

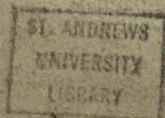
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A N
E S S A Y,

At Removing
Rational Prejudices,
AGAINST A
UNION with ENGLAND.

P A R T III.

By the Author of the two first,

Printed in the Year MDCCCVI.



A N

E S S A Y,

At Removing National Prejudices, &c.

HAVING wrote two Essays in *England* upon the Subject of the Union, and particularly to remove National and Party Prejudices against the Treaty then on foot. I calculated those Essays principally for the *English* part, where I always expected the difficulty would lye, and where I met with certain radicated tho ill grounded Prejudices against the *Scots as a Nation*, as well as against the Union which I thought a general Happiness.

But I confess my self surpriz'd, when coming to *Edinburgh*, on some private Affairs of my own, I found my two Essays Re-printed here, and forwardly handed about as Arguments against that very Subject they were written to Promote, I mean the Union; and that only upon this weak Supposition, that because I had only insisted upon the Advantages to *England*, in Union; that therefore I did not pretend *Scotland* should any way be better'd by it.

To this my Answer is very short; that I had always too great a respect for the *Scots*, to write a Satyr upon the Nation: And that thinking it impossible any *Scotsman* could be

to seek in the real, numerous, and so visible Advantages, Scotland shall reap by the Treaty; I thought it would seem to reflect too much upon the Gentlemen concern'd, to presume to tell them, what it was much better manners for me to presume they all knew already; and what by the nature of the Thing became so visible, that to me it seem'd, none but the willfully Blind, *whom I do not pretend to Cure*, could be at a loss about.

But since it is my misfortune to be thus mistaken, and that some People charge me with that Ignorance which my respect for their Understanding, would not permitt me to charge them with. I find my self oblig'd *contrary to my first resolution of not meddling on either side*, to make this short Essay on the respective Advantages of Scotland in the depending Treaty of Union; and this I shall do as concisely as I can, and carefully avoiding needless Digressions, come immediately to the Matter in hand.

Only before I begin the attempt, give me leave in duty to the Government, and in deference to her Majesty, to note that the expressions of Advantages accruing to Scotland by the Union, are so plain in her Majesty's Royal Letter, and so asserted in the respective Speeches of his Grace the Lord Commissioner, and the Lord Chancellor, at the opening the present Session of Parliament, that one would think no Man could read that Letter, and those Speeches, and ask afterwards what the Advantages to Scotland shall be by the Union.

When her Majesty tells her Subjects of Scotland, She "is fully persuaded it will prove the greatest Happiness of her People; that it will be the solid Foundation of lasting Peace; it will secure your Religion, Liberty and Property, remove the Animosities amongst your selves, and the

"the Jealousies and Differences betwixt Our two Kingdoms: It must increase your Strength, Riches and Trade; and by this Union the whole Island being joyn'd in Affection, and free from all apprehension of different Interests, will be enabled to resist all its Enemies, support the Protestant Interest every where, and maintain the Liberties of Europe.

"That to bring this Union to pass, is the only effectual way to secure your present and future Happiness, and disappoint the Designs of your and her Majesty's Enemies.

When his Grace her Majesty's high Commissioner has inculcated these things and reminds you, "That the Queen esteems it as the greatest Glory of her Reign; (not her glorious Successes abroad excepted) to have this mighty Affair concluded.

When my Lord Chancellor tells you, "You have now the opportunity of establishing for your selves and Posterity, by this Union, all that concerns your Religion and Liberties, and the most valuable Privileges of Trade.

After all this has been said, is it not hard Gentlemen you should ask a poor Stranger here, what Scotland shall get by this Union; and why I did not go upon that in my former Essays?

Really, Gentlemen, when I wrote those Essays, I conceiv'd them of use to Scotland, to convince some unbelieving Englishmen, that your great Advantages should be no injury to them. It was a loud and continued Cry there, *Ay, ay, we know the Scots will gain by this Union*; but what SHALL WE, *we in England*, be the better for it: And I was challeng'd often to make out, what the English should Gain by it.

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Upon this I undertook that Subject, and really there lies some unhappiness in the alternative of this Matter, and an impartial Writer, *as I hope I may pretend to be*, has a great difficulty before him in urging the Advantages of either Nation; since the Arguments to prove the Advantages of one, seem to argue the Disadvantages of the other.

My remedy for this is, what I have undertaken in another place, *viz.* To convince both Parties, that their Advantages are mutual, reciprocal and so equal, that 'tis hard to determine which side shall be the greater Gainer.

And this happy conjunction of good Events, I must confess, comes to pass from a thing many People have not without plenty of Ignorance opposed; I mean, the Union's being CENTRAL: And as to all the essential parts of Constitution Universal; so that we are at liberty to give that Word its full extent, UNION: And here I think it can not be improper to explain how extensive I think *the word Union* to be in this Case; and how *even by the Treaty*, it ought to be understood. It is a word comprehensive of every thing Good to both; exclusive of all manner of Preference or Disparity of Parts, abhorring all things Injurious or Diminishing to either; a full Coalition, a general Incorporation of Nations, of Interests, of Power, and of Safety: — A Sameness of Circumstances and of Sympathies; becoming one and the same Body, with one and the same Head, Life, Soul, Nutriment, Point and Period.

Some Gentlemen who talk much of this Union, and having known the Heads of it, yet pretend not to understand it, would do very well to turn to their Books, and putting together all the Etymologies, receiv'd Significations, customary Acceptations, and common readings of the words *Union* and *Incorporation*, tell us what they understand by them.

them, and how the true meaning of the Words, and the new suggestions of separate Existence in the Government can Consist.

But if this be too nice, and the Thought too much subtilimated for them, let me recommend to them a course Simily.

I liken this Union to a Body receiving Food, as Flesh, Fish, Fruit, Liquids, &c. All which, being incorporated and digested, concoct together, Unite their very Substance and dissolve themselves into one and the same Nutriment, to the health, life, vigour and growth of the whole Body, proportionedly and universally.

If wrong Digestion, distemper of the Body, or defect of the Food, produces corruption, contagion or improper fermentation, the most remote Member, and the nearest or more immediate, equally feel their proportion'd want of Nourishment, decay of Strength, distemper and disorder; the deficiency cannot be felt in the Head, and not in the Foot, but weakness succeeds to all the Parts.

If our Union be Partial, Federal, Periodical or indeed Notional, as most of those schemes have been; then the defects may be so also: One part may thrive, and another decay; And *Scotland* would be but too sensible of that, in those sorts of Union.

But if the Union be an Incorporation, a Union according to the extent of the Letter, it must then be a Union of the very SOUL OF THE NATION, all its Constitution, Customs, Trade and Manners, must be blended together, digested and concocted, for the mutual united, undistinguish't, good, growth and health of the one whole united Body; and this I understand by Union. And no wonder, they who consider the Nations in a less

or more contracted Capacity of Union, are at a loss, to find the Advantages of it.

Now, Gentlemen, as thus United, would you know your Advantages? They consist of four sorts.

1. Trade,
2. Religion,
3. Civil Government,
4. Liberty and Sovereignty.

1. In Trade, the united Riches, Stocks, Settlements, Factories, and Dependencies of *England*, are concern'd to promote yours; not as their Sister-*Scotland*, but as their own Riches, Stocks in Trade, &c. Not in a separate but an immediate Capacity, their Ports are yours, and you are immediately Naturalized to, and Legitimated in their Customs-Houses, Ports and Commerce; Your Manufactures are Carried to them, and what you want Imported from them without Taxes, Tolls Distinction or Interruption.

If the *Indies* lyes at your Door, and you want Stock to Grasp that Sea of wealth the Fishery, your Fish and their Stocks will Unite to fall into that useful affair, by which your People will be Employed, your Seamen kept at home, your Provision consumed, your Lands Improved, your Nation Enriched, they shareing with you in every one of these, and you with them in every other Advantage.

'Twill be endless to Essay on the Freedom of your Linen Manufacture into *England*, and it's prodigious Increase by the taking off the Exorbitant Duty now laid upon it; the Freedom of an Immediate Trade to all Our Colonies, denied, Even to the *English Subjects Inhabiting Ireland*, The flush Stocks of *English Men* falling into Trade with you, and

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the Currency and Flux of *English Bullion* and Coin into all parts of your Kingdom.

'Twould be worth your considering the advantages of Introduceing *English Improvements* on your Estates, and perhaps *English Farmers* and Stocks on your Lands; the Exportation of your Corn and Coals to *English Mercats*, And whether it will not be your own fault, if these things do not in a few Years, double the Fee simple, and raise the Value of your Estates *Two for One*.

These are a few of the Advantages in Trade, which would bear a higher enlargement, if it needed that I should first prove, this would keep your People at home; and then Examine the infinite Alterations and Consequences, both to Land-Trade and ready Mony, which doubling or trebling the number of your People would produce.

'Tis a Slander upon your Country, to say, 'tis a *Barren Land*. Nature was commanded not to let Man have his Bread out of her, but by the Sweat of his Brows; and with that Sweat she never denys him.

'Tis want of Trade to whet Industry, Profit to whet Trade, Vent of Goods and Stock to produce Profit; These are the Barrennesses your Country Complains of, and Declines for want of.

Your Lands Enclosed, Manured and Cultivated, would be as Rich, your Cattel as Large, your Sheep as Fat, and your Wool as Fine as in *England*, your Barren Muirs would yield Corn, the Hills Feed Flocks of Sheep, and your better Lands which you now wholly Imploy with the Plough, would Feed Strong, and Valuable Cattel, from hence would proceed *Darys*, Milk, Butter, Cheese, &c. which being plentiful, and Cheap would feed your Poor in a better manner, and deliver them from the Misery and

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Hardship which now makes your People fly from their Native Country, and makes you the Nurses of *Europe*, that you have the trouble and expense of your Children till they are grown up; and then other Nations reap the Profit of their Labour.

But I can but touch these things here, perhaps I may more largely Discourse of both the evil and its remedy on another occasion: But to bring it to the present purpose, the immediate Remedy for them is an UNION, and as it is the only Remedy, so it must be a Remedy, you must partake of the general Improvement, both in Land, Living and Trade; and I need say no more.

The *English* Powers must be your Defence, the whole *English* Wealth must be Engaged to you; the *English* Navys must be your Convoys, and in all parts of the World, your Ships have the Immediate Protection of their Fleet, Ports, Forts and Forces: And this by the natural Consequences of the UNION, not as you are their Friends, Neighbours and Confederates: But as you are themselves, their own, it is become a Debt to you, their Subjects must Pay it, or be Traytors to their Sovereign, and to their Native Country, which is yours and theirs Indefinitely, and Undistinguisht.

I know some Gentlemen will allow all this much rather than be convinced of equal Advantages in another, yet more valuable Case, viz. Religion which is the Second head of Discourse.

And here I must own, I am astonisht that any one can help seeing the Safety, Settlement and Perpetuity of the Establishd Church of *Scotland*, entirely wrapt up in the UNION; and indeed only to be secured by it.

Hitherto you have been jealous of *England*, putting upon you Episcopacy, Tyranny, &c. And I cannot say, 'tis without

without cause, and in case of Ruptures, War, different Sovereigns, and a Thousand Casualties and uncertainties, to which the Church as now Establishd is subject, both from *England* without, as distinctly and disunitedly consider'd, Which after the Queen no Body can answer for; and from a numerous and doubly Disaffected Party at Home: Who, I say, in case of those things, shall Answer, for what may or may not befall the present Establishd Church? I dare say, no Man, that has a true Zeal for it can say, he is easy in the present condition of the Church, abstracted from this Union.

Upon an Union, all these Fears vanish, 'Tis for ever rendered impossible to Overthrow the Settlement of the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*; But by Subverting the constitution, by absolute Arbitrary Government, and the openest Bare-Fac'd Tyranny. The Church, and the constitution the Spiritual and Temporal Liberty, have the same Sanction, Subsist and Depend upon the same Security, are Defended by the same Power, Demanded by the same Right, Twisted and Connected together, cannot fall, but by the same Disaster, Nor stand, but by the Support of one another.

'Tis true, Tyrannies may happen; and so they may, and are much more likely to do under your present Unsettled posture, as to Succession, than otherwise; And therefore you will still be more Safe than you are now. And with this addition, that then all *Brittain* will be concern'd for your Liberty and you will demand it, as your undoubted indisputable Right: Which Right the other can never consent to Abrogate or make Null, without making it lawful, by the same Majority, to lose their own, and so

should one day come to suffer, by the same experiment.

And indeed, this is the only way, to reconcile that strange absurdity, of which I have taken notice else where, now growing up in both Nations, viz. *The Danger of the Church*, that *England* should say, her Church will be in Danger; and *Scotland* say, her Church will be in Danger: If both these can be true, I confess, it has something very odd in it. But, what is yet more absurd, is, that this should be from a Union. Bless us! Union work this! How can this be? 'Tis the nature of Union, to preserve, not destroy; to secure, not endanger; to confirm, not Undermine. No, Gentlemen, if either of your Churches are in Danger, it will be for want of the Union; So, and no other way, the absurdity may be reconciled, and both Churches be in Danger.

In Union, Love, Peace, Charity and Mutual Assistance, are natural consequences; And can those pull down any Church? When ever either party attempts upon the other, the Union is Broke; 'Tis no more the thing; and can no longer bear the Name. When the Union is Broke, the Constitution is Overthrown; For, one link of this Chain being Broken, the whole Chain is rendred useles; the Force of the one depending, upon the continuity of the rest. The fundamental is destroy'd, the Government dissolves, and the whole Island becomes a Mob, one Universal Rabble. Just as in the case of a Tyrant, dispensing with the Laws and Setting up Arbitrary Power, Property ceases, Authority Dissolves, Constitution suffocates, and the National Capacity dyes.

'Tis true, Human Wisdom can make nothing Indissoluble. This Union may be broke, so may *Magna Carta*; So may the Constitution. But Gentlemen, you have the same
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Security for your Church Settlement, that you have for your Lives, Liberties and Estates, and the same on one side, that you have on another.

But says one, fill'd with jealousies of remote possibilities, even The Legislature may be byast, and a Parliament may come that shall Rescind the Settlement of the Church of Scotland &c.

Put this into English, *A Parliament may come, that may Dissolve the Constitution, that may Rescind the Union, that may Sacrifice the whole Kingdom*; it is absurd in it's nature, the Union in it's being is the very Constitution, the Life and Soul of Great *Brittain* as to Government: And to say, a Parliament may come that can break the Constitution, is to say, a Parliament may be mad, posselt, and *Felo de se*; as a Parliament, they can not do so, they cease from that moment to be a Parliament, and become a House of Tyrants and a Den of Robbers, nay, and of the worst sort of Robbers, Stripping those they come to Protect.

If they would do this therefore, they can not, without Dissolving their own Being, Annihilating their own Body, and committing all Imaginable Absurdities.

They may Dissolve themselves, but Original natural Right must remain: if they dissolve the Form *whether shall it return?* — To its primitive State it cannot, because that is dissolv'd; to Confusion it must not, because Right must be preserved: Whenever therefore a Parliament destroys the Constitution, by which a Nation is Form'd, that Parliament ceases, and Power reverts to its original Source to Form a new One.

Thus the Nature of the thing is its own Security, and there needs no addition of other Force; if there does, the Mouths of those Gentlemen must be stop't, in his Grace the
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high Commissioner's Speech, viz. "That his Grace is empowered to Consent to what may be farther Necessary."

What can be made more Firm? Are there any ligaments in the Law, qualified to bind the Church and the Constitution together, so as that One cannot be hurt without the Other; *they are offered you*, take them and tie it as fast as Laws or Oaths can bind, or the *Sacra Imperii* of any Nation be made

After this what shall we say, is there any thing in the Scruples of some in either of the Establish'd Churches, which goes beyond the real Security of the Church?

I wish those Gentlemen would examine, whether it be any more than a Scruple? And whether all the Obligation they think themselves under, is not limited by Possibilities? Whether it can be understood they should be bound to do, that which they cannot really with, *the Publick Good and present Circumstances considered*, were in their power to do?

Let such Gentlemen consider how far their Sincerity as well as Judgment will be called in question in this Case.

Whether really securing the Church, which they embrace as truly and only Orthodox, be not the most effectual step they can take to pull down all false Churches, and consequently a full Discharge of the sacred Obligation they think themselves under.

'Tis certain, as things are, the Church of *Scotland* is far from Safe; and I should be excusable if I should say nothing but Miracle or a Union, can make her so: He then that effectually Establishes the true Church of Christ in the World, effectually suppresses and pulls down all other Churches in the language of his Capacity; as he assists to place that Church in a posture of Victory over all her Enemies,

mies, by a liberty of using all her spiritual Weapons, viz. The superiour Doctrine and sanctity of her Ministry; and I wish, there were no other Contention between the two Churches.

If the Church of *Scotland* is now in a precarious, unsafe, and unsettled Condition, and may be Secured by the Union, then the Members of this Church, can no more ask me what they Gain by the Union, nor answer it to their Consciences, or their Posterity, that they should oppose her Settlement in this the day of her Establishment.

But, say the Gentlemen, that in behalf of the Church argue against the Union as now proposed; *We in Scotland are not safe by the Union*, for we are deprived of our Parliament, and delivered over to the Parliament of *England*; and we do not know, but such a Time may come, when the Parliament of *England* whose Constitution is wholly Episcopal, may Vote our Church down, and Erect the Episcopal Church of *England*, as the Establishment of great *Britain*; putting us off in *Scotland* with a Toleration, which also they may by an occasional Bill, Reduce again to any thing they please.

This I take to be the sum and state of the Question; For really, what the other Party objects, in my opinion, carries with it no weight.

To argue what an *English* or *British* Parliament may do, and what they may not do, seems to me to be so conjectural, that it leaves no room to call it an Argument. And let Opinion go which way it will, or Probability byass which way it will; this will follow, 'tis as possible, and I must ask pardon for thinking, that 'tis more probable, a

Scots Parliament may be obtain'd, to ruine Presbytery, than an *English*.

And I shall turn the very same Arguments, which are used against this Matter, upon the Gentlemen *that use them*, thus;

The strong Reasons given, why an *English* Parliament may do this, are such as these,

The great Interest of the Church of *England*, and her influence in the Parliament; Her having prevail'd to continue the Test-Act impose it on the *Irish* Dissenters, and attempt it on the Colonies; Her power to influence Elections, in both Kingdoms; the nearness to carrying the occasional Bill; Her strong struggles for it the easiness to Bribe or take off the 45 Members &c.

The Reasons why there is no danger from a *Scots* Parliament, are such as these,

That the Act making it Treason to impugn any Article of the Claim of Right, makes it dangerous to attempt it in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

That the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* are too sensible of the Calamities formerly brought upon the Nation, have suffered too much by them to offer at Embroiling the Nation again upon that account.

That the example of the Parliament chosen after King *William's* death is an Argument for this, in which an Author says, there were more High-Church-men Elected than in any Parliament since the Restoration — who were so far from restoring Episcopacy, that they would not allow the Episcopal Clergy the Toleration they Petitioned for.

This as the summ of the projected Disparity is what is now offered upon this Head, which in short I abridge thus 'tis a Comparison of Probabilities.

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That 'tis probable from both Circumstances, and Examples, that the *English* Parliament may Undo the Church Settlement of *Scotland*; but 'tis not probable, the Parliament of *Scotland* can do it.

This I desire to speak briefly to; and if I should chance to turn the scale of Probabilities against them, then I leave it to it's Consequences; whether the World will not give it, against these Gentlemen, who, with their Imperfect Union, are for leaving us, just where they found us, or worse.

That the Parliament of *England* is composed of Church Men, is true; and that the Parsons, tho not near 10000 as is said, Vote, and the Church may Influence Elections very much is all true; and yet under all this, and under such Reigns, as in which the Dissenters in *England* have been most hated, they could never obtain any Effectual Law to suppress them And at last the Power of Truth, and the Reason and Nature of things so prevailed, that the Dissenters are not only Secur'd, but the whole Nation is come over to them, in the Doctrines of Government, Right and Liberty.

The Dissenters are not gone back an Inch, but the Church asham'd of their Persecutions and Oppressions, which like Excentrick motions always revolve of Course to regularities, and more Natural Rules, return'd again by length of time to her self, and own'd her Error, Declar'd Persecution against her Principles; and freely fall in with Tolleration and Liberty.

They see the Dissenters and the Church have but one Civil Interest, and that Liberty is the Safety of both, they're Convinc'd not Conquer'd, reduc't not by Power or Party, but by the nature of things, they come to their Senses again.

After this, upon another Sally under a *High-Church-Ministry*, the Test was foisted upon the Dissenters in *Ireland*, and some extravagancies Acted in *England*; but mark, how soon did these Attempts in the Authors blow up the Ministry, and meer Nature bring all things to Rights again?

To instance, in the Attempt on the Colonies, which is the story of *Carolina*, me thinks is very odd, since to read the misfortune of my Lord *Gr——* on that Head, with what contempt he has been treated, and how mortified for offering such a thing, but on a poor handful of Planters, me thinks, I say, it should strangely weaken the Arguments of those, who seem to suggest these things.

These People seem to me a little Infatuated, and to Argue against themselves, for, in order to Prove that such a certain thing as attempting the Supression of Presbytry may come to pass, they bring upon the Stage all the Instances of these attempts, in which the People attempting, have miscarried; and can tell but one in which they Succeeded, viz. the putting the Test upon *Ireland*, which by the way, had never past neither, had not the Dissenters in meer self denial for the Publick Good, rested under the hardship, rather than venture to lose the Bill against the growth of Popery; a thing these Gentlemen, I suppose, knew nothing of, and a Generosity the other Party are but very little acquainted with.

'Tis hard now Gentlemen, that because the High-flying-Church-Men have always attempted the Dissenters in *England* and miscarried, to argue from thence that therefore they shall insult the *Scots* Settlement and succeed. I think it had been a much stronger way of Arguing, to say, that being unable with their united strength, ever to gain upon the Dissenters in *England*, who, by their own Calculation, are

are not above one to twelve, they shall certainly be the less able to prevail when in conjunction with the *Scots* Interest and Members.

As to the occasional Bill and the nearness of its being pass'd; 'tis plain it was a surprize, the snare was not seen at first, but with what indignation the reserves and secret designs against the Dissenters were treated when discovered, I leave to the Reader to find in the Journals of both Houses.

From hence we come to the Probabilities on the other hand, viz. That there is no danger of the *Scots* Parliament being seduced; the same Author grants the new 45 and 16 may be bought by the *English* Court, but the whole Parliament cannot be so; — and yet I believe most People will join in this, that let the Court at any time be sure to buy 45 and 16 in either Parliament they shall generally speaking, carry any thing they desire; so that this is absurd, and by no means a just way of Arguing.

Another contradiction takes off very much of the Credit of this kind of Arguing, viz. That the Act making it Treason to impugn any Article of the Claim of Right, makes it dangerous to attempt this in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

I cannot but be surpriz'd to find any Man can say this is not an Argument just the other way, that it is not as lawful a Security to the Church of *Scotland* in the *English* Parliament, or in the Parliament of *Britain*, as in that of *Scotland*.

Is not this Act to remain in Force after the Union, and may it not be made a part of the Treaty, and can the Par-

liament of *Britain* Vote what is declared by the Treaty to be high Treason to attempt; 'tis certainly as great a Security to the Church of *Scotland* as can be desir'd, that 'tis declar'd high Treason to impugn her Settlement.

Shall it be objected, that the Parliament of *Britain* may Repeal this; I answer, and so may the Parliament of *Scotland* whenever they please, as it now stands, but if made a Capitulation of the Treaty, according to my notion of the Treaty, it can never be altered but by meer Tyranny, Perjury, Violence and Usurpation.

This is the present Security of the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*, she is Establish't by Parliament, the Sovereign is Sworn not to alter it, and 'tis high Treason in the Subject to attempt it; and all this made a Stipulation previous to the Treaty, which cannot be broken. If this be not Security sufficient, I should be glad to see something better offered to the high Commissioner, that according to his Grace's Speech, it may be past into such a Law, as may make them fully easy.

It is unhappy, that the Gentlemen who argue on this Head, will allow the Church of *England*, or the Court, or both, may have an influence over the whole Parliament of *Britain*; but cannot have an influence over the so much smaller Parliament of *Scotland*.

I have heard it suggested by the Enemies of the Nation of the *Scots*, that they are Poor and Mercenary, and may be all bought by the Court with 100000. *l.* If this slander be true, 'tis first a sign that the present Government in *England* does not Bribe them now. Secondly 'tis plain, that they are not to be Brib'd into the Union, for that the Money has not produc'd the Effect yet, and the Court of *England*

land or high-Church, have not on all occasions bought such Bills as they have had occasion for.

On the other hand, these Gentlemen, put so little stress on the 45 Votes in the House of Commons in *Britain*, that they think they may be always out Voted, and the *Scots* may have bad luck to have no Friends in the House of Commons but their own 45.

Now, this is the very pretence on the other part of the Question in *England*, where the Gentlemen put us in mind how fatal 45 *Scots* Members may be to the Church, in conjunction with the Whigs there; and I am in some seeming straight in pushing either part of the Argument, both sides taking hold of it: If I say in *England* they are too few to Hurt us, then say the *Scots*, they are too few to Secure us: If I say in *Scotland* they are enough to Secure you, then say they in *England* they are enough to Hurt us.

This is a very unhappy Case, and the Artifices of our Writers on this Head seem very mean here; they are forc'd to run counter against one another, and make such shifts, turns and doubles, to bring things to bear, as I can not but wonder at.

The *English* Court say *they*, may Bribe the 45 Members and 16 Lords in the Parliament of *Britain* and they may join with their Counties Enemies to betray *Scotland*.

But in the *Scots* Parliament they pretend they are safe, and the Church will be Secured by them, for *they* cannot be Brib'd, Bought or Byast.

Again, the Court may get all Episcopal Men to Represent the Kingdom of *Scotland* at the Parliament of *Britain*.

But they can get none that will so much as agree to a Toleration of Episcopacy, while they belong to the Parliament in *Scotland*, so that to Day they may be Brib'd, to
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Morrow they can not; to Day they may be all Episcopal Men, to Morrow they will be a Security against Episcopacy.

Now, take the high-Church-Men in *England*, and their Absurdities are not fewer than these, to Day they tell us 45 *Scots* Men will bring Presbytery into *England*, and pull down the Church; to Morrow the Dissenters in *England* are not one to twelve, and we must force the *Scots* to restore the Church. Thus, one way a thing is Great, and another way Small; one way Secure, and another way in Danger.

Now, let us place these People one against another in each Kingdom. In *England* 45 *Scots* Commoners and 16 Lords, will certainly bring in Presbytery and pull down the Church of *England*; in *Scotland* they will join to bring in Episcopacy being brib'd and bought to pull down the Church of *Scotland*.

To Day they are so many they will endanger the *English* Church, to Morrow so few they can't defend their own.

To Day they will be so true to Presbytery, they will never leave Caballing to pull down Episcopacy, to Morrow so false they will sell their Country, join in voting Episcopacy up in *Scotland*, and reduce the present Church to a Toleration.

These things are very counfounding, and no Man can be prepar'd to debate with Men that will thus go upon all manner of Possibilities.

I confess, in my weak Observation, I think they come all from the same Fountain, and are agitated by the same Spirit: I mean from *England*, where a vigorous Party struggles against the Union of the Kingdoms, as the only mischief can befall their High-Church Cause, and effectually

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ly deprive them of the opportunities of Embroiling both Nations.

I wish this Kingdom a little better inform'd of the practices of those People, and entirely deliver'd from their Influence. I observe all or most part of the Pamphlets against the Union, are form'd in *England*, and sent from thence, in which the Authors suggest things false in Fact, presuming upon the distance of the Place, and that they shall be taken upon their words.

They represent the Union, as a thing which depends wholly upon the Parliament in this Kingdom, and — the *English* entirely acquiescing in the matter; nay some have represented it as a thing the *English* are courting and wheedling this Kingdom to, in order to bring them under; and that there is nothing to do, but to get the *Scots* to comply with it.

In order to this, every *Englishman* here, whether by his Curiosity, private Affairs, or by whatever other occasion brought here, is rendred suspected as if sent from *England* as an Emissary to officiate here, in preparing the *Scots* to their purpose.

I do believe, that in *England* there is a general happy disposition to this Union, especially in the wisest, best and greatest part of that Kingdom; and that this Temper is exceedingly promoted and encreased by her Majesty's steady adherence to it, as the only means to secure the Peace and Happiness of both Nations, and as much as possible, crushing, checking and discouraging, the Party that are against it: And I do acknowledge, to believe, that this happy disposition is such at this time, that if the Parliament of *Scotland* closes with it, and no unreasonable difficulties are raised from hence, it will be compleated there.

But

But I intreate the Gentlemen on this side, to bear with me in telling them, this happy temper in *England* has not been so easy a thing to procure. Abundance of visible Providences have been remarkably Concurring, to bring this Conjunction to such a Crisis. Great havock has been made, by their own follies, in the interest of a party, under an administration, that would never have made the attempt.

Victories, of various sorts, have contributed to the work, and a connexion of wonders have brought it to pass; a conquest at home, superiour to *Blenheim* or *Ramellies*, has been made over the dividing spirits of the high party. Peace and Union has made large strides and rid over the Bellies of her vanquisht Enemies, Envy, Malice, Jealousy and party strife.

The Queen, nay the very Bishops too, have been called a thousand Presbyterians, Deserters of the Church, and all that is Scandalous. Every Moderate Church Man has been a Confessor in this Cause, and gone thro' Scandal, Reproach and all sorts of Opposition for Espousing it.

What Tacking, what Projecting, what Caballing have the Party Attempted, as the Struggles of their Wicked Cause; and with what Difficulty has this Juncture been brought to pass.

Nor are the Party yet in Dispare, but with all Imaginable Vigour and Artifice, they carry on their Dying Cause, and Dispute Inch by Inch every Step.—The last Game they have to Play is the Union, if they can not Destroy that they own the Union will Destroy them, and I am very sorry to see the Subtily of their Proceeding extends hither.

They leave no Stone unturnd, they Play Whiggs against Whiggs, and Church against Church, Presbyterians against

gainst Presbyterians; They amuse with Jealousies on one hand, raise Scruples on the other; in *England*, they Rail, Gibe and Banter, in *Scotland* they Plead those very things for arguments, which they own their aversion to.

Now, I would humbly recommend to these Gentlemen, here in *Scotland*, who really are for securing their Church; how comes Church of *England* Men, High Church hot Episcoparian Disputants to talk of your security? Does the Fox Preach, *Garde les Poules*, have a care of the Geese?

Why is it they talk so much of the security of the Church, and fill your Heads with fear of the Church, whence must this fear come? it must come from the *English*: Pray Gentlemen, how comes it to pass, that in *England* all your Friends are against you, and all your Enemies are for you; By *You*, I mean, *You* Objectors.

All the High Church Men, all the Enemies of your Improvement, the Enemies of your Trade, and the Enemies of your Church, are Enemies of the Union, they throng you with their Pamphlets, and Cant of Securities. Those very Men who wish your Church and perhaps Nation too, at the *D---l* are turn'd about, and talk of the Security of the Church, the very *Jure Divino* Men talk of Liberty, the very Instruments of former Tyrannys in *England*, talk of Preserving your Laws, Parliaments and Judicatorys.

This is really so Mysterious, that I think it's worth your Observation, and no doubt, but you will find good reason from it, to quicken your Application to the Union.

I shall close this Essay with two things for I cannot have room to enter upon the Civil Advantages.

His Grace the high Commissioner has Acquainted you, that he is Impowred to pass Laws for the further Securing this Matter in order as I suppose, to make you Easy, and remove the

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Scruples

Scruples and Fears of those really concerned for the Church.

Now, in laying hold of her Majesties offer by His Grace the High Commissioner here, and the like in *England*, there seems to me, to be one ready Step to make both sides easie, and to remove the Jealousies on either hand, as to the Danger of the Church, whether Presbyterian or Episcopal; and the Matter is very short, viz. That an Act of Parliament be past in the respective Kingdoms, Containing a Claim of Church Rights, a Declaration of the State of either Church, its Constitution and Government, with a formal Capitulation, or Clause of Establishment, for either Church, and proper Provisions, Articles and Limitations between them, Declaring their Powers and Extent. Which Acts being first Past in either Kingdom, be afterwards Incorporated into, and made part of the Treaty as an Essential Condition of the said Union, and this no Doubt will be Granted.

To say, this may be Cas'd Annull'd, or afterwards made Void, seems Invidious, and is to my Apprehension Talking nothing at all, for no Subsequent Parliament can make Null any Article of the Treaty,—it would be no Treaty, if this could be. The Treaty is the Foundation and Constituent Head of the Parliament of *Britain*, and gives it a Being, and therefore is so far Superiour in it's Power, as not to be Destroyed by its own Substitute, and as I have said elsewhere, to breake the Treaty, is to Dissolve the Constitution and very Being of the Parliament, and Overthrow the Union; and to think *England* will Contribute to Breaking the Treaty, is too hard a Suggestion, and what I care not to enter upon the Discription of here.

How Preposterous is it to Judge, that a Parliament should hereafter Annull and Abolish, in Prejudice of a whole Kingdom,

dom, what, before the very Being of that Parliament was Declar'd to be their Right, and Assented to, Granted and Capitulated for, on both sides.

'Tis true, 'tis possible to be done, 'tis possible that after this *England* may Raise an Army, and come and Destroy *Scotland*; but it must be Contrary to Faith, Justice, Honour, Right, Law and Liberty, and this must in its Nature Dissolve the Constitution, and return the whole Island to its Divided State.

But still says an Objector, we can not help our selves, to take up Arms will be Treason and Rebellion &c. And we shall be Treated as Perjur'd Rebels.

I Answer, it will be Treason and Rebellion in the Letter of the Thing, but not in the Meaning of the Law; so the taking up Arms to Joyn the Prince of *Orange* was Treason. And had King *James* Defeated that Prince, and Frustrated the Revolution, the Gentlemen at *Nottingham* would soon have found themselves Treated as Rebels, and the Consequences would have been Bloody enough.

But here would be no other Ground for it, than was there; and should ever such an Infraction of the Treaty happen, I make no Scruple to say, the whole Constitution would be dissolved, Authority dye, and things would as before Revolve either to their Divided State, or into all kinds of Confusions.

'Tis unkind, I confess, to offer such things, of a Body of Gentlemen, Chosen out of the whole Island, and 't would be endless, to give them Answers; 'tis Impossible there can be Men enough found in a Parliament, to close with so open a Breach of the very Constitution, upon which they themselves stood. Nor is *Scotland* so Inconsiderable a Nation, that *England* should offer so foully to Break with them, and with so little Reason; Since, in the Case Proposed,

there can be no pretence to use you so hardly, but what must be meerly Tyrannical and an Original Violence: In which, they could expect no Aid, from Heaven or Honest Men. 'Tis a Prospect so Horrid, that I cannot look into it without concern. No Party-Heats can run to such a length; Not the Parliament in King *Charles* the 2ds time, tho' Loaded with *Penssons and Places*, could be brought to Part with any Branch of the *English* Constitution, neither can they here, for it will be all one whole Settlement, and a Dissolution on one side, Dissolves the other of Course.

I think *Scotland* can have no Security like this Treaty, it is back't with the Constitution, 'tis Fortified with Capitulated Reason, and when ever the Flood of Parties attacks it, 'twill Run Back and Drown its Contrivers.

If any Man talks of proposing more than can be had, it gives good ground to suggest he shall be best pleased with the denial.

I would censure no body in their proposing higher Demands than are reasonable, and such as in their nature must embarrass the Treaty, alarm *England*, and destroy the hopes of an Union; but this I must say, 'tis just what they are for, who wish the Treaty broke off: And 'tis strange Friends and Enemies should both hit on the same thing, and both propose for such vastly different reasons, the same Conditions; tis to me a too visible discovery of the Weakness on one hand, and the Policy on the other, and that's all I shall say to it.

I hope the Gentlemen concern'd here, will be too wary to offer any thing too hard for an *English* Parliament to grant; and this is the thing with which I shall end this Discourse. To impose something on the *English*, which 'tis known will not pass, or which Circumstances consider'd

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can not; this would be to come to the Union, but not with the Spirit of Union.

I frankly own, I see no disposition in the *Scots* Nation to do so, and hope I shall not be construed to suggest it in this Case; I have too much respect for the *Scots* Nation to imagine such a thing: — But I must own I believe, that very thing is the top of the Party-Politicks now on foot in *England* against the *Scots* Nation, and against the Union in general; to bring *Scotland* if possible, to insist upon something which they know *England* cannot grant; and for this reason we have all their Books against the Union crowded with Queries about Guarantees, Securities, separate Parliaments, partial and imperfect Unions, and the like.

I acknowledge my self convinc'd, that the Union is the general Safety of *Britain*, that it is the particular advantage of either Nation; and if I was to be askt, whether Nation have greater advantages from it, I profess my self incapable of giving a direct answer; on this Head it is that I Discourse, I am perswaded mutual Security, mutual Improvement and mutual Prosperity, attends it on both sides.

But, there must be also mutual Confidences and mutual Affections, or 'tis impossible to Unite; Jealousies, Feuds and Suspicions, will rob the Nations of the fruit even of the Union it self. There cannot be a flux of profitable Trade, an easy, free and uninterrupted conjunction in Circumstances and Families, a Coallition of Stocks, Undertakings and Improvements, if National prejudices are not remov'd.

If a new Seal be made, or a new Armorial Ensign for *Britain* directed, I wish the Motto might be, WE ARE

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BRETHREN, and the Text will add the rest, *Gen. 13. 8.*
Let there be no strife between us.

Let firm Articles, compleat Establishments, and full Clauses form the Union, and the faster the better; but let us not Treat with embarrassing Suspicions, politick Jealousies, and uncharitable censorious Apprehensions of one another, especially where the very Nature of things helps to make them safe; and where both Nations seem to mean nothing but what is sincere.

I confess when I consider this, I wonder to see *some Libels* and Pamphlets appear here, in which they grant a nearer Union of the Kingdoms necessary for their mutual Service, and yet endeavour all along to foment Jealousies between the Nations; particularly that *England* shall oppress *Scotland* after the League is Concluded, and that She will not Perform the Conditions.

Nay, one Gentleman forgets himself so far, as to tell you very positively, if you agree for an Equivalent

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versy, Pa.
22.*

The *English* will not Pay you the Money, and the reason he gives for it is this.

" 'Tis Incident to the Nature of Man, not to perform Bargains, or Pay their Debts, unless they are Compell'd to it, and if not Private Men, far less Societys.

In *English*, this is saying all Men are Born Knaves and Cheats, and when in Societys they grow worse than they were before, and that the *English* are Rogues and not to be Trusted with the Money.

This is very Unkind Gentlemen, and very Severe Language; and were not the Government in *England* much more Moderate, than your Humble Servant once found them, I wonder that Gentleman is not yet Taught better Man-

Manners, if this Book be as Publick there, as 'tis here.

But the Principle on which these Gentlemen go, is not to be Wondred at, since they so plainly discover their aim to be, that you should Trust any Body rather than *England*.

And least what I mean should be hard to guess at, the same Gentleman explains it for me, when having first told you *England* is not to be trusted, nor can give you any Security; he proceeds to tell you, who can: *P. 27* speaking of *England* not making the *Scots* suitable returns, and their seeking some where else, he adds,

" This they can easily do, either by publick Treaties or private Bargains with their Neighbours. —

HOW SIR! private Bargains with Neighbours! How can this be? — " It is incident to the Nature of Man, that neither private Men, far less Societies, will perform their Bargains. *State of the Contro. p. 22.*

Is not this a partiality intolerable, and can I be censur'd for saying, the plain meaning of this is, the *English* are Knaves, and will keep no Bargain with you; but the *French* are honest Fellows, and you may make a Bargain with them.

To carry on this rudeness farther upon *England*, he explains himself — " if any Man does believe that 513
 " Men who have no power to answer to, will compel themselves to pay a great Sum of Money — he has more Faith than Experience or Judgment.

This is not only Scurrilous and Indecent, but so contrary to Truth and Experience, that I could fill this tract with precedents, in the very Parliament of *England*, which are the People he reproaches, how they have retriv'd and supported the publick Faith, and establish'd the Credit of Parliaments, in paying great Sums of Money which they were unde-

under no Parliamentary obligation to Pay, and which they went no farther for, than to examine the justice of the Demand in general, not their own particular Engagement; and let any Man examine the Payment and Debentures to the Army in *Ireland*; to the transport Service; the deficiencies of Tallies on former Funds; and above all, the payment of 600000 *l.* to the *Dutch*, for so much advanc'd on the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange*, which no Parliament was ever engaged for.

These are the Men that by this Book are born Knaves, will keep no Bargains, pay no Debts, and consequently are not fit to be trusted.

I leave all honest Men to judge, whether there is not reason to persuade Men to come with a spirit of Union and Confidence to a Treaty of this Nature, and whether these sort of Writers do not while they pretend to object against the particulars of the Union, really drive at having no Union at all.

I shall descend but to one more Head of this learned Author's Discourse, *having not room for it here*, and that is a most wonderful new invented System of Politicks set down in his 7th p. the last paragraph, *viz.*

"By the Constitution of Parliaments, the Laws are to have their rise from the Will and Humour of the People, signified by the Lords and Commons.—"

This is a suggestion deserves some Mirth were not the Subject too Serious; and I should be glad to see that Gentleman or some body for him, shew me by what part of the Constitution he will prove such a suggestion.

Then he says, this humour of the People is signified by the Lords and Commons, by which he gives the Lords and Commons a great deal of Honour, that their business is

is only to signify the Will and Humour of the People.

I hope their Lordships know their parliamentary Dignity and the Commons their Office, better than this Gentleman, and so I take no notice of that, but I hint it upon this score, *for 'tis in it self too ridiculous to deserve any note*: That the humours of the People, tho not the rise of Laws, ought not to be raised by any Indiscretions against the Laws, and that to possess their Minds with greater Dangers and greater Apprehensions than are justly before them, cannot consist with the care of their Quiet, any more than with the Publick good.

The third and fourth Heads, *viz.* Civil Government and Sovereignty remain, which I cannot enter upon here, this Tract having run further on than I expected, if it may be to the publick Service to Treat further on the Subject, they may be Spoken to by themselves, when the Objections of these popular Authors against the possibility and security of a civil Coalition may meet with some Reply; and perhaps there may not appear such weight in them, as some People imagine.

These things I humbly recomend to the *Scots* Nation to Consider of, I acknowledge, as a Stranger it may be Objected, why I Engage in this Matter; but as I have always Profess'd a more than Common Regard to this Nation, and am not come Hither without some thought of Settling amongst them, on the foot of Trade and Improvement; Especially if the Union follow this Treaty: So I have presum'd with all the Calmness and Respect I can, to recommend Impartially, not the Imaginary, but the real Advantages and Securities of this Union, and I should be very sory, if any Person should mistake me.

Nor am I afraid of being suspected here, the Treatment

I have met with from Parties and Power in my Native Country, I think will Secure me from the Scandal of being an Emissary; to a Party I have no Interest to Pursue, no Gain to make, no Party to Serve; I seek no Advantages from the Union, other than in Common with my Native Country. I Contemn the Suggestion, as I Scorn the Employment of an Emissary, a Spy, or a Mercenary; my Business is known here: Which tending to Trade, Settlement and general Improvement, I never purposed to Meddle in this Affair, and I hope I have done it, so as can give no offence to any.

And as I take this occasion, to speak of my own design of settling in this Kingdom, I desire to speak one word to the Citizens of *Edinburgh*. I know, it is Suggested, that this Union shall Prejudice this City, as it shall Prevent the Concourse of your Nobility and Gentry, and consequently the Trade of the City.

I have observed, that, in all the Books, Railling Pamphlets and Voluminous Arguments against the Union, not one has ever yet Spoke a Word, about your Trade; but all allow, you shall be prodigious Gainers there.

Shall you then lose something of the Concourse of your Gentry here? Tho I do not grant that, neither, Be not concern'd; you will Gain it Ten fold, in the concourse of Strangers. Not this Authors Family only, but Hundreds of Families in *England* have their Eyes this way, to Engage in your Commerce, Embark their Stocks in your Trade, Manufactures and Fishing, Encrease your Shipping, and Improve your Lands.

It is Impossible, but your City must Encrease the Commodiousness of your Harbour for Shipping, Qualify this City only to be the Metropolis of this Kingdom in Trade, as well

as the Capital for Resort; and who ever lives 20 Years here, will see you Encrease in Wealth and People, and in Spight of an Unhappy Situation, Encrease in Buildings too — Trade will, and must bring Inhabitants, and *Edinburgh* and *Leith* will certainly be one City in a few Years.

Trades Men must be sensible of this, and 'tis plain to the Meanest Capacity, a Fleet of Ships in your Road, and constant Import and Export, will bring another sort of Concourse to the City than Ten Parliaments; and 'tis too plain to need Examination.

You will then fall to Importing Naval Stores, Building of Ships, Exporting your own Growth, and Importing Foreign Goods; And how many Families will immediately follow such Employments!

The Citizens and Common People of *Edinburgh*, have therefore the greatest Cause in the World to wish for this Union, as the only way to Redeem them from the Poverty and Misery, the present want of Trade has Reduced them to.

F I N I S.
