People in Scotland are indulg'd in Idleness, and the Linnen Manufacture is the most probable, and the only certain way to employ them profitably; therefore the Improvement and Extension of that Manufacture must be a necessary Measure for the common Good, Advantage and Security of the united Kingdom of Great Britain.

We are tax'd in the same manner that the People of England are, and bear with them a proportional Part of every publick Burthen; but by reason of our Poverty, which is the Estect of Idleness, we at present contribute but a very small Share of the publick Expence; but as the Numbers of our People increase, and are capable to maintain themselves by prositable

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Labour, our Consumption of Provisions, and of other Commodities that are subjected to the Payment of Duties, must be increas'd also; and of Consequence the publick Revenues, (the Exceedings whereof are the principal Fund for discharging that heavy Load of Debt, that was brought upon this Nation, in securing to us the many valuable Blessings we now enjoy) must rise in Proportion to the Increase of the Wealth and Numbers of our People.

The great and good Ends proposed by the Treaty of Union, will then, and not till then, be attain'd, when every Part of the united Kingdom shall, in consequence of the publick Care (by the Means of Industry, profitable Labour, and private Oeconomy) be capable to bear an equal, as well as a proportional Share of every publick Burthen, for the common Support and Security of the whole. An universal Intercourse, inland Commerce and Correspondence, will be thereby also created, and that reciprocally useful Dependance of the two Nations severally upon one another, so absolutely necessary for the common Interest, Safety, and Security of both, must be thereby likewise established and supported.

If then the Linnen Goods that are confumed in *England* and the *Plantations*, of foreign Manufacture, exceed in Value the *English* manufacture Goods that are confum'd in those foreign Parts, where of I shall only mention one Article, as it is the most notorious.

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that England, &c. confumes annually Cambricks of the Manufacture of St. Quintin, that amount to a greater Value than all the Goods of every Kind whatever that France takes from England; and if the State of our Trade to most of the foreign Linnen Countries is not in a much better Situation, then it is evidently the Interest of England to promote the Improvement and Extension of the Linnen Manufacture in Great Britain by every Means in its Power, especially in those Parts where it may be carried on with the greatest Conveniency, without diverting the People from other Business equally beneficial to the Nation. If the Confumption of English woollen Goods is lessened, and must be daily impair'd, by the Improvements that have been made, and are still increasing in several Branches of the Woollen Trade, in divers foreign Countries; is there any other Reprifal that this Nation possibly can make, to prevent the Loss it has and must suffer in its Trade, by this Diminution of the Consumption of English woollen Goods in foreign Parts, but the Linnen? We are already ferved with all the manufacture Goods of Europe of our own making, but Linnen; and were we once capable to serve our own Confumption with Linnen Goods of every Kind, of our own Manufacture, we should turn the Balance of Trade betwixt us and every Country of the Universe in our own Favours, ex-

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cepting those Countries in Asia, which in the Merchant Stile are commonly called the East Indies; and the Loss we suffer by our Imports from them, is made good to the Nation by our Exports of those very Commodities to other Countries in Europe and America.

As for Scotland, the Linnen Manufacture is the only Way now left to us to prevent our utter Ruin, and being reduc'd to an abject State of Poverty, much worse than the Condition we are now in; the low State of our other Manufactures for Home Confumption, can only be retrieved by the Linnen Trade, which is the only Means whereby we can employ all our spare Hands profitably. All our Women (I speak of the Poor) may be employed in Spinning, and our Men in the inland Countries in some Branch of the Linnen Trade; and upon our Coasts our Men may be employed in our Fisheries. I only mention this, because I have treated of it, in a particular manner, in the last Part of a former Discourse upon the Interest and Improvements of Scotland.

In a manufacturing Country so extensive as this Island is, there might be an interfereing of Interests betwixt two Manufactures of the same Kind, carried on in different Parts of the Country, both depending, (as every Manufacture in some measure must do) upon the Countenance of, and Encouragement from the Publick; but this is not, nor ever can be, the Case with the Linnen

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Manufacture; it may be carried on with great Conveniency in Scotland, and in the North of England, with great Advantage to the Inhabitants of those Parts, and no less for the Interest of England in general, where it could not be established nor carried on without Loss, not only to the Inhabitants of those Parts where several other useful Manufactures are already established, but also to the Publick, by the Loss of these other Manufactures.

The People of the North, by reason of their Poverty, may be faid in some measure to be a Burthen upon the wealthy Inhabitants of the South; but as their Wealth and Numbers are increas'd by the means of profitable Labour, Part of that Burthen must be so far transferred, in Proportion as they, by the Increase of their Consumption of Commodities that are subjected to the Payment of Duties, bear a greater Share of it. Our Confumption of English Manufactures must likewise increase, in Proportion to the Increase of our Sales of Linnen Goods in England and the Plantations; fo that it is evident, that the People of England, and of every Part of the united Kingdom, as well as the Inhabitants of Scotland, if they feverally pursue their real Interests, ought to concur jointly in every measure that may tend to the Improvement and Extension of the Linnen Manufactures in the North; where

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where it must be admitted, there are Hands enough to carry it on to a very great Extent, if the best manner of working at every Branch of the Business was once perfectly

and univerfally understood.

Shall then a Mannfacture, so very advantageous and beneficial to the Nation, that is evidently of so great Importance to the Publick to be improved in all its Parts and Branches to Perfection, and to be extended so far as to be capable to employ all our poor and spare Hands, not be cherished and encouraged by the Publick, by every Means that are, and have been practised, by this and other Nations in like Circumstances? Or can one doubt that any Method, that shall in Reason be proposed, consistent with the general and common Good of the united Kingdom, for this End, will not meet with the Approbation of the Legislature?

The common Means used for the Encouragements of Manusactures, are, 1 th, To introduce and propagate the Knowledge of them by the Assistance of skilful Workmen, suitably encouraged for that Purpose at the Expence of the Publick. 2 dly, To relieve from the Payment of Duties, and every Burthen whatsoever, the Materials used in the Manusacture: And, 3 dly, To impose such Duties upon foreign manusactured Goods of the same Kind, as that our own may have some Advantage in the Sale of them in our own Markets.

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As to the First; Although the Linnen Manufacture was establish'd in Scotland many Ages ago, yet the perfect Skill and Knowledge of some Parts of it was but lately introduced; it is hitherto understood by very few, and cannot be diffus'd without some further Aid of the publick Funds destin'd for these Ends. We cannot hope for so great Encouragements from the Publick as were given in Ireland for the Improvement and Extension of the Linnen Manufacture in that Kingdom, because in this Respect they are absolutely their own Masters, and have most wisely beflowed from time to time, any Sum that was thought necessary for this Purpose; nevertheless we must do our best, to apply the small Funds we have in the best manner we can, to attain this End by Degrees.

I shall not here trouble the Reader with any Account of the State of our Linnen Manufacture at present, but refer him to the third Part of the former Discourse of the Interest of Scotland, &c. upon the Linnen; I shall only observe, that it is making very good Progress, that the Value and Quantities of Linnen stamp'd for Sale in Scotland in the last Year preceding the 1st of November 1734, were very near double to what they were from the 1st of November 1727, to the 1st of November 1728, the first Year the annual Encouragements were applied, and the Manufacture taken Care of by the Execution of the

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publick Act pass'd in the Parliament in 1726-7; and that in this last Year our Weaving was likewise discouraged by a very great Exportation of Linnen Yarn to England, which raised the Price of that Staple of Yarn (of one Spinel in the Pound Weight) from 23 d. to 25 d. and 26 d. per Spinnel. I shall only beg Leave to mention two Branches of the Manusacture that are of great Importance to the united Kingdom, to be cherish'd with the utmost Care, until they are sully establish'd and secur'd from all Danger of being lost.

The Cambrick Manufacture is now establish'd and carried on by a Colony of French Protestants brought over from St. Quintin, and settled with us at the Expence of our publick Funds, small as they are; their Cambricks are as good in their Quality, and of as good a Colour that holds in Washing, as the foreign Cambricks; and upon a late Examination and Comparison made between them, ours at 8 s. per Yard and under that Price, were rather cheaper than the foreign; but from 8 s. per Yard and upwards, the foreign Cambricks were rather cheaper than ours; and on a Medium, the Prices of both are nearly equal.

This Manufacture in 1726, was intended to have been establish'd in *England*, at the Charge of the Publick, where it would have met with suitable Encouragement, had the Project been practicable; but it miscarried (57)

for Want of Yarn; and upon an Enquiry made at the publick Expence; confiderable Quantities of fine Yarn fit for Cambrick were found to be spun in Scotland for other Uses; and upon this Trial, the Project was recommended to us by some great Men in England, while our Linnen Act of Parliament, and Act for the Application of our own Funds for encouraging our Fisheries and Manufactures was in Dependance. But this valuable Branch of the Linnen Trade, that is of so much Importance to Great Britain to be extended, is still in its Infancy; none of the Apprentices that are breeding to it are yet capable of being Masters; the Foreigners themselves have no Stocks, and their Apprentices cannot as yet work so well, as to yield them the same Profits they had by their Business in their own Country. Upon these Accounts, and many other Difficulties that every new Manufacture labours under in the Beginning, it must be cherish'd with great Care and Tenderness by the Publick, until it is capable to take Care of itself.

The other Branch of the Business is the Whitening, upon which the whole depends: This was not at all understood by us to any tolerable Degree before the Year 1728; the Dutch manner of Whitening fine Linnen and Cambricks, is now introduced, partly at the publick Expence, and perfectly understood by a few; several Eight Yard Picces

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and Coupons of Cambrick have been cut off the same Pieces, which are all wove from 18 to 20 Yards in the Piece brown; and the one half of these Pieces sent for Trial to Haerlem, and the other to our own Fields. In the same manner, several long Pieces of our fine Linnen were cut in two, and the one Half sent to Haerlem, and the other to our Fields; and upon their Return, were found to be so equally the same, both as to Thickness and Colour, that the best Judges could not distinguish the one from the other. But the private Undertakers of those Fields have funk so great Sums of their own Money, besides the Encouragement they had from the Publick, in fitting up the Fields, building proper Houses, and furnishing them with Boilers, Fatts, and other Utenfilss, and are on many other Accounts still carrying on the Business, rather with Loss than Profit, that it will be necesfary to give them still further Encouragement from the publick Funds, left this valuable Branch of the Trade, so indispensably necessary for the Support of the whole, should be lost, after so much private and publick Money has been bestowed upon it.

The Whitening of middling and low-pric'd Linnen, after the Irish Manner, is perfectly understood and practifed in some publick. Bleach Fields that have been likewise set up by the Help of Encouragement from the Pub-

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Publick: But as no private Undertaker is capable to fit up such Fields, properly appointed with Houses, &c. at his own Expence, without great Loss, and that it will conduce greatly to the Advantage of the Manufacture of every Kind, that all our Linnen should be bleach'd at publick Fields. where it will be well and equally whiten'd, in Proportion to the Colour requir'd and fit for every Sort of Linnen, and without the Use of any hurtful Materials; it is necessary that these Fields should be fitted up every where throughout the whole Country where large Quantities of Linnen are made, by a proper Aid of Encouragement from the publick Funds. Therefore I humbly beg Leave to recommend to the particular Care of the Trustees, these two Branches of the Trade, the Cambrick, and Whitening, for fuch a Preference, as the Importance of the one, and the indispensable Necessity of the other, for the Support of the whole, requires.

As to the second Means used to encourage Manusacture; our Demands on that Head are so few, and so very reasonable, that we cannot doubt of obtaining them so soon as they are demanded from the Legislature in a regular Way. No Materials of the Linnen Manusacture are subjected to the Payment of any Duties, except the Soap and Ashes us'd in the Bleaching: These pay no Duties in *Ireland*, or in any foreign Country,

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and it is but reasonable, that our Manufacture should, at least, be put upon an equal-Footing with the same Manufactures in foreign Parts: And yet I am aware of an Objection that may be made to this; that these Duties are appropriated; but if it is consider'd that we propose to extend this Exemption no farther than to those Materials that are used in publick Bleach Fields \*; that the Soap and Ashes used in whitening of Linnen, bear but a small Proportion to the Confumption of those Materials in daily Washing, and other Uses; and that other Branches of the publick Revenue will be advanc'd by the taking off these Duties, so far as they are used in publick Fields only, and the Publick will be a greater Gainer by taking them off, than if they were continued; then this Objection must fall to the Ground.

I shall only mention the Excise upon Malt Drink, which must certainly be increased in Consequence of this Proposal's taking Essect: There was employed at the Bleach Field of Ormiston, for the Space of six Months in this last Year, near an Hundred Labourers, who never taste Malt Drink but when they are thus employed; and upon a just Computation, the Excise of Malt Drink consumed by them in that Time, amounted to a greater Sum,

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than the Duties of these Materials used at that Field in that Season. And besides, should the Manusacture, on Account of such unreasonable Discouragements, be given up, then this poor Branch of the Revenue proposed to be lessen'd for its Encouragement, must be less also ; and for the saving of a few Pounds upon one Branch of the Revenue, which would in Consequence be gain'd upon another, many Hundred Thousand Pounds must be less to the Nation.

As to the Third Means wied to encourage Manufactures, wherein the Irish reap the same Benefit with us, and will, no doubt, join with us to have it enlarged: All for reign Linnen used in Great Britain is now subjected to the Payment of Duties; but foreign Linnen that pays Duty in England, and is afterwards exported from hence to the Plantations, draws back the Duty; and every one knows, that where-ever the whole Duties are drawn back, the Dealer is always a Gainer at the Expence of the Publick. Osnabrug Linnens us'd for Towelling, and fuch like Uses, are rated by the Piece, whereby an open Door is left to defraud the Publick of Part of that Revenue; these Goods are now imported in large Pieces, containing double the Quantities and Value of Cloth that they confifted of when this Duty was impos'd; there was likewise a Duty of 15 per Cent. payable on these Goods, which was taken

<sup>\*</sup> See Method proposed for this End, Interest of Scatland, &c. pag. 174, and 175.

taken off in the latter End of Queen Anne's Reign, by a very small Majority in the House of Commons; and it is submitted, if this Duty ought not to be again imposed, especially; now, that some Millions of Yards of lowpric'd Linnen of this Kind, for the London Market, are made in the Shire of Angus, and much better of their Kinds, than when that Duty was taken off, every Piece of Linnen Cloth being now carefully survey'd and inspected before it is exposed to Sale. It is therefore submitted, whether the present State of the Trade of this Nation with the foreign Linnen Countries, does not require a careful Review of the several Laws whereby the Duties upon foreign Linnen are impos'd? And whether Part of the Duties that are now drawn back upon foreign Linnen re-exported to the Plantations, ought not to remain with the Publick, to give that Preference to ourselves, in the Sale of our own Manufactures for the Consumption of Britain and the Plantations, which the common Good and Interest of the united Kingdom requires?

These Reasons for improving and extending the Linnen Manusacture of Great Britain, are most humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Right Honourable and Honourable the Members of both Houses of Parliament of this united Kingdom of Great

Britain.

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I shall now beg Leave to close this Paper with one Observation upon the present State of the Poor, who in many Parts of England, as well as in Scotland, are a Burthen upon the Publick, and a Loss to the Nation; but if Care was taken to employ them in profitable Labour, they would become our best Fund for increasing our national Wealth and Strength. I have already publish'd my own Opinion upon the Subject in the first Part of the Difcourse, intitled, The Interest of Scotland, &c. and I here submit it to the Consideration of better Judges, if it might not be proper to make a Collection or Abstract of all the Laws that have been, and now are in Force, both in England and Scotland, that from these the Nation might reap the Benefit of a new Law, to be extended and put in Execution over the whole united Kingdom, for restraining of Idleness in the Poor, and obliging them to work less or more at some kind of profitable Labour, in Proportion to their State of Health, and Ability of Body, that should be adapted and fuited to the Circumstances of every Country and Province within this Island, wherein so many various Manufactures are carried on, that are capable to employ all our Poor, were they by proper Laws constrained to work.

FINIS.

The Reader is defired to correct the following Errata;

The Reader is defired to correct the following Errata. Page 8. Line 12. for overlooking, read overflooking. p. 26. 1. 15. and 16. for disadvantageous, read discontinuous. p. 27. 1. 10. from the Bottom, for People, read Pope. p. 39. 1. 16. for any, read every. p. 44. 1. 2. from the Bottom, for Manufacture. p. 59. 1. 3. from the Bottom, after the Word Soap, add Starch. p. 61. 1. 9. from the Bottom, for Towelling, read Tilleting.

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