



ERRATA.

OUR Nation being so Unhappy, that those who Write or Act against it are Rewarded and Caressed; whereas those that Write or Act for it, must do it at their Peril: It is not to be wondred at, that many Faults should escape the Press in those few Sheets, when all must be done in Hurry and Fear. And therefore the Readers are not only desired to Pardon, but also to Amend the following *Errata*, before they peruse the Book, because they marr the Sense.

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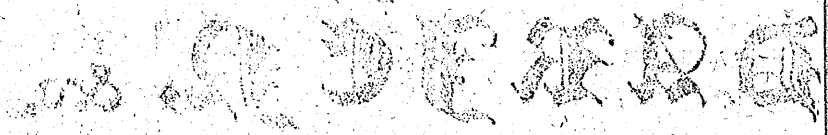
SCOTLAND'S Grievances,  
 Relating to  
**DARJE D, &c.**  
 Humbly offered to the Consideration  
 OF THE  
**Parliament.**

*Vos quibus potior est turpis cum securitate servitus, quam honesta cum periculo libertas, istam, quam magnè estimatis, fortunam, amplectamini, Ego in Patria, sæpe defensa liber & libens moriar: nec me prius ejus caritas quam vita relinquet. Vallas ad Brussum. Buchan. Hist. lib. 8. Which for the benefit of those that don't understand Latin, is English'd thus.*

You who had rather like Cowards submit your Necks to a Yoke of Ignominious Slavery, than expose your selves to any Danger in asserting the Public Liberty; Hugg that Fortune which you value so highly: For my part, I shall cheerfully Sacrifice my Life to die a Free-man in my Native Country, which I have so often Defended: Nor will I cease to Love it, till I cease to Live: *Wallace* to *Bruce*, when he join'd with the *English* against his Country.

SCOTLAND'S CHARTERS

of 1609



of the Parliament

of 1609

Whereas the said Charters... (mirrored bleed-through text)

And whereas the said Charters... (mirrored bleed-through text)

1609

PART I.

SINCE our Nation bethought themselves of advancing their Trade, by the Act for establishing a Company Trading to Africa and the Indies, a greater Invasion hath been made upon our Sovereignty and Freedom, than hath happened at any time since we were ingloriously betray'd by Baljol.

'Twere needless to offer Instances to prove this, had we not to do with a Set of Men who having basely betray'd us, would willingly bereave us of our Sences, that we should neither perceive nor resent it.

The Matters of Fact being notorious, we shall only mention them here with some short Reflections, and take them in order of time as follows.

The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament in England against our Act above-mentioned, was such an Invasion, as to which it may be a proper Enquiry for our Parliament, Whether those Addresses were not Contriv'd and Promoted by some about the K. as the last Address of the House of Lords was; and whether any Native of Scotland was concern'd in Contriving or Promoting the same?

In the next place it will appear, That the Parliament of Scotland has as much Right to signify to the King by Address or otherwise, that the said Addresses were contrary to the Law of Nations, and an Intrenchment upon the Sovereignty of Scotland, as the English Parliament had to present the said Address to him against our Act.

They that Advis'd the King's Answer to the said Address, are guilty of such an Invasion, as to which it would seem that the Parliament of Scotland have as much Right to Resolve, That whoever Advis'd His Majesty to the said Answer, had done as much as in them lay to create a misunderstanding betwixt him and his People of Scotland, as the Commons of England had to Resolve so upon His Majesty's Answer to their Resolves about the Irish Forfeitures.

The Memorial given in to the Senate of Hamburgh, April 7th, 1697. against our Company's making any Convention or Treaty with that City for Promoting our Commerce, was such an Invasion. This may certainly be a just Cause of Enquiry to the Parliament of Scotland, Whether the said Memorial was not a breach of the Law of

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of Nations, since the King of *England* has no Right to take Cognizance of what is done by the Subjects of *Scotland* out of the Dominions of *England*. If the Faction say he did it as King of *Scots*, let them produce their Authority.

In the next place they have Cause to enquire, whether the Assertion in that Memorial, that the *Commissioners of our Company* were no ways Authorized by His Majesty to make the said Treaties was not false? And whether the said Memorial was not an actual Dispensing with, and acting contrary to the Law Establishing our Company, which Empowers them to Treat for, and to procure Exemptions and other Grants as may be convenient for Supporting, Promoting and Enlarging their Trade and Navigation from any Foreign Potentate or Prince whatsoever, in Amity with his Majesty.

It would also seem to be a proper Enquiry for the Parliament of *Scotland*, Whether all the Damages the Company has sustained by the said Memorial, and other Opposition made them by the Court, ought not to be made good out of the Estates of those who gave His Majesty those Advises, and that in order thereunto His Majesty be Address'd to know who they were, or else that he would be pleas'd to make good the said Damages some other way; for effecting of which he stands obliged by the said Act, to interpose his Authority upon the Publick Charge.

Since in the Close of the said Memorial, His Majesty's Ministers threaten the *Hamburgers* with the Consequences of a breach of Friendship and good Correspondence with *England*, if they did not put a stop to the proceedings of our Commissioners in that City. This together with the before-mentioned Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* gives the Parliament of *Scotland* a more just ground to Address His Majesty to put a stop to those Intrenchments made by an English Faction (for we don't charge it upon the whole Nation) upon the Sovereignty and Freedom of *Scotland*, than the English Parliament had to Address His Majesty against our Act.

It may also deserve the Enquiry of the Parliament of *Scotland*, Why the King of *England*'s Ministers should dare to have call'd themselves Ministers to the King of *Great Britain* in that Memorial, which was in direct opposition to a Scots Act of Parliament and Letters Patents Granted by the King of *Scotland*: Since our Country is included in the Denomination of *Great Britain*, and that His Majesty, as King of *Scots*, neither did nor could give them any Authority to present that Memorial. This deserves their Enquiry so much the more, that by this means our own Authority and Name may always be made use of against our selves, as it was in this Case, if care be not taken to prevent it; and besides, it may in future Ages be made use of as an Argument by the English Historians; to prove that the Scots were Subject to *England*, as their former

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former Historians ignorantly made use of it as an Argument to prove the same thing, that some of their Kings were said to have Commanded over all *Britain*, by which no more was meant but that part of it which was Subject to the Romans, and secur'd against the IncurSIONS of the Scots by *Adrian's* or *Severus's* Walls.

That the Company's Address of June 28th 1697. Complaining of that Memorial, and asserting like true Scotsmen their own Right, and those of the Nation against the Invasions of our Neighbours, should have no Answer from the King till the 2d day of August after, deserves also the Enquiry of our Parliament; but much more that His Majesty's Promise according to the said Answer was never fulfilled; nor a Declaration to Indemnify the *Hamburgers* against the said Memorial Granted, by which the Company was so much injured, and the Independency of our Nation openly violated.

Yet it's still more to be wondred at, and deserves our Parliaments most serious Enquiry, Why after so many repeated Addresses from the Company, and one from the Parliament it self July 22d 1698. our Nation should be so much condemn'd and injured, and the Authority of a Parliament which had been so kind to His Majesty, so much trampled upon and undervalued, that the said Memorial was so far from being recalled, that Mr *Stevenson*, the Company's Agent acquaints them in his Letter of the 4th of October, That the English there did constantly say, the Company would never be Redress'd; and in his of the 18th of October following, That he understood by Mr. *Cresset* the English Envoy to the Court of *Lunenburg*, that if the Memorial were yet to be given in, it would have been done; and that the said *Cresset* had Private Orders to act quite contrary to our Company's Expectations. This was such a black piece of Treachery, and shews so much Contempt of our Nation, and such Rancour and Malice against it, that we cannot see how the Parliament can in Honour to themselves, and Honesty to the Kingdom which they represent, omit Addressing His Majesty to discover the Authors of such pernicious Councils, that they may be proceeded against according to the Law of Nations; or at least to make a Resolve, That the Authors and Abettors of such Councils, if Scotsmen, are Traytors; and if Foreigners, are Enemies to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that the Company has a Right of Reprisal against them and their Supporters when discovered. This may perhaps seem too severe, for which we shall make no other Apology; but if what followed upon the Company's representing this Information to the Lord *Seafield* be duly considered, it will appear that our Nation has no reason to be much foster in the Matter, for by that it is evident that Mr. *Stevenson's* Information was but too true, and that the same wicked Counsellors who had advis'd that Opposition, still obtain'd the Ascendant: What else is the meaning of the Lord S... -s

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trifling Answer upon the receipt of the Company's Letter with Mr. *Stevenson's* inclos'd; could any Man think that a sufficient Answer, that he could not as yet expect an opportunity of representing the Matter to the King, because he was so very much employ'd in the Affairs of his English Parliament: Had his Lordship forgot that he himself, as President of the Parliament of Scotland, had Sign'd their Address to his Majesty to have this very Grievance removed, and did his Lordship think the Parliament of Scotland so very contemptible; that an Affair of theirs might not find room amongst the Affairs of the Parliament of England? Did his Lordship never know His Majesty go a Hunting all that Season, and could not he have prevail'd with Him to have allowed a Hunting day or two, to consider of an Affair wherein the Parliament of the Scotland was so much concerned? What pity 'tis his Lordship should not give our Parliament an Account whether this Answer was made by himself, or put in his Mouth by some body else to paum a new delay upon our Company.

The Contempt put upon our Nation in this Affair is further demonstrable; from that continual Series of trifling with the Company, and their having no other answer to those important Letters of theirs abovementioned (tho they wrote another to *Seafield* to put him in mind of them, da ed *January 13th*) till the 7th of February following; and then he sends to them, "that he was commanded by His Majesty to let them know that there being Accounts that the Ships belonging to the Company were arriv'd upon the Coast of *America*, and the particular Design not being communicated to His Majesty; he therefore delays giving answer; till he receive certain Information of their Settlement.

Whoever advis'd His Majesty to deal thus by our Company took as little care of his Honour, as they did of our Welfare: Such evasive and disingenuous Answers in a private Person would have been call'd by very hard Names: What Consistency is there betwixt this Answer and the Promise, made by the two Secretaries, the 2d Day of *August, 1697*. That he would order his Ministers at *Hamburgh* and *Lunenburg* not to make use of his Name and Authority for obstructing our Company in the prosecution of their Trade with the Inhabitants of that City: This Promise was absolute, and the Court stands now charg'd by Mr. *Crescet*, with giving private Instructions contrary to this, and other publick Promises; yet tho His Majesty's Honour, and the Interest of *Scotland* be so much concern'd, that the Scandal should be wip'd off by a speedy and punctual performance of his Promise, here's a new delay put upon the Company, and a Promise which was absolute before, now made conditional a Year and an half at *Cr.* and before they are to expect an answer whether it shall be fulfill'd or not: His Majesty requires certain Information of the Colonie's Settlement, as if those pernicious Coun-

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fellours, who advis'd to this Conduct could think this sufficient to absolve His Majesty from a Promise he had made so long before, to take off the stop he had put to their Subscriptions at *Hamburgh*.

But that the pernicious Counsellours design'd this only as an amusement and delay without any design that our Grievances should be redress'd, will appear by the Sequel: For after the Company had acquainted His Majesty with the Settlement of their Colony in the Terms of his own Act of Parliament, and that a very Loyal and Pertinent Address was also presented to His Majesty from the Colony it self; yet this Interdict laid upon our Subscriptions at *Hamburgh* was never taken off to this Day, tho the Company did again press it in their Letter to His Majesty; with an Account of their Colony's Settlement: nor had they ever any Redress for *Capr. Long*, of the *Rupert Prizes*, traducing their Colony as a Company of Rogues, Vagabonds, and broken Officers, without any Commission from the King, and that His Majesty would not own them; all which makes it evident that there was nothing of Sincerity in the Conduct of those who were His Majesty's Counsellours; as to the Affairs of our Company.

This will still be further evident from the Proclamations publish'd against our Colony in *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and *New England*, which were not only treacherous to the highest degree, but such an Invasion upon the Sovereignty and Independency of our Nation, as ought not to be pass'd over by our Parliament without a Protestation against them, and a strict enquiry after the Authors and Advisers of them.

That they are full of Treachery and Malice against our Country, is plain from their being emitted (as appears by their Dates) before ever any Complaint was made against us by the Spaniards, before we were heard what we could say in our own defence; and at the same time whilst our Lord President and Advocate were sent for from *Scotland*, to hear what they could say in Justification of our Colony's Settlement. The Treachery is also plainly demonstrable, because the said Proclamations were publish'd without consulting the Council of *Scotland*, and that they were contrary to the solemn Promises, made by the Commissioners and Presidents in our Parliaments from time to time; wherein His Majesty promis'd to encourage and protect our Trade, of which those Proclamations are utterly subversive.

If it be objected that His Majesty was obliged to publish those Proclamations out of regard to the English Nation and His Foreign Allies. We answer that his Majesty by his Coronation Oath as King of *Scotland*, is oblig'd to govern us by our own Laws, and not by any Consideration of Foreign Interests; but admitting that he ought in this Case to have given the preference to the English Nation, and his Foreign Allies; It will by no means acquit the pernicious Coun-

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fellors of Treachery towards us, since the least they could have advis'd in this case was, that we should have had notice of such Proclamations before-hand, that we might have been upon our Guard, and have done what we could to have prevented our Colonies being frightened or starved from *Darien*; the omitting of which alone, had there been nothing of an actual concurrence to destroy us, makes those Counsellors chargeable with the Blood of our Men, the Loss of our Treasure, and the Disappointment of the just Expectation we had from that Expedition.

That the publishing of those Proclamations was an unfufferable Intrenchment upon the Sovereignty and Independency of our Nation is undeniable, since thereby the King of *England* takes upon himself to condemn the Subjects of *Scotland* as Invaders of the Dominions of *Spain*, and thereupon forbids his English Subjects to have any Correspondence with them, or to supply them with any Necessaries, which by the Law of Nations must be interpreted an Act of Hostility, when done by one Nation to another.

That this being done by the King of *England* is an Invasion upon the Sovereignty of *Scotland*, is evident, because he hath no right neither as a Liege-Sovereign, nor Conqueror to judge of our Actions. If he did it as King of *Scots*, then it concerns our Parliament to enquire by what Law he could do it without their Consent, or what *Scotsmen* advis'd him so to do, and whether it be true what Mr. *Vernon* said, That it was done with the Lord S——'s Privacy and Consent.

That the emitting of those Proclamations was a deliberate Action of the pernicious Counsellors, and full of Malice and Treachery against the Kingdom of *Scotland* appears further, from the publishing a Second Proclamation, *Sept. 5. 1699*, at *Barbadoes*, against entertaining any Correspondence with the *Scots* at *Darien*, tho' the Lord President and Advocate had so long before given in sufficient Reasons to justify our Settlement. This will appear yet more plainly if the Tenor of that Proclamation be considered, which is not so positive as that at *Jamaica* in condemning our Settlement at *Darien*, as contrary to the Peace with his Majesty's Allies, but is express'd doubtfully; *Lest the same should derogate from the Treaties His Majesty hath entered into with the Crown of Spain, or be otherwise prejudicial to any of His Majesty's Colonies in the West-Indies.* Whence it is evident that we have a positive Injury done us, tho' the Court could not be positive, but only suppos'd that our Settlement might derogate from his Majesty's Treaties with *Spain*, or be prejudicial to his Majesty's Colonies in the *West-Indies*. The Authors of this Proclamation knew well enough the state of our Colony's Provisions, and how fatal those Proclamations would be to them; and therefore no Art can palliate their Malice and Treachery.

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That the said Proclamations were emitted with a design to ruin our Colony is demonstrable from this, That tho' our Company upon the dismal News of its Disaster, did in a very dutiful manner petition his Majesty, " put him in mind of the several Acts of Parliament, and his Letters Patent, authorising the Natives of this Kingdom to settle Plantations in *Asia, Africa* and *America*; upon the Faith and Encouragement of which they form'd themselves into a Company, and had made a Settlement at *Darien*, precisely according to the Terms of the said Acts and Letters Patent; at the same time informing him, That they had but too much reason to believe that the said Proclamations had been of fatal Consequence to our Company and Colony; desiring that the effect of the Proclamations might be taken off, and that they might be supplied from the English Plantations in the ordinary way of Commerce. Yet notwithstanding all this Application they had a meer trifling Answer returned them, and Couch'd in such Ambiguous Terms as might leave room for farther trifling, *viz. That we should have the same freedom of Trade and Commerce with the English Plantations as ever we had formerly*; which was just none at all. So that this was nothing but a meer Evasion, and no direct Answer to our Companies necessary and reasonable Petition.

Certainly it concerns our Parliament to enquire who were the Authors of this scandalous Breach of Publick Laws, upon the Faith of which our Country ventur'd so much to Sea, and by the violation of which in such a manner the Sovereignty of our Nation is trampled under foot, and we have lost so much Blood and Treasure.

The Malice of these pernicious Counsellors against our Country and Colony, is further display'd by their doing all that's possible to preclude us from having our Grievances redress'd; we have in vain petitioned the Court ever since the last Sessions of Parliament, and therefore had no way left us but to Petition that the Parliament may meet again at the day appointed in *November* next, that His Majesty may have the Advice and Assistance of the Great Council of this Nation, in such a Weighty and General Concern. This those blessed Counsellors are so far from thinking fit to be Granted, that they Advise His Majesty to Adjourn our Parliament further till the 3th of *March* following; just when they heard this Petition was coming up; and at the same time we are told, that His Majesty will Order the Parliament to meet when he judg'd the Good of the Nation did require it; as if any could be better Judges than the Nation it self which groan'd under Oppression, and knew no other way of being delivered from them; or as if the Advice of the Council General of our Company, wherein the Flower of our Nobility and Gentry, and a great number of the Members of our Parliament are included, were not more proper to give His Majesty

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jestly Advice in this matter, than an English and Dutch Faction mixt with some Scotchmen who have so little Interest in their Country or Affection to it, as to betray it for Bread, or the Favour of the Court. Thus the Honour and Interest of our Country are still trampled upon.

Tho' those continued Sights and Marks of Contempt were enough to have wearied our Company out, and might justly have provok'd the Nation to have taken other Measures; yet the Company out of their Zeal to the publick Welfare, continue their Applications to His Majesty, and send up an Address to him by the Lord Basil Hamilton; wherein they acquaint His Majesty, "that Capt. Pincartton, Commander of their Ship the *Dolphin*, being forc'd ashore under the Walls of *Carthage*; to avoid Shipwrack was with all his Company; some of them Gentlemen, belonging to the best Families of the Nation detain'd Prisoners, and inhumanly us'd; contrary to the Treaties betwixt the Crowns of *Spain* and *Great Britain*, that the Colony had in the Name of His Majesty and the Company sent to demand them; but instead of having it granted, their Messenger was threatned to be put in Chains, and not allow'd to see any of the said Prisoners; and therefore they thought themselves bound in Duty and Conscience to lay their deplorable Case before His Majesty, and for that end commissioned the Lord Basil Hamilton, one of their Number, to present their Address to His Majesty, and to give him a further account of their other Affairs, not doubting but His Majesty would take speedy and effectual measures for redressing their Dammage, and obtaining the Freedom of those distressed Prisoners.

Tho' this Address, and the Calamities which our Nation at home, and Colony abroad labour'd under, might one would have thought force Compassion, and speedy Relief, from the Breast of a generous Enemy; yet such is the continued prevalency of the pernicious Counsellours, that the accepting of this Address is put off; and by consequence the Redress of our Grievances, and the Relief of those wretched Gentlemen, and others delay'd, on a trifling and frivolous pretext, "that the Lord Basil Hamilton had not waited upon His Majesty, when formerly at *London*, had never since given any publick Evidence of his Loyalty, nor acknowledged His Majesty's Government. This was above a month after the Address was sign'd, and must needs be taken, as the Company themselves rightly understood it to be a signification of His Majesty's Displeasure at the Commission it self, which my Lord Basil brought up: There being no Prince in *Europe*, but would with open Arms embrace a Subject of my Lord Basil Hamilton's Quality and Character, upon his return to his Duty, and presenting an Address that own'd His Majesty's Title and Government (if he had ever acted against it) but much more a Person of his high Birth and Merit.

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merit who was never charged with any thing inconsistent with the Duty of a Loyal and Peaceable Subject.

It would seem then to be incumbent upon the Parliament of *Scotland*, to enquire who they were that Advised His Majesty to delay his Endeavours, which by Law he was obliged to exert, for obtaining the Liberty of Capt. Pincartton and his Company, and the restitution of his Ship and Goods, though the Company had never Addressed him upon that Head: It would, we say, seem to be incumbent upon the Parliament to enquire who it was that Advised to the dispensing with a positive Law, because the Commissioner who presented that Address, had neglected a Ceremony which he was by no Law obliged to perform. If the Nation of *Scotland* is become so contemptible that its Rights must be neglected; and if the Blood of our Illustrious Nobility and Gallant Gentry be now so vile that the omission of a meer Ceremony is thought sufficient cause to connive at Hostilities committed upon our People, and to suffer Gentlemen related to the best Families of the Kingdom to perish in Infamous Slavery; It's in vain for us to pretend to be a Free Nation: If we cannot have such Injuries redress'd, we had as good send our Coronation Oath and Claim of Right to His Majesty of *England* in a Present, and tell him, that henceforward we will become his most obedient Slaves and Vassals, and will hang our selves whenever he shall be Graciously pleased to send us a Letter and Bow-string for that end.

Some we know will object that His Majesty did not refuse to receive the Petition, though he would not allow my Lord Basil to Present it, and promised to receive Information of what is demanded from his Secretaries; and if my Lord Basil would give in in Writing to them what he had to represent, His Majesty would give his Answer to the Company.

To which we can readily answer, That this is the direct Path to the Tyranny of the late Reigns, which ordered that no Petition should be presented to the King but by his Council: If His Majesty must appoint who shall deliver the Petition, it's all one as if he should dictate the Petition, too. We would wish the Pernicious Counsellours to consider how they will reconcile this to the Claim of Right, and what an Answer they will be able to give our Parliament, if they think fit to tell them, that His Majesty's beloved Secretary had formerly neglected delivering the Companies Petitions, on pretence that he had not an opportunity of doing it, because His Majesty was so much taken up with the Affairs of his English Parliament; and therefore they had no reason to entrust him with any more Petitions.

Besides, it is visible that this delay proceeded meerly from a design to ruin our Company entirely; It was known to the World how much they suffered in their Reputation and Interest by the disaster

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disaster of their Colony, which nothing in probability could retrieve, without the Countenance and Concurrence of His Majesty and Parliament; this the Enemies of our Nation were sensible of, and therefore take such measures as procure 'us all possible marks of His Majesty's Displeasure, and an obstinate refusal of a Parliament. By this Opposition they had little reason to doubt, that we should be so balked in the Prosecution of our American design, as utterly to abandon it! When we saw the Court resolved to thwart us in every thing relating to it, and so unmerciful as to delay procuring the Liberty of so many Gentlemen that were detained Prisoners, and cruelly used contrary to the Laws of Nations.

From all which it necessarily results, that it's incumbent upon the Parliament of *Scotland* to enter a Protest against this continued Violation of their Laws and Authority, and to enquire who they are that gave His Majesty such Council that they may be punished according to Demerit.

We comenext to consider his Majesty's Answer to the Contents of the Address brought up by my Lord *Basil Hamilton*, viz. "That he was resolved in the Terms of the Treaty, to demand that Capt. *Pincarton* and those of his Crew who are detained Prisoners at *Carthage* be released and set at liberty. That the Subjects of *Scotland* shall be allowed the same liberty of Trade that others enjoy with the English Plantations; that it was his Resolution to Promote and Advance the Trade of the Kingdom: And the three Frigats they demand, having been given by Parliament for Guarding the Trade of the Coasts, he was not resolved to dispose of them till he had the Advice of his Parliament.

By this His Majesty owns that Capt. *Pincarton* and his Crew were detained Prisoners by the Spaniards contrary to the Treaty. Then what can his Counsellors in Scots Affairs say for their not having Advised His Majesty to demand him sooner, especially since he was obliged to it by the Act Establishing our Company; had the Zeal of those Counsellors who pretend to be concerned for the Welfare and Honour of our Nation, been equal to the malice of those that Advised His Majesty to issue Proclamations against our Colony in the *West Indies*, before he knew whether we had done any thing in contravention to his Treaties with *Spain* or not; they would certainly have put him upon demanding Satisfaction sooner for a manifest breach of those Treaties. This we conceive deserves also the Consideration of our Parliament.

In the next place, by His Majesty's Promise that we should have the same Liberty of Trade that others enjoy with the English Plantations. It is owned by the Advisers of it, that it was in His Majesty's Power so to do, and that he might lawfully do so, which is a plain Confession that we had acted nothing contrary to

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his Treaties with *Spain*, nor to the detriment of his English Plantations, and that the former Prohibition was the Act and Deed of those Pernicious Counsellors; for had it been contrary to the Laws of *England*, or Treaties betwixt the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, that our Colonies should be supplied with Provisions, &c. from the English Plantations, it had not been in His Majesty's Power to dispence with it now. The matter then being so, it concerns the Parliament of *Scotland* to enquire who they were, and upon what motives they Advised His Majesty to emit those Proclamations against supplying our Colony with Provisions, &c. Since it was settled in the precise Terms of the Act of his Scots Parliament, and his own Letters Patent; and that our Colony had done nothing contrary to his Treaties with *Spain*, or to the Interest of his English Plantations: At the same time it may be proper for them to enquire why Capt. *Pincarton* and his Company, as also the Ship and Goods, are not restored all this while? And whether the promise of demanding them from *Spain* hath not been as ill performed as was that of recalling the *Memorial* at *Hamburgh*.

As to His Majesty's Promise of our having the same Liberty of Trade to the English Plantations as others have, it is worth the while to observe the management of the Pernicious Counsellors in this point. It would seem they were sensible that His Majesty's Promise, if performed, might be of advantage to our Colony, and would make shew to the World, that he really Countenanced our Undertaking, and by consequence oblige those that oppose us to greater Precautions; and therefore though this Promise was made us to calm the Spirits of our People, whom they knew to be in a general Ferment, they were resolved it should never be performed; but how to bring His Majesty handsomly off, was their next Enquiry. This they found a method to do, by endeavouring to have the Parliament of *England* approve what his Majesty had done against our Company and Colony, and they thought no doubt, that His Majesty would be sufficiently absolved, and the mouths of our Nation for ever stopped, as having neither Courage nor Power to call the Kingdom of *England* to an Account.

This was in vain attempted upon the House of Commons, but carried at last in the House of Lords, *vix & modis*, yet not without a Protestation against it, and several sharp Speeches inveighing against the Courtiers who had promised that very thing to the Scots, against which they were then soliciting the House to Address His Majesty.

The Address it self we shall view anon, after some further Considerations on His Majesty's Promise to our Company, as to the three Frigats they demanded, which, he says, Because they were given by the Parliament for Guarding the Trade of the Coasts, he is resolved not to dispose of till he have the Advice of our Parliament.

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ment. It is certainly an essential part of our Constitution, for a King of Scots to Advise with his Parliament; Why then was not the Parliament summoned to meet speedily at the Companies desire, since the Honour and Interest of our Kingdom required it? And we would willingly know of those that Advise His Majesty in Scots Affairs, whether they think the Parliament meant those Ships, when the Peace had rendred the Guarding our Coasts unnecessary, should have been depied for Guarding the Trade of the Nation, and the Coasts of our new Settlement at *Caledonia*. And in the next place we would willingly know of them why the Granting of this necessary demand should be deferred till the Parliament can be Advised with concerning it, since the Granting of it in all common Interpretation, must be supposed to be according to their Act, and why their Advice was not also staid for or desired, before the emitting the Proclamations against our Colony in the *West Indies*? This is certainly worth our Parliaments enquiring into. For 'tis not to be supposed that they entrust our Kings to do whatever Pernicious Councils Advise them to, against the Interest of the Nation, and only to delay doing what is visibly for its Advantage, till they have the consent of Parliament: Upon the whole it is demonstrable beyond contradiction, that they who have His Majesty's Ear as to Scots Affairs, and by whose Advice he has Governed himself as to our Kingdom, designed no good to our Company, Colony, or Country, otherwise such reasonable Requests as they have from time to time desired of His Majesty, could not have been refused as they have constantly been, in manifest violation of our Laws, and to the irreparable Disgrace of our Nation.

This will appear convincingly to those that consider the Proclamation issued in *Scotland* by His Majesty's Order, against carrying on a National Petition for a Parliament in order to redress our Grievances as to *Darien*, &c. The frivolous pretext of the Pernicious Counsellors, that the same was promoted by Persons who had given no proofs of their Affections to the Government; and that they endeavoured to charge the miscarriage of the *Darien* Colony, upon Proclamations published against their having any Supplys from the English *West Indies*; whereas it was chargeable upon other Causes; this frivolous pretext we say is so very thin, that it may easily be seen through, and was contrived on purpose to draw a Vail over the manifest Injustice of this Proclamation, so diametrically opposite to the Claim of Right, on which His Majesty accepted the Crown, wherein it is expressly declared, *That it is the Right of the Subject to Petition the King, and that all Prosecutions and Imprisonments for such Petitioning, are and were contrary to Law.* Here is no exception made of Subjects that have not given proofs of their Affection to the Government. It is sufficient if they be Subjects, for certainly Petitioning in it self infer's an owning of the Government;

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Government; but admit it were so that the said Petition was promoted by such, must the whole Nation when injured in its Honour and Interest, be denied the liberty of Petitioning for a Redress of their Grievances, because Persons that are not well Affected to the Government, when they suffer in the common loss of their Country, and likewise in their own personal Property are willing to concur with them, and to promote such a Petition? This is Doctrine fit for *Turky*, or for *France*; and indeed not digestable there, much less to be obtruded upon us. But the Truth of the matter is this, the mischeivous Counsellors were not willing the Nation should be acquainted with the Treatment they had met with by their means, and therefore did not care to hear of a National Application for a Redress.

But did those Gentlemen think we would take their word for it, that the miscarriage of our Colony was not chargeable upon their *West-India* Proclamations, since they know they never yet suffered his Majesty to keep his word to us; as is but too too evident from the *Hamburgh* Memorial, the said Proclamations, and other steps of opposition made to our Company contrary to express Law? Was it not but reasonable then, that we should desire a Parliament to enquire into the Matter, and examine whether the Company's Charge be true or false? Or when the Practises of pernicious Counsellors gives the Country just cause to complain of Grievances, must they not petition for a Redress, because some ill men may perhaps improve it against the Government? We hope our Parliament will think it worth their while to enquire, whether they that gave the occasion for such a Petition, or those that make such a Petition be most culpable.

Ay, but says the Faction, such petitioning is an invasion of his Majesties Prerogative, it being he only who is to call a Parliament. To which we answer, that the Claim of Right sets bounds to his Prerogative beyond which he is not to go, since upon those Terms he accepted our Crown; and that Claim having resery'd to the Subject the Right of petitioning, the denial of it is an Invasion of their Property. And besides, tho his Majesty only is to call a Parliament, it's not left absolutely or solely at his Disposol when. By the Claim of Right he is obliged for the redress of Grievances to call them frequently, and to allow them to sit. So that the denying of the Parliaments meeting, and adjourning them from time to time, as in the present Case, when the whole Nation complains of their Grievances in relation to their Colony, is another manifest infractions upon the Claim of Right, which our Parliament is concern'd to enquire into the Authors of, that they may be punish'd; otherwise our Claim of Right will by degrees come to be of no more use to us than an Almanack out of date.

We



We come now to the Address of the House of Lords in England, concerning our Colony at Darien, which we think convenient to insert here at large.

London, February 13th.

Yesterday His Majesty received the following Address from the House of Lords.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, being according to our duty solicitous for the preservation and Encrease of the Trade of this Kingdom, on which the Support of your Majesties Greatness and Honour so much depends, as well as the Security and Defence of your People, have been very apprehensive, that the steps lately made towards a Settlement of your Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland at Darien, may tend to the great prejudice of this Nation, and possibly to the disturbance of that Peace and good Correspondence with the Crown of Spain, which we conceive is very advantageous to us all: We have therefore taken the same into our serious consideration, as a matter of the greatest Importance, and proper to be laid before your Majesty, as the Common Father of both Countries. And as we are truly sensible of great Losses our Neighbour Kingdom hath sustained, both by Men and Treasure, in their Expeditions to that place, which we very heartily lament, so we should not endeavour by any Interposition of Ours, to defeat the Hopes they may still entertain of recovering those Losses by their further engaging in that design, but that we judge such a Prosecution on their parts must end not only in far greater Disappointments to themselves, but at the same time prove very inconvenient to the Trade, and quiet of this Kingdom.

On this occasion we humbly presume to put your Majesty in mind of the Address of both Houses of Parliament, presented to Your Majesty on the 17th of December 1695. In the close of which Address Your Majesty will see the unanimous Sense of this Kingdom in relation to any Settlement the SCOTS might make in the West-Indies, by virtue of an Act of Parliament past about that time in the Kingdom of Scotland, which was the occasion of the said Address.

And we humbly represent to Your Majesty, that having received Information of some Orders Your Majesty had sent to the Governours of the Plantations on this Subject, the House

did, on the 18th of January last, come to this Resolution, That Your Majesty's Pleasure signified to the Governours of the Plantations, in Relation to the Scotch Settlement at DARIEN, was agreeable to the Address of both Houses of Parliament, presented to Your Majesty on the 17th of December 1695.

And on the 8th of this Instant February, this House came to this further Resolution, that the Settlement of the Scots Colony at DARIEN is inconsistent with the Good of the Plantation Trade of this Kingdom.

All which we humbly hope Your Majesty will take into your Royal Consideration, and we are confident that Your Majesty cannot be thought too partial to the Address of this House, if Your Majesty shall in the first place consider the Advantage and Good of this Trade of this Kingdom, by the Preservation and Improvement of which, both these Kingdoms, and all your other Dominions, must on all occasions principally be defended.

If this Address be not a manifest Invasion of our Sovereignty and Independency never any thing was; and therefore 'tis to be hop'd our Parliament, against whose Act they have so expressly declared themselves, will protest against this Address, and declare it to be an invasion of our Freedom, and such an interposition in our Affairs as is inconsistent with the Sovereignty and Independency of Scotland. We have already taken notice that this Address was the procurement of the Court, which shews how fraudulently the pernicious Counsellors have all along acted with us, and what our Nation is to expect so long as we are governed by such Advice: But to come to the Address it self.

It is evident that the natural Tendency of it is to render our Kingdom subject to that of England, and a plain Declaration against our Settlement at Darien, or any place in the West-Indies.

It is also plain from this Address, that they presented it on purpose to defeat the hopes that we might still entertain of recovering our Losses, by further engaging in that Design; and that they have taken upon themselves the Loss of the Blood and Treasure which we have sustained in the West-Indies, by declaring that his Majesties Pleasure, signified to the Governours of the Plantations in relation to our Settlement at Darien, was agreeable to the Address of both Houses of Parliament, of the 17th of December, 1695. It's observable also, that by this Address the Lords take upon them to say the Commons are of the same mind with themselves; which since the Commons seem to comply with by their silence, wants very little of a formal Declaration of both Houses against our trading either in the East or West-Indies.

It is also evident from this Address, that they demand his Majesty should prefer the Advantage of their Trade to ours; from all which together its demonstrable, that they have no more to do but to alledge any branch of our Trade they please to be inconsistent with and disadvantageous to theirs, and so may at last deprive us of our whole Trade: since those who are his Majesties Counsellors in our Affairs think it sufficient it seems to absolve him from his Coronation Oath to us, or any other Obligation he is under to govern us according to our own Laws, if what he does against our Interest and Honour be but agreeable to the mind of his Parliament of England.

These things make it evident beyond Contradiction, that except some speedy redress be had, "Not only our Company but all other individual Merchants of this Kingdom, must from henceforward conclude that all their Rights and Freedom of Trade are and may be further violently wrested out of our Hands by our Neighbours: As our Company well express'd it in their Address to his Majesty, June 28th. 1697.

By those barefac'd and avow'd methods, the Conjecture of our Company, in their Address to the Council of Scotland of December 22d 1697, hath been also too much verified, viz. "That if effectual means were not taken for putting an early stop to such an open and violent Infringement of so solemn a Constitution, its hard to guess how far it may in after-ages be made use of as a Precedent, for invading and overthrowing even the very fundamental Rights, natural Liberties, and indisputable Independency of this Kingdom, which by the now open and frequent Practices of our unkind Neighbours seem to be too shrewdly pointed at, and give cause of Apprehensions and Jealousies, not only to our Company in particular, but even to the whole Body of the Nation in general. It is no less evident, by those proceedings that the Authority and Credit of our Parliament is struck at through our Companies Sides: As the Company likewise truly express'd it, in their Address to the Parliament, July 22d, 1698.

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And from this Address they may as well foresee that they are to expect all the opposition from the Faction that can be, as they formerly predicted, but too late in their Address to the Parliament "That their Enemies would either directly or indirectly pursue their Designs of ruining all their Measures. For we may assure our selves that those Persons about his Majesty, who were so officious to procure Proclamations against our Colony (when there was no such Address to countenance their Proceedings) will not be wanting to press his Majesty to oppose us to the utmost, since they have been at so much pains to procure this Address, tho at the expence of His Majesty's Reputation, who had promis'd us the contrary: This is but too evident from the Advices we have already receiv'd, that the Captain of the Sloop, who brought 2 of our Colony

Colony from Darien to Jamaica, since our repossessing our selves of it, was imprison'd there, and his Vessel seiz'd on that Account.

We come next to the Causes they assign for this Address, viz. That our Settlement may occasion a breach of the Peace betwixt them and Spain, and be prejudicial to their Plantation-Trade.

The first they have no Cause to fear, since there is no offensive and defensive League 'twixt us and England, that we are a distinct and independent Nation, and that they have sufficiently declar'd their opposition to our Settlement, to the loss of our Blood and Treasure; the second is frivolous and against the Law of Nations, since every free and independent Kingdom has a right to seek their own advantage without any regard to the Interest of another, as much as two Freemen of the same Employment have a right to set up a Shop in the same Street, or next Door to one another, if they find their account in it. If it were otherwise, the English have as much right to oppose the old French Settlements in the West-Indies, and their new one at Mississipi, as they have to oppose ours; so that their proceedings against us in this matter is a piece of the blackest Injustice that one Nation can be guilty of towards another: And we wonder very much at it, since some of their Council of Trade, who are amongst the Chief of those that advise to this way of proceeding against us, seem to place all their hopes of Heaven upon Justice 'twixt Man and Man, and yet seem to have no sense of Justice betwixt Nation and Nation,

We come next to consider His Majesties Answer.

His Majesties most Gracious Answer to the Address, was to this Effect, Viz.

HIS Majesty having received a very dutiful Address from the House of Peers, in relation to the Endeavours lately used by some of his Majesties Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland towards making a Settlement at DARIEN, in which they humbly represent to him their Opinion, that such a Settlement is inconsistent with the good of the Plantation-Trade of this Kingdom: Is pleased to let the House know, That he will always have a very great regard to their Opinion; And to assure them, that he will never be wanting by all proper means, to promote the Advantage and Good of the Trade of England. At the same time His Majesty is pleased to Declare, that he cannot but have a great Concern and Tenderness for his Kingdom of Scotland, and a desire to advance their Well-fare and Prosperity, and is very sensibly touched with the loss His Subjects

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jects of that Kingdom have sustained by their late unhappy Expeditions, in order to a Settlement at DARIEN. His Majesty does apprehend that difficulties may too often arise with respect to the different Interest of Trade, between his two Kingdoms, unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and compleatly: And therefore His Majesty takes this opportunity of putting the House of Peers in mind of what he recommended to his Parliament, soon after his Accession to the Throne, That they would consider of an Union between the two Kingdoms. His Majesty is of opinion, That nothing would more contribute to the security and happiness of both Kingdoms; and is inclined to hope, that after they have lived near 100 years under the same Head, some happy Expedient may be found for making them one People, in case a Treaty were set on Foot for that purpose; And therefore he does very earnestly recommend this Matter to the Consideration of the House.

This Answer is indeed something more like the Answer of a King of Scots, than that to the Address of both Houses, of the 17th of December 1695. Yet the management of our Friends, his Majesties Counsellors in Scots Affairs, is still obvious to our view, in this Answer; the transports of Joy they were filled with upon the receipt of the Lords Address, discovers it self by visible Ebullitions in the very first Line. His Majesty having received a *VERY DUTIFUL ADDRESS*. What pity 'twas that new Patents of Honour were not sent to every one of those Lords that were for this Dutiful Address. But when it comes to be weighed in a Scots Ballance it appears to be undutiful to the highest degree. 1. Because they take upon them to advise his Majesty to act contrary to what he had promised to the Scots. And, 2. Because instead of owning him as an independent Sovereign of Scotland, they treat him like their Vassal, as he is King of Scots, by pretending to direct him in the Affairs of our Nation, where they have nothing to do; and that also in opposition to the Sentiments of the Parliament of Scotland, who must rationally be suppos'd to understand the Interest of our Nation better, and to consult it more, than they either can or will do.

Certainly they must have a very mean Opinion of the Wisdom of our Nation, if they think we can be gull'd with their pretending to be sorry for our great loss of Men and Treasure; when at the same time, they charge themselves with advising to those measures which occasioned the loss of both, and indirectly threaten us (for we cannot interpret it otherwise) *WITH FAR GREATER DISAPPOINTMENTS IN THE PROSECUTION OF OUR DESIGN*: for justification of which they have already

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already form'd their Declaration, viz. That our Settlement at Darien is greatly prejudicial to their Nation, and disturbs their Peace with Spain; when all this while the Spaniards have never offered to make the least Reprizal upon them for it, whereas they have committed actual Hostilities upon us.

His Majesty's declaring that he cannot but have a great Concern and Tenderness for his Kingdom of Scotland, and a desire to advance our Welfare and Prosperity, discovers a Paternal Affection to us; but considering how he is circumstantiate, is like to be of as little use to our Nation, as the Affection of a Natural Father to his own Children, for whom he dares not do any good Office, because of a cursed ill-natured Step-mother, that has him at command: Thus His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant us an Act for Encouraging and Promoting our Trade, but by the Malice of our Enemies, who have him in their Hands, was forced to Counteract it: Thus he has been pleased again to promise our Colony the same Liberty of Trade that others have to the English Plantations, but must be forced to recal his Word, or at least to be worse than his Promise, because he is told that the Sense of both his Houses of Parliament in England is against it. To these straights those pernicious Counsellors have reduced His Majesty; for though the Faction will promise to support him in acting contrary to Law, and his Coronation Oath, against us; yet they will not suffer him to do any thing against what they are pleased to call the Interest of England; but he is in danger of being Lop'd off or Abdicated. They will not allow us to complain of our Kings when misled by Ill Council, or to say that by our Ancient Constitution, they were accountable to their Parliaments for Male-administration, but strait they will burn our Books as False, Scandalous, and Trayterous; yet they themselves fly in the Face of their Prince every day, suffer his Administration to be tamely Libelled, and his Person reflected on, in all their Pamphlets against a standing Army; they will tell him to his Face, that they who advised him to the Irish Grants, had not consulted his Honour. And that they who advised him to such and such Answers, had done as much as in them lay to create a misunderstanding betwixt him and his People. If we quote our Historians, or Laws, for asserting that the Supreme Power of our Government resided formerly in the State, who could dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of our Princes, they strait condemn it as Trayterous; but at the same time they quietly suffer Books to be published, asserting their own Power of doing so by their Kings, and justify the cutting off of King Charles the I. as Milton's Works, and others: If their own Kings dispence with their Laws, and Invade the Rights of their Church, they kick them from their Thrones, and then tell the World they have Abdicated; yet at the same time they support them

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them in acting Arbitrarily, and contrary to Law against us; and tell them that in so doing, they act according to the Sense of both Houses. If we complain of Injuries done us, and Affronts put upon us by a Faction of theirs, in conjunction with some ill Men of our own, straightway we are accused of reflecting upon the Honour of both Nations: and endeavouring to stir up War and Sedition, and Proclamations are issued, offering 500 l for discovering the Authors of such Complaints; yet at the same time they suffer us to be Libelled, railed upon, vilified and belied, and God himself and the Holy Scriptures blasphemed, in Villanous Pamphlets, without taking the least notice of it. Thus in a Scurrilous Pamphlet called, A History of *Darien*, we are bantered and laughed at with Romanick and Foppish Stories; in the Defence of the Scots Abdicating *Darien*, the Honour of our Nation is outrag'd, our Company belied, and Religion blasphemed; yet the Author Rewarded and Carested by Mr. V——n, now a Minister of State, but formerly a Licenser of Books, for taking off the Penal Laws, and overturning the Protestant Religion. In a Villanous Lampoon called, *The Pedlar turn'd Merchant*, we are expos'd to publick Ridicule and Contempt, without any Animadversion upon Authors or Publishers. Nor had any of our own Secretaries of State the Courage to take any Course with those Libellers, or to complain of them, though Application was made to them for that end. But if any thing be brought to vindicate our Nation from such foul Calumnies, a greater Reward is offered for discovering the Authors than was offered for apprehending some of the Regicides: Proclamations are published with more Zeal and Virulency for that end, than against Popish Priests and Jesuits, who by their Principles and Practises destroy Mens Souls and Bodies: What eagerness did our Enemies at Court evidence, in prosecuting Bookellers for the *Enquiry into the Causes of our Colonies Miscarrying at Darien*? What pains and expence to find out the very Porters that Carried the Books about? What illegal and barbarous Treatments and Threats did they make use of to a poor Fellow taken up on Suspicion on that account, keeping him Close Prisoner for a Week without any Oath against him, when his Wife lay in in Child-bed, and and his Family at the same time in a Starving Condition, having nothing else but his Labour to depend on? With what fury and heat did they Prosecute some People in *Ireland*, for but reading it in publick? And what pains and expence were they at to bring over a Scots Bookseller from thence to witness against another Scots Bookseller in *London*, that he had sent him a parcel of those Books? What care to have extravagant Bail from that *London* Bookseller and others? and what threats to ruin that *Dublin* Bookseller, if he would not contrary to Conscience and Knowledge, swear against the Scots Bookseller in *London*? and at the same time did not prosecute

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cute English Bookellers that were taken up for actually selling the Books. And what pains and expence were they at to discover the Author, though they had all the Reason in the World to think that he was not within the Jurisdiction of *England*? and yet at the same time they suffer our Nation to be daily abused and ridiculed *impune*. These things are so plain and notorious, that the Faction cannot but think the World takes notice of them, and curses their Scandalous Partiality from their very Souls. That pernicious Faction (for still we would be understood to be far from charging any thing here said, upon the whole English Nation) may very well remember, that they looked upon it to be a good Justification of their War against *Holland*, because the Dutch reflected upon the Honour of the English Nation with their their Pens and Pencils, drew their King with his Pocket turned inside out, and his hands in his Breeches running after his Whores; and represented the English Nation by their three Lions with their Tails cut; and some such Device as this (if we remember it right) *Angli Castigati lacerant non mordent*. Is it not strange then, that a Nation so jealous of their own Honour, should suffer their Neighbours to be so scandalously revild in theirs; but such is the Temper of the high Tory Faction, and some speaking Court Wigs that are fallen in with them, in opposition to us, that it seems they would have the Power of calling Kings to an account, or cutting them off, appropriated to *England* alone; the latter we believe our Country will scarcely grudge them, since they have been in the sole possession of it this 100 years, and therefore have a Right to it by Prescription; but as to the former we must beg their Pardon. By our Claim of Right it is possible still for our Kings to forfeit their Crowns by Maleadministration, whether they Abdicate or not. We were under no obligation to mince the matter, nor to manage the Credit of *Passive Obedience*, and save our own Reputation for acting contrary to that pretended Principle, by imposing a falshood upon the World. We had no need to say that that Prince had voluntarily resign'd his Crown, when he was obliged to quit it by an Armed Force; therefore we acted fairly above-board, according to the Genius of our Nation, and declared he had forfeited his Right, by acting so and so, which being according to former Presidents, may prove the way for others to come: Whereas there's no great likelihood of our Neighbours being so happy, as to have all their future Tyrants run away, and perhaps it's for that reason they are so Ambitious to ingross the Right of Lopping off Kings to themselves; this we have the more reason to say, since they were so mild in their Censure to Mr. *Stevens*, who on the 30th of *January* defended that Practise before them, and yet were so severe upon the Author of the Scots Enquiry, for a meer Historical Relation of what Power our Ancestors claimed over their Kings.

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The next thing we are to consider, is the Project of an Union 'twixt the English and us. We shall not offer to call in question His Majesty's Sincerity in the Proposal, because he made it formerly, when there were none of those Controversies on foot betwixt us; but we have all imaginable reason to question the Sincerity of those from whom it came now, and to look upon that, and his Majesty's Promise of holding our Parliament in Person, to have been both of them contrived to gull and amuse us: The very making of such a Proposal, and the forwarding it, by those Lords that had almost in the same breath charged themselves with the loss of our Blood and Treasure at *Darien*, and all the disappointments that our Company had met with, was enough to make us suspect that no good to us was intended by it. They that had just declared our Trading to the *East* and *West Indies* to be inconsistent with the Trade of *England*, were not like to come to any Union, that would allow us a share in their Trade, when they will grant us none of our own; yet it must be confess'd, that we can never mention with Honour enough, those Noble Lords who with a Generous and Impartial Justice protested against that unaccountable Address, about our *American* Settlement: But to return to the Union, the unmanly and scurrilous Reflections thrown upon us in the House of Commons by some noted Torys on that occasion, are Indications sufficient, that such an Union as they design, would only complete our Ruin: But at the same time we must own that our Nation is eternally obliged to those Worthy Members of the lower House, who declared they rejected the Bill, because they would not concur in putting a Sham upon their Neighbouring Nation, that had been so much injured, and so barbarously treated by the *West India* Proclamations, &c.

It were easy to shew that an Union upon good and honourable Terms would be the greatest Happiness this Island could enjoy, that it would certainly enrich and strengthen it, and secure our Religion and Liberties against all Attempts from abroad and at home; that it would bless both Nations, with an opportunity to rectify what is amiss in their respective Constitutions, and make us the impregnable bulwark of true Christianity, and human Liberty; but some those about His Majesty discover sufficiently by their Conduct, that those are the things in the World they are most afraid of; and therefore think it their Interest, instead of uniting, to divide us, and instead of reforming to debauch us: What else is the meaning of the prodigious increase of Popery and Profaneness, and the perpetration of so much unnatural, and formerly unheard of Villany in the Nations? What else is the meaning of it, that foreign Protestants were so little care taken of at the *Reswick* Treaty; that since the Conclusion of the Peace, they have lost more than they did during the whole War, and are every where expos'd to be devour'd by the Papists

in *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, &c. without any interposition in the Name of Great Britain. Whence comes it to pass else, that now, when the power of these three Nations and *Holland* are in the Hands of one Prince, the *Hero* of his Age, and the Representative of a Family, that for 100 Years past hath been the scourge of Popery and Tyranny; that the Church of *Rome* should sport her self with the Blood and Misery of the Protestants every day, and kindle a War amongst the Protestant powers of the North, when it were easy for us, humanly speaking, with the united Naval Force only of Protestant Princes and States to oblige all the Popish Princes in *Europe* to come to a better Temper, in relation to their Protestant Subjects, or to sack *Rome* the Seat of the Antichristian Empire, make the *Whore* desolate, and burn her *Flesh* with Fire. But instead of such great and generous designs, we are render'd incapable of protecting our selves; that Popish Interest grows within our own Bowels: Proclamations against Priests are not obtain'd without Sollicitation; new Laws against them are but faintly carried on, the three Nations are dash'd one against another; each of them subdivided into Factions within themselves: and the endeavours of the Protestant Kingdom of *Scotland* to settle a Trade, which hath a promising Aspect for the Protestant Interest, oppos'd with more Vigour, Industry, and Cunning, by some about Court, than ever they oppos'd any thing else; whether it be the influence of some Spanish and French Gold, or the effects of some secret and unknown Bargains, God knows: but we think our Nation has very great reason to enquire into the Cause of it, and together with their Trade, to take more than ordinary care of the Protestant Interest amongst our selves, and not to suffer this Kingdom to be a receptacle to any of the Priests banished from *England*. This we humbly conceive we are the more oblig'd to look after, since that part of the Administration is wholly devolv'd upon our selves, because His Majesty, who is of a larger Soul than to do any thing that looks like persecuting people upon the account of Principles, declin'd being any ways oblig'd to use force in matters of Religion, by taking that Article of our Coronation Oath which obliges him to root out *Heresy*, with an explanation; and therefore it is the more incumbent upon us to see the Laws against Popery put in execution our selves, lest our Lenity to them prove a Cruelty to our Country; it being very well known that their Principles and Practises have a natural Tendency to subvert all Civil Societies, which makes the execution of Laws against them a Prosecution as necessary as that of other Criminals; and so much the more necessary amongst us, that it is by the interest of those of that Opinion, and of them that are addicted to their Superstition, that the advancement of our Trade is so keenly and maliciously oppos'd.

Whilst publick Affairs are under the Influence of such Men as have testified so much Rancour against our Country, those Gentlemen who

who spoke of an Union with us in such unbecoming Terms, as one Civiliz'd Nation ought not to allow towards another, need not trouble themselves with the Fears of our pressing it: It's better to be alone, than with ill Company. How desirous soever we may seem to have been of a Union, our Neighbours may assure themselves that our Nation never design'd to purchase it at the expence of their Sovereignty and Honour. We are under no Obligations yet to treat upon such disadvantageous Terms; what we may be reduc'd to, when the Faction begin that War which Capt. Baker the King of England's Sollicitor threatens us with, we cannot tell. We doubt not he speaks the Sentiments of the Courtiers that are so much embittered against us; but we despise it as a *brutum fulmen*. This they may be satisfied of, that by proposing an Union we never design'd to become a Province to them, and to resign our Parliament, without a proportionable share of the Legislative and Executive Power, and of the Presence of the Government and all its Influences; without which the Union would make us worse instead of making us better. Nor must they think that we design to give up our Consciences to be new molded, according to the pattern of *Damascus*, or their Pleasure. There's no question to be made but an Union without any of those Inconveniences might be effected to the Honour and Advantage of both Nations, were things in a proper disposition for it; but if our Neighbours grasp at a larger Government than what they are already possessed of, it's not our Interest to become the Subjects of it: Great Governments like other Great Bodies become unweildy, and where one Member has too much and another too little, the Frame will quickly come to decay. Mutual Affection and an equal distribution of Advantages are the best Cement of Civil Society; but where some engross too much, and allow others too little, Friendship can never be firm nor durable. If they design to be our Masters, and not our Neighbours, they may assure themselves that our design and theirs is not the same, and that we shall never unite with them upon those Terms.

Thus we have taken a brief view of some of the principal Grievances we labour under, as to our American Settlement; to which we may add the discourting of those who have shew'd themselves zealous for advancing our Trade, and the advancement and continuing of such in great Posts as ingloriously concur with those measures, that are taken to ruine their Country.

The great Difficulty lies in getting those Grievances redress'd and in falling upon Methods to have the like prevented in time to come; neither of these are to be done without our Parliaments assuming to themselves the Ancient Spirit and Courage of the Nation: if we tamely digest those Invasions upon our Sovereignty our Enemies will be encouraged to go on, and if we don't take effectual measures to restrain all stretches of Prerogative, we shall un-

unavoidably fall into the Tyranny of the late Reigns. The Invasions made upon our Sovereignty and Freedom made by the English Court, are such as we cannot once doubt that our Parliament will take care to assert the Honour of the Nation against them, but perhaps there may be some difficulty in getting proper Resolves taken against the late measures of some Courtiers, in opposition to the interest of the Country, such are the trifling and fraudulent dealing with us as to the *Hamburgh Memorial*, the like as to the *West India Proclamations*, the denying of the Companys reasonable Petitions, the Proclamation against the National Petition, &c. the unreasonable delaying of the meeting of the Parliament, when the Honour and Interest of the Nation did so loudly call for it, &c.

It is not to be suppos'd that a Parliament who have retriev'd so much of our Ancient Constitution (that was Usurp'd upon, or giv'n away by past Parliaments, during the frantick transports and prevalence of the Cavalier Faction in *Charles II.* time) will be huffed or frighten'd out of their Rights by the bugbear words of Treason and Sedition; those are Crimes with which Parliaments lawfully call'd, and acting with the Consent of the People, can never justly be Charg'd. *Freedom of Speech and Debate* in Parliament being retriv'd by the Claim of Right, Members who speak freely for the Honour and Interest of their Country are not now to be frighten'd by Red Coats, and other Court Pensioners with *the Castle, the Castle*, as in the late Reigns. If any such thing should now be offer'd, the said Claim will justify sending the Proposers of it to the same Quarter's.

By the same Instrument of Government or Claim of Right, we are also deliver'd from that overgrown Prerogative or Excrecence of Tyranny, that made it Treason to say the King is accountable to his Parliament, since a freedom from those incroachments upon the Liberties of the Subject that the late Reigns were guilty of, are made the foundation of this present Government, and that His Majesty accepted our Crown upon those terms in the Claim of right, promising to protect us from the *violation of those Rights we therein asserted, and from ALL OTHER ATTEMPTS upon our Religion, Laws, and Liberties*; all which were to no purpose and a meer empty piece of formality on both sides, if our Representatives in Parliament might not freely remonstrate against the breach of one or all of them, and if upon obstinate refusal of redress when such of them are violated, as tend to the overthrow of our Constitution, they have not a right to betake themselves to the last Remedy, from all which it follows as a natural Conclusion, that all those tyrannical Usurpations upon the people, and stretches of Prerogative, since King *Charles the II's* Restoration, contrary to the said Claim of Right, are as fully abrogated as if there were an Express Act of Parliament annulling every one of them; and His Majesty's agreeing to that other Clause to protect us *FROM ALL OTHER ATTEMPTS* upon our Religion, Laws and Liberties

ties, extends to the things now under Consideration; but more especially to those that have been made upon our Sovereignty, Independence and Trade.

His Majesty has no reason to think this a Hardship or Innovation upon him since it's evident from our Histories and Acts of Parliament, that our Ancestors did many times claim a much greater freedom in relation to their Princes, than any thing here demanded. We know there were a Set of Judges and Clergymen in the late Reigns, that condemn'd this as Treason and Sedition from the Benches and Pulpits, but without a grain of Truth on their side, as hath been sufficiently evidenc'd, since others had liberty to write and speak as well as they. Sir George Mackenzy was one of the ablest Penmen on their part, but his Character and Interest are too well known in *Scotland* to suffer any man to lay much stress upon what he wrote on that head in his *Jus Regium*, or other pieces. His *ipse dixit* must not outweigh the Credit of all our Historians and old Acts of Parliament in this Matter, and so much the less since his wild Conceptions about the form of our Original Government, as being an absolute Monarchy, are sufficiently contradicted by *Cæsar Tacitus*, and other contemporary Historians. They do all of 'em expressly say, that the Spaniards, Gauls, Irish and Britains, had each of them many Kings, and in *Britain* particularly; that *Kent* alone had 4 Kings, and that almost every City had its own King. He describes *Cassibelan's* Boundaries, and gives an account of his making War with other Cities: The *Silures* and *Bigantes* had each their own Kings; and *question* is made of *Gethus*, a King of *Orkney*; all which proves the truth of what *Buchanan* asserts of our Ancestors, who first inhabited this Island, that they liv'd *sine Rege ac certo Imperio per Cognationes tributim sparsi*; which fully overthrows what Sir George Mackenzy hath asserted as to our Government, being originally an absolute Monarchy, and overturns all the train of Consequences he would deduce from thence. This was so much the more inexcusable in Sir George; that being a Highlander, he could not but know that that manner of Government by *Clans* or *Kindreds* continues still in the Highlands; and that the experience of all Ages hath made it apparent, that (generally speaking) they paid a greater deference to the respective heads of their *Clans*, than to the Kings themselves, and seldom fail'd espousing their Quarrels against their Princes; so little did absolute Monarchy ever obtain in *Scotland*. This is so much the more remarkable in our Nation, because the Heads of those *Clans*, Tribes, or Families, had not their Original or Estates from the Gifts or Parents of their Princes, on condition of Military Service, &c. as happen'd in those Countries where the Feudal Law took place, and where Conquerours, such as *Charlemagne*, divided their Conquests amongst their Captains, on condition of serving them in their Wars, or other occasions; and they again subdivided their Lands amongst their

their Vassals, on condition of the like Service; but on the contrary, our Kings receiv'd their Power originally from those Heads of Families or Clans, who were in being long before the Feudal Law was heard of, which is generally agreed to have had its Rise in *Lombardy*, came from thence into *France*, was first practis'd there by *Charlemagne*, and brought into *Britain* by *William* the Conquerour. We don't deny however, that our People might afterwards incorporate some things from the Feudal Law into their own Customs; but this is plain, if our Histories may be credited that our ancient great Families don't owe their Original to our Kings, and that from time to time, those Heads of Families, who were our real Nobility (when the pompous Titles of Duke, Marquis, Earl and Lord, were all together unknown) chose and gave Laws to our Kings, who without them could do nothing; and when they acted contrary to their Advice, and the Constitutions of the Country they were by them call'd to an account, and dethron'd or continued in the Government, as they saw cause. This is so plain from our Histories, that they must have a very large stock of Confidence, or a great share of Ignorance that will deny it. Nay, tho we have the longest, and most uninterrupted Line of Succession, that any Nation in *Europe* can boast of; yet we were so far from owning an Hereditary Lineal Succession, that we regulated that Matter from time to time as we thought fit, and never allow'd our Princes to claim our Sovereignty as their paternal Inheritance, but as depending upon our choice; and therefore sometimes elected them afresh, and at other times confin'd their Succession, to make them sensible that they deriv'd their Power from the People, which the present Parliament, when a Convention, have so far gallantly retriev'd, as to make our succeeding Princes incapable of the Government, until they take the Coronation Oath, which is a formal stipulation with their People; and that alone that confirms them in the Throne. From all which it follows as a necessary Consequence, that if our Kings violate their part of the Stipulation, our Parliaments have a Right to put them in mind of it, and to demand a Redress and Security against such Practices in time to come, which is all that our Nation requires in the present Case. So much was thought necessary to be said for Information of those that may perhaps be withheld from doing what they owe to their Country, in its present Circumstances, by a Clamour of Sedition, Treason, and Disaffection, rais'd by those who are the Authors of our Grievances against such as endeavour to have them redress'd. Malice it self must needs own that our Company and Nation have behaved themselves with that Loyalty, Moderation, and steady Affection towards the Government, in the present juncture under such pressing Grievances, and provoking Treatments from the hands of the pernicious Counsellours, as bespeaks their due sense of what they owe to His Majesty King *William*, our great Deliverer, and sufficiently vindicates them from the stain of a such noisy and ill grounded Reflections.

P A R T . II.

It is absolutely necessary, that our Parliament take into their Serious Consideration the State of our Trade, with respect to our Neighbours of *England* and *France*.

It is very well known, and hath been hinted at several times already, that upon the Union of the Crowns it was granted to us by the Agreement of Commissioners of both Nations, That we should be under no Restrictions in matter of Trade more than the English, except as to the Exporting of Wooll, and some few things of English Product: Matters continued thus, without any considerable alteration from that time, to the Administration of the Parliament in 1641; and during *Oliver's* Utiurpation, our Priviledges that way were rather increased than diminished; but soon after the Restauration of King *Charles II.* we were put under the same hardship with Aliens, By the *Act for Encouraging and Encreasing Shipping and Navigation*; and the *Act for the Encouragement of Trade*. So that we are much worse treated than the Irish. This is sufficient to convince all Mankind, that the design of the English Court upon our Trade is not of yesterday, and that the present opposition they make to us, is the effect of a premeditated Contrivance; against which it's hoped our Parliament will take effectual Measures to secure us.

It will be also proper for them to Enquire into the Gradual Increase of their Imposts upon our Commodities Imported into *England*, to the utter ruin almost of our Trade with that Nation, particularly as to our Linnen Cloth, which was so much the more unreasonable, that at the same time when this Additional Imposition was laid upon our Linnen, we were so complaisant to the English, as to concur with them in forbidding the Exportation of Wooll from *Scotland*, without Prohibiting the Importation of the Woollen Manufacture of *England*; so that every one wears English Cloth without any notice taken of it by our Government, because they pretend it would lessen His Majesty's Customs if they should; by this means we are ruined in our Linnen Manufacture, our own Woollen Manufacture is perfectly undermin'd, and we are not at liberty to Export our own Wooll neither.

It would seem necessary that our Parliament should make an Enquiry what passed betwixt the Lord *S——* and *Blathwait* the English

English Secretary of War on that occasion; what Promises his Lordship made to Mr. *Blathwait* to hinder the Exporting of Wooll from *Scotland*, and upon what Consideration? Whether there was any Bribery in the Case? Or whether Mr. *Blathwait* did not out-wit him in this matter, by making a fraudulent Promise, which *S——* knew he could not perform; to wit, That the Parliament of *England* should take off the Imposition from our Linnen. This is so much the more necessary, because *Blathwait* denied any such Promise to *S——*. When some of our Country-men, Traders in *London*, went to him and told him of it, in order to have had it fulfilled; he answered them, that he only advised the Scots first to discharge the Exportation of Wooll, and that then the English might probably take off the Imposition on our Linnen.

It were worth while to enquire if the Bargain had been real, who it was that Impowered *S——* to treat of that matter? And since he had not Wit enough himself, to transact a thing of that Importance, why he should not have called for the Assistance of others that were more Capable.

Since we are so treated by the English Court, it results naturally that we should discharge their Woollen Cloth of all sorts, and apply our selves to the encouragement of our own Woollen Manufacture at home, which will employ our Poor, raise the value of our Lands, and the prices of our Cattel. This we have so much the more reason to do, not only because it will be a just Retribution to the English Court, who have not only discharged in a manner, our Linnen Manufacture, but have set up Manufactures of that sort of their own, and encouraged the Irish to do the like, which must certainly prove fatal to ours.

The Argument is also reinforced by this Consideration, That a great part of the Flax we made use of, was Foreign Product, which Exported our Money, and yielded us no great Profit; whereas our Wooll is our own: And if the Parliament could fall upon Methods to encourage the making of Bays, Kerseys, and other things in a regular manner, at home: It would advance a Foreign Trade, furnish Materials for our Consumption, from our own Product, and save Money, which is constantly Exported for those things.

We hope, considering the outrage done to our Sovereignty and Freedom, by the English Court, it will not be an Argument of weight with a Scots Parliament, that they ought to keep measures with them, since they think it so much below them to keep any with us.

The only Objection of seeming weight that can be made against this is, That the English may thereby be provoked to forbid the Importation of our Cattle: But this is easily answered; That it's not out of any respect to us, that the English allow that Importation,



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tion, but they find their own Account in it, because they buy them cheap, find them better meat, when fed, than their own; and that they eat up the Grass which their own Cattle will not touch, and by consequence would be absolutely lost to them, were it not for our Cattle; and besides, they would not be able to provide their Fleets and Merchant Ships so well without ours, which puts them in a Condition to dispose of their own larger Cattle for that end; But that which is an answer once for all, we do not in the least doubt, if those of our own Country be consulted, who have most Cattle to dispose of, but they will satisfy our Parliament, that this Objection is of no weight; and we know the common Proverb, *That Interest will not lye.*

Besides, If the Parliament pleases to take effectual methods to encourage our Settlement in *Caledonia*, and our Foreign Trade elsewhere, we have reason to expect (by the Blessing of God upon our Endeavours) that we shall have every year less occasion than other, to be obliged to our Neighbours for taking off our Cattle; and so much the less, since we know now by Experience, that our own Beef will endure Salt so as to make it fit for Sea.

It likewise deserves the Enquiry of our Parliament, Whether it be not proper to discharge the English from Fishing in our Seas, Creeks and Harbours, which their Company, called by the Name of *The Royal Fishery*, pretend a Right to, by a Patent from King *Ch. II.* who had no Power to Grant it, without the Consent of our Parliaments. The English themselves cannot justly find fault if we do this, they know their *Selden* maintained a *Mare Clausum*, against *Grotius's Mare Liberum*; so that out of their own Mouth we judge them; and we have so much the more Reason to do this, because of their late insolence to come into our own Harbours and Roads, where they search our Ships, and take out what they think fit, in defiance of the Laws of Nations, to the great interruption of our Trade and the dishonour of our Country. These things together with their pressing our Seamen out of our Merchant Ships in time of War, as if they were their own Subjects, are Grievances which we ought not to put up, but insist upon an effectual Redress of them, as being utterly inconsistent with our Liberty and Freedom.

If the Faction object, that such proceedings may occasion a War with *England*, we can soon answer them, That it is not the English Nation, but a Court-Faction supported by some hot headed Ecclesiasticks, and their Superstitious Bigotted Adherents, that is at the bottom of this unneighbourly Treatment of our Country. *England* is a wise and clear-sighted Nation, and will never make War against us upon such a Quarrel; their present Conduct proves beyond contradiction, that they have no such design, they disarm, instead of putting themselves in a Posture for War; and are sensible of the danger they are in themselves, from that very Faction

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that are now oppressing us, and therefore will not intrust them with a Standing Army, nor Money sufficient to keep one on foot.

So that we have so little Reason to fear a Rupture with the English Nation on that account, that we rather have cause to expect their favour, if we imitate their Conduct, and take the same, or the like measures that they do for securing our Liberty and Property, from the Invasions of Court Parasites and pernicious Counsellors. We hear every day what brave efforts they make for advancement of their Trade, and pulling Arbitrary Government up by the Roots; they are no ways afraid of telling their Kings freely when they are misled, and act any thing contrary to the Honour and Interest of the Nation. They make no scruple of Impeaching the Chief Ministers of State and Favourites, when they find them guilty of any thing that may be prejudicial to their Constitution. They boldly order their Kings Speeches and Promises and their own Resolves upon them, to be published to the World in justification of their Conduct, and make Laws to disable those that have a dependence upon the Court, from being Members of Parliament. These and much greater are and were our Birth-Right as well as theirs; and it is evident to the World we have much more reason to assert and demand them, which will demonstrably appear if we consider.

1. That since the Union of the Crowns, our Kings prefer their Interest to ours, in all matters relating either to Church or State.

2. That ever since that time we have nor been Governed by our own Councils, but by theirs, and with a prospect of advancing their Interest, though utterly subversive of our own.

3. That ever since then, our Interest has been by turns either Sacrificed by our Kings to them, or by them to our Kings. Thus King *James I.* and the two *Charles's* made a Sacrifice of our Church to theirs, and they in requital did, together with a mercenary Faction of our own, make a Sacrifice of our Civil Liberty to them; witness the great Army they furnished King *Charles I.* to carry on the *Bellum Episcopale* against us, and the Treachery of our own mercenary Tools at home, by procuring and agreeing to the 18th Act of the Duke of York's Parliament, which Enacted that all Jurisdiccions did so reside in His Majesty, that by himself or his Commissioners, he might take the Cognizance of any Cause, and decide it as he pleased. Thus King *Charles II.* did also make a Sacrifice of our Interest in Trade to theirs, by the Acts above-mentioned; and thus our Interest in Trade in this Reign has been also made a Sacrifice to theirs, and their House of Lords in requital (with the concurrence no doubt of many of their Commons) have again made a Sacrifice of

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us to the King, by their Address, approving his *West India* Proclamations, &c. against us. Thus we are bandy'd about with the utmost disregard and contempt, according as their different Interests and Humours require it.

These things demonstrate that we have more reason to insist upon those above-mentioned Priviledges than the English have; nor can we expect to have our present Grievances Redressed, or future Grievances Prevented till we obtain, if not all, at least some of the most material of those things, that the Parliament of *England* insist upon.

There ordering an Address to the King on the 10th of *April* last, That none but Natives of his Dominions, Prince *George* excepted, be admitted to his Councils in *England* or *Ireland*, is a Pattern fit for our Imitation, and what we have as good a Right to demand as they. None but Scotsmen ought to be consulted with in Scots Affairs, for Experience teaches us, that since we have had Secretaries of State, who Consult English Ministers in every thing, the Honour and Welfare of our Nation hath gone Retrograde. Nor indeed is it enough that none but Scotsmen be Consulted in our Affairs; it's also requisite that our Parliament should have the Chusing and Swearing of the Privy Councillors, as our Ancestors had, and a Power to call them to an Account, and punish them for Maladministration. The present Calamities our Nation groans under makes the necessity of this more evident than ever, which if obtained, we might then have hopes that the Addresses of our Trading Companies should not be thrown over the Council Bar, nor our American Settlement opposed, as if our Privy Councillors were rather Chosen by a King of *Spain*, than by a King of *Scotland*; then might we hope that our *Arcana Imperii* should not be betray'd to our Enemies, and that the Affairs of our Church and State should not be managed by the Capricio's of Favourites, English Courtiers, or Prelates, who improving the opportunity they have to Debauch Covetous, Necessitous or Weak Ministers, that attend our Affairs, sometimes at the Court of *England*, make them the Instruments of ruining our Country. That this is no groundless suggestion will appear but too plain, if our Parliament think fit to enquire into the truth of that Report, that a Spanish Consul at *Jamaica* should have generously told some of our Caledonians there, that we were betray'd by one of our Country men that was entrusted with our Affairs at Court; and perhaps it may yet appear more plain, if they enquire whether any of our own Secretaries knew of the *West India* Proclamations against our Colony before they were issued, as it's confidently said the English Secretary *V* — *n* hath given out, that one of them did.

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We have found by woful Experience, that 'tis not safe to trust the Management or Representation of our Affairs to one or two Men, chosen for that end at the Discretion of the Court of *England*; therefore it seems highly necessary that we should be re-vested with our Native Right of chusing our own Publick Officers our selves, or at least that none be advanced to Posts either Civil or Military without the Advice of the Council of *Scotland*; otherwise, since our Kings can now no more be said to be Scotsmen, it's a parting with our Sovereignty, and lays us open to have all our considerable Posts fill'd with such Men as will certainly fall in with the Measures of the English Court and Govern themselves, wholly by the Dictates of Princes, that must now of necessity be Educated in a Country who think it their Interest to keep us low, and to thwart us in every thing that our own Parliament and People think most conducive to our Honour and Advantage. Nay, they are so jealous of us, that they are unwilling any of our Country-men, though unexceptionably well Qualified, should be so much as concerned in the Education of those Princes in whom we have as great a Right as they. Thus they removed a Scots Gentleman of the Name of *Murray*, from having the Charge of *Ch.* the First's Education, fearing he might have inclined him to Presbytery, and thereupon made him such a Bigot the other way, that he himself and the three Nations had occasion afterwards to bewail it in Tears of Blood; It's well enough known what attempts of the like Nature have lately been made upon the Duke of *Glocester*. Because under the Conduct of a Scotsman, though a Bishop, whose Order we have thought fit to Abolish in our Nation. If our Parliament should insist upon the having the Nomination of our Privy-Council, as it's no more than our Birth-right, so it's no more than what His Majesty in effect Granted to our Neighbours in *England*, when he submitted the List of his first Councillors to the Judgment of their Convention Parliament.

The next thing we shall propose to Consideration, is that a Restraint, if possible, might be laid upon the Creation of Lords. As it's only Vertue that can truly make Noble, so Advancement to the Degree of Nobility ought only to be the Reward of Vertue. It's an unreasonable thing the Power of making Hereditary Law-givers to our Nation, should be at the sole disposal of our Princes who are now Kings of *England*, and by that means have an opportunity of strengthening an English Faction among us, by conferring Peerage, or the higher Degrees of it upon Ambitious Persons who devote themselves to their Interest, and perhaps are Advanced for no other Merit sometimes, but for having been Ministers to their impure Pleasures, or Instruments of Tyranny: What pity is it that the Illustrious Nobility of *Scotland*, many of whom are Noble without a Patent (as being the Heads of Ancient and Great Families)

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Families) should be mixt with such a base Alloy. It would certainly redound much to the Honour of the Nation, and much enhance the value of the present Nobility, if none were admitted into their Rank but with Consent of Parliament, and on the account of true Merit. What pity is it that the Freedom and Honour of a Country should be endangered by such an Hereditary Power of Legislation, when Experience shews us but too often that Wisdom and Vertue is not Entail'd upon the Posterity of Nobles more than others.

We come next to propose the State of our Trade with *France*. The loss of our Ancient Alliance with that Famous and Great Kingdom, and of the Honourable and Advantageous Priviledges we enjoyed there; is one of the great Damages we sustained by the Union of the Crowns; neither our Princes nor our Neighbours have thought fit to allow us any Compensation for this hitherto, but have rather pleased themselves to see our Honours and Priviledges there gradually wrested out of our Hands; so that now they are brought to a woful and final period; instead of having the Preference there of all other Nations in point of Honour and Trade as formerly we had, we are now, because of our Union with *England*, not only deprived of the same, but are in a worse Condition than other People: Thus our Salt Fish is discharged there, and the Dutch have engrossed that part of our Trade, and sell them dearer to the French than we offered them, but could not be accepted, though at the same time great Sums of Money are exported yearly from our Kingdom to *France* for Wine and other Commodities. This is a thing that certainly deserves our Parliaments Consideration; it ought to be a Subject of Enquiry whence it came to pass, that the Honour and Interest of our Nation was so much neglected and despised, as never once to be mentioned at the Treaty of *Rijswick*; our Council and Ministers about the King ought to be examined as to this matter, for we cannot think that His Majesty who took so much Care of the Honour and Interest of the Little Principality of *Orange*, would, had he been put in mind of it, have so much neglected his Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, since he owes all his present Grandeur to his Descent from our Royal Line, and his Alliance with it. This deserves the Thoughts of our Parliament so much the more, that we sustain Affronts and Damages by the Interposition of His Majesty of *Great Britain's* Name, as is evident from the *Hamburgh Memorial*, the pretended Breach of Treaty with *Spain*, and the loss of our Trade with *France*; but there's no care taken of our Interest in any of those General Treaties.

There's no way of retrieving this, but by our Parliaments asserting our Independency and Freedom against all those Invasions and Neglects, and by making it appear to the World, that we are still a Sovereign Nation, and have as much Right to consult our own Interest,

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Interest, without any regard to that of *England*, as they have to do so by us. It would seem necessary, that until those Impositions be taken off our Trade with *France*, and till we be restor'd to our Priviledges there, that we should forbid the Importation of French Commodities, Wine and Brandy particularly, either immediately from *France*, or immediately by way of *England* or *Holland*; and either content our selves with Ale, and other Liquors of our own making; which might in that Case be made stronger than usual, would consume our own Product, and raise the value of our Lands. If the necessity of Wine for Health be objected, the answer is easy; that let us take all the Precautions we can to exclude it, there will always be enough found for that use: and besides it's evident from the High Lands, and other remote Places of the Country, that the People are as strong and long-liv'd where they never see Wine nor Brandy; nay, rather more than in those Places where they abound most.

If this should be thought an Hardship upon Families of Quality, they may have an Allowance; or if we must have Wine, it were more reasonable to import it from those places that don't impose upon our Trade, than from those that do.

It were also worthy our Parliament's Consideration, whether it might not be proper to forbid the sending our Youth abroad into *France*, which exports so much Money out of the Kingdom every Year, exposes them to be corrupted in their Principles, both as to Religion and Politicks; and also in their Morals by such trifling Fellows as Musicians, dancing Masters, and fencing Masters: that sort of Men live upon the Vices and Folly of Youth, and therefore think it their Interest to nourish their vicious Inclinations, and many times effect it to the ruin of their Souls, Bodies and Estates; so that instead of a well accomplished Gentleman we have but too often nothing in return for our Money but ill Principles, empty Purse, and bad Morals. There was some necessity for sending our young Men of Quality thither, during the Alliance betwixt us, for then *France* was like a second Native Country to us; there we enjoy'd a share of the greatest Offices in Court and Camp, and were distinguish'd from all other Nations by peculiar Priviledges; but now its quite otherwise, our Subjects, or at least their Children and Relations are denied the Freedom of Religion there, or to return home; but are barbarously us'd in their Persons and Estates; nor is there any that have shew'd themselves greater Enemies to our American Settlement than the French Court, who from time to time proffer to assist the Spaniards to drive us from thence; and if some People may be credited, the Opposition made to our Colony proceeds more from some private League with *France*, than from any Damage that may redound to from it to *Spain*.

We don't mean by this that our Nobility and Gentry should be

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depriv'd of the Accomplishments they aim at by travelling. As for the Exercises they commonly learn in *France*, and the Acquisition of their Language, which is now become so much in vogue: We have as good an opportunity as we can desire, of erecting Academies of French Protestants to teach them; or of having them taught privately at home under the Guardianship of their Relations; and then if our Nobility and Gentry have a mind to send their Sons to travel, they will be under no Tentation of being corrupted by such trifling Popish Fellows, as teach those things abroad; they need not stay so long in foreign Countries, and yet improve themselves more by conversing with Men of Note, and observing the Customs, Constitutions, and Products of Countries, which before they had not time to do, because of those Exercises; and above all there ought to be care taken that they be well vers'd in the Constitution of their own Country before they go abroad, of which no Nation in *Europe* has so good and easy an opportunity as we have by *Buchanan's History*; an Author fit to be read by all Persons of Quality; both for Ornament of Mind and Style. If our Youth were taken care of in this Manner, and Solidly, instructed in the Principles of their Religion before they went abroad, they would raise the Reputation of our Country, and not be so liable to be corrupted as now, being usually sent abroad in their blooming Years, when they are most apt to be seduc'd by ill Conversation. As for the study of the Law; it's a shame for our Country, that from time to time hath had such famous Civilians, that we should nor have a Colledge for the study of it at home, which would save both our Money and Reputation; so that our Youth that had a mind to travel for further Accomplishment in it, needed do little more but visit foreign Universities.

The next thing to be considered, is, the relieving of our poor oppress'd and impoverish'd Country, which hath suffer'd so much of late (by the Justice of God, and the Wickedness of Men) from all unnecessary Burdens, amongst which that of a Standing Army, may well be accounted the most needless and insupportable; and for keeping up of which, by the Advice of some Courtiers, we have been so ungratefully rewarded.

That it is unreasonable for us to have a greater Army in time of Peace, than we had in time of War, cannot well be controverted; and that to keep up a Standing Army in time of Peace is against our Claim of Right, can as little be denied. Let us learn Wisdom of our Neighbours; we see they who are nearest the Enemy, that the Courtiers pretend to be most afraid of, have reduc'd their Standing Force to Guards and Garrisons; their Number is little, if any thing more at present, than what we have now on foot in *Scotland*; so that if we should disband according to that proportion, we should not keep one Man in Pay, for Guard nor Garrison, for  
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Guards; since we have no King, there seems to be little need of them, and so much the less that it is but of late our Kings had any. Formerly they entrusted themselves with their Subjects, and administred Justice in Person from County to County, without any other Guards but their own Domestics, and such Persons of Quality as thought fit to attend them with the Sheriffs of the respective Counties; and for our Garrisons a very few Men may serve. In King *Charles I's* Time we had but one Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Guards; in King *Charles II's* Time the Number was increas'd; in King *James VIIth's* Time they grew still more, and now they are more numerous than ever.

It's evident there is no necessity for such numerous Troops, we are now in Peace at home and abroad; nor are we like to have any occasion of Quarrels, except it be with the Spaniards in the *West Indies*; and in that respect, if we may guess of what is to come, by what is past, our Courtiers are more like to make use of our Troops against us than for us.

We hope the Parliament will not now be impos'd upon with a necessity of keeping them up to overaw the disaffected Party; and particularly the Highland Clans. It's known their Chiefs have submitted to the Government, and the greatest of the Clans are intirely in the Interest of our present Constitution: It's very well known, that when it was otherwise, and that most of them were on King *Charles I's* side, under their famous Leader *Montrossé*; and when so many of them declar'd for the late King *James* since the Revolution, they were never able to cast the Balance, or do any thing considerable, in comparison of the Low-Lands; The *Western-Shires* alone were able to overaw all the late King *James's* Party at the Revolution, and to set the Crown upon King *William's* Head. These things being considered, we hope that all *S—*'s Arguments from the Highland Clans, though seconded by his good Table, of whose wonderful Effects he boasted so much last Sessions, will not be able to prevail with our Parliament, to continue a Standing Army this Sessions.

Whatever Arguments the Courtiers may pretend for keeping them up, from such or any Foreign Considerations, we may assure our selves, that the pernicious Counsellors who put those things in their Heads have other Reasons for it. They know they have given our Nation just Cause of disgust, and to demand that they may be punished according to demerit: Therefore they think a Standing Army necessary to overawe us, to swallow up our Liberties by degrees, and to put us out of a Condition to revenge the Injury they have done us. This will appear to be no utcharitable Conjecture, if it be considered that Instruments of Tyranny are always afraid of the People they tyrannize over, and therefore hate them.

The Oppression the Country groans under, by maintaining these  
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Force is undeniable, and the uselessness of them is equally demonstrable. *England* is the Seat of the Government, nearer to any Foreign Enemy, and much more capable of furnishing them Subsistence than our Country; being the Seat of Government, it is by Consequence the Receptacle of Intelligence, and yet we have not heard of one Word signified to them of any apprehensions from abroad, this last Session of Parliament. The Case being so, if the English be so secure we have less reason to be afraid. The World must own that they are zealous for the Defence of their Country, and that its a Subject well worth their Zeal. Therefore there's no reason to think that they would neglect their Safety, if they saw it in hazard. Then since they are the first that will probably be attack'd, we shall have time enough to arm in our own defence.

To this we may add, that Standing Armies not only oppress the People, but corrupt the Manners, and overturn the Liberties of all Countries where they are kept up; and that since the pernicious Counsellors have already made an Invasion upon our most valuable and fundamental Liberty, viz. our Sovereignty and Independency: We shall be look'd upon as the most foolish and unthinking Nation upon Earth, if when it is in our power to disband them, we suffer them to keep up a Standing Army, to compleat that Slavery which hath already made such formidable advances upon us.

At the same time, it is not our Opinion that the Country should be laid naked, without a Defence; and therefore it's necessary the Parliament should consider of regulating the Militia, so as to make it most useful. In which, particular regard ought to be had to the Qualifications of those who are entrusted with the Command of them, viz. that they be Men of Estates and Interest in the Country, and well affected to the present Constitution, both in Church and State, that they be duly train'd and arm'd, and as many of the present Officers as are Men of Probity employ'd in the Command as may be, nor would it be amiss to mix them with such of the Soldiers as are best disciplin'd, and of the most commendable Conversation. If our Militia be so regulated, there's no doubt of their being more servicable in the defence of our Country, and for the support of the Government, according to our present Constitution, than a Standing Army can ever be.

We may readily believe that a Militia so modelled will have more Zeal for the Honour of their Country, than that part of the Standing Army which yielded their Post of Honour to the Dutch in *Flanders*; it were but just that our Parliament should enquire into the Authors of such a Dishonour done our Nation, and to call them to an account for it. However some Courtiers may palliate this; we are sure they can never defend it. Their Pretence that the Dutch were in English Pay, and therefore took the Post as English Guards, is frivolous and trifling; our Troops were in English Pay as well as the

the Dutch, who by the Treatment they have had since by the Parliament of *England* that sent them away as Foreigners, appear never to have been look'd upon by the People of *England* as English Guards.

We come next to consider the Practises of the Faction upon the last General Assembly of our Church, in order to abate the Peoples Zeal for our Establishment at *Darien*. This of it self is sufficient to demonstrate that the pernicious Counsellors have still the ascendant against us. It's well enough known how those of the Assembly that were for the Interest of the Colony were forc'd to fight for every inch of Ground; that those who were manag'd by the Influence of the Faction, appear'd more openly against the Interest of the Country in the Committees, than they dar'd to do in the Assembly. Nor is it to be forgot what opposition they made to the Name *Caledonia*, which however was all they were able to carry. A Noble Victory! well becoming the *Antesignani* of Church and State, and for which no doubt they ought to be well rewarded out of the Treasury.

We are sensible that many of those Ministers who were deceiv'd by the Agents of the Faction, have now seen their Error, and that notwithstanding all the Tricks made use of, things were set in a clearer Light there; and that the Interest of the Country carried it, as is evident from the Act enjoying a Fast, which owns our plantation abroad to be a great National Concern, and the Disappointments it hath met with to be National Rebukes. Yet since the Compliance of that Assembly so far, with those that are Enemies to our Colony, hath in a great measure disgusted the People, it's the more incumbent upon the Presbyterians in Parliament to retrieve it, and by a steady and firm adherence to the Interest of the Nation, to oppose a Standing Army, and to concur in every thing that may tend to the Security and Advancement of our Colony. We are sure if they don't act contrary to their own Principles they must do so.

The poor Country Ministers, who for the most part have more Honesty than Policy, may be imposed upon by the sly Insinuations of crafty ill Men, that if the Presbyterians don't fall in with the Party, another Parliament shall be call'd to establish Episcopacy: But we hope Gentlemen, and Members of Parliament, know better Things.

Admitting it to be true that the Faction hath threaten'd to do so; it is contrary to the Divine Rule, to do Evil that Good may come of it, or to commit Sin to avoid Suffering.

Nor will it be in the power of the Faction to abolish Presbytry, so long as it has the Affections of the People. It is likewise evident, that if the Presbyterians adhere at this time to our Civil Rights, the Nation will be more and more endeared to their Constitution,

stitution, and it will be one of the most effectual means to convince its Enemies, that our Discipline is not only best accommodated for the preservation of Religion, but likewise for the Support of Civil Liberty.

It's also evident, that if the Presbyterians adhere to the Interest of the Nation, it will be impossible to overturn their Church Constitution, without shaking of the Throne; since it is one of the fundamental Articles in the Claim of Right upon which His Majesty received the Crown.

But if the Presbyterians should at this time take part with the Wicked Counsellors against their Country, and by that means lose the Affections of the People, they infallibly ruin their Church Constitution, which may be demonstrated thus.

Presbyterian Government was first settled in *Scotland*, at the time of the Reformation, by the Affections of the People; it hath been supported by that same Means against all our Courts to the late Revolution, and was restor'd to be the National Establishment, then, because most agreeable to the Inclinations of the People, and 'tis for that only reason it hath been continu'd since, because the Court found it the best Method for securing their Interest in *Scotland*.

But if once it lose its ground in the Hearts of the People, as it must unavoidably do, if the Presbyterians at this Juncture act contrary to the Interest of the Kingdom, then the Court will overturn Presbytery of their own accord, both from a Principle of Interest and Inclination.

That it will be their Interest so to do is plain, for if Presbytery once lose the Affections of the People of *Scotland*, it can be of no more use to the Court, but will afford them as good an opportunity as heart can wish, to ingratiate themselves with the Church of *England*, which is by much the greatest Interest in that Nation.

That it's the Inclination of the Courtiers so to do we have no great reason to doubt. it being well known that they have several times broke in upon our Laws since the Revolution, in favour of the Episcopal Party. Witness the long time they took to consider whether they should allow us Presbytery or not, after Prelacy was Annul'd by the Convention of States; and their Adjourning and Dissolving the General Assemblies of our Church, contrary to the express Statute when the E. of *Lothian* was Commissioner, besides several Arbitrary Letters sent to the Assembly, and Commissions of Assemblies to put a stop to the Exercise of the Jurisdiction the Law had invested them with.

It's no way improbable that the pernicious Counsellors, who endeavour to make Tools of the Presbyterians, for carrying on their present purposes, have also the ruin of Presbytery in view in Conjunction with their other designs against our Nation, they put them upon those Measures to disoblige the People, and divert their In-

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clinations from Presbytery, that so they may have a fair pretence for getting the Law that Establishes it repealed, since it's founded upon the Peoples Inclinations.

If they be able to effect this, all the Laws in favour it will be but so many Cobwebs; our Parliament themselves will be provok'd to Annul them, or if they should not think it their Interest so to do, the Faction will certainly break through them. It's in vain to suppose the contrary, for since they have broke in upon our Sovereignty and Trade, which all but those who depend upon the Faction, are unanimous to defend; they will find it a much easier task to overturn Presbytery, when back'd by the Church of *England* abroad, and a strong Party at home.

We heartily wish this may never happen to be the Case, for abstracting from all Theological Arguments in favour of Presbytery, which we are satisfied are unanswerable; we are fully convinced that it's as much the Political Interest of our Nation, to maintain that Form of Church Government in opposition to Episcopacy, as it's the Interest of the Wise Venetians to exclude Church men and their Dependants, from having any share in the Civil Government, and upon the same account too. That Sage Republick excludes their Ecclesiasticks because they depend upon a Foreign Head, and therefore are liable to tentations, to espouse an Interest opposite to that of their Country. It always has been, and must be the same with Bishops in *Scotland*, since we have no King of our own but in Partnership with another Nation, who Claim Ten Parts in Twelve; or to speak the plain truth, allow us no share in his Government at all, but in order to subject us to themselves, or to secure or promote their own Interest; and therefore since all our Bishops must depend upon the King of *England* for their Nomination, and *Consecration*, since they must be acted by the Church of *England*, an irreconcilable Enemy to our Nation, since we have found by our own Experience, that the Bishops went always along with the Court to enslave the Country, and since they concurred in Parliament to exalt the Prerogative to that Blasphemous height over Church and State, it arrived to in the late Reigns. It must of necessity be the Interest of *Scotland* to oppose that Form of Government, and so much the more, that our Episcopal Party don't think it of Divine Institution, as appears by the first Act of *Lauderdale's* Second Parliament.

By parity of Reason it's our Interest to maintain Presbytery, because that Form has no dependence on the King of *England*, our Ministers have no Honours nor Benefices from him, and by consequence are under no such tentations as the Bishops are, to act contrary to the Interest of their Country. Besides Presbytery admits Laymen into all its Courts, which is absolutely necessary to prevent Ecclesiastical Ambition; it's an effectual restraint upon them from

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decreeing such Doctrines as *Passive Obedience*, and hinders them from Preaching Mankind out of their Lives and Estates, into a Slavish Subjection to Princes; had it been otherwise, we have good reason to think that the Interest of the Country would not have carried so much as it did in the last General Assembly.

From all this it will naturally result, that it's incumbent upon our Parliament to take measures for securing the Church against such Threats as the Faction made use of to induce the Ministers, to a Compliance; this is so much the more reasonable, because tho' Presbyterian Ministers may comply with the designs of Courts against the Liberties of the Subjects, Bishops must, and they are so much the more dangerous, because they have a Power in the Legislation, and are commonly so many Votes on the Courts side; whereas by the present Constitution, the Clergy have no such Power. If the Parliament of *Scotland* should demand from His Majesty a further assurance for the Constitution of our Church, it's no more than what our Neighbours in *England* have from time to time done as to theirs, and wherein His Majesty did as readily comply with them. To this end it would seem to be no unreasonable demand if the Revenues of the Bishopricks, that are not already appropriated to Pious Uses, were applied to the use of our American Colony. This is so much the less to be objected against, because the Establishment of our Plantation tends to the propagation of the true Christian Faith, it would be an effectual way to prevent the Restitution of Episcopacy in this Nation, which can never be done without throwing all into Confusion again, which would utterly obstruct our Trade; besides it were but a just reprisal, since it is from those of the Episcopal Party in *England* that our American Settlement meets with the greatest opposition there.

If it be objected that those Revenues have fallen to the King as *Ultimus Heres*, we answer, that as we never see a King amongst us, there's no reason we should augment his Revenue, that the Parliament of *England* have appropriated to Publick Use, the Irish Forfeitures, which by the ordinary Course of Law fell to the King, and that His Majesty is obliged by the Act establishing our Company, to obtain a Reparation of their Loss at the Publick Charge, All this being considered, such a demand cannot any ways seem unreasonable, and so much the less that this Fund is already settled, and would be no new burden to the Subject.

These things we have insisted the more upon, because some People took the opportunity to improve the proceedings of the Assembly to the disadvantage of the Presbyterians, and openly boasted of it, as a handle to restore Episcopacy. But we hope that neither this nor any future Parliament of *Scotland* will be so Impolitic as to attempt that. It's well enough known the Presbyterians look upon their Form of Church-Government to be of Divine Institution,

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that most of them have suffered for it, and some hundreds of them have sealed it with their Blood; therefore 'tis no wonder they should prefer it to all Temporal Advantages whatever; and shew more than an ordinary Compliance with what they are told is the Mind of a Prince whose Family and Person they have reason to esteem, and to whom they have been more obliged than ever they were to any; there's so much the less reason to wonder at their Compliance, when we consider what endeavours there have been to persuade them, that the greatest Zealots for our American Settlement, are their mortal Enemies and seek their overthrow: Nor indeed have we any reason to wonder at the opposition of the Court, when His Majesty is informed that the Affair of *Darien* is a Jacobite design at the bottom, and that a Presbyterian Lord should be so far possessed with this Calumny, as to assert it in opposition to our Colony in the English House of Peers. Therefore it would seem to be incumbent upon our Parliament to enquire into the Authors of such malicious Suggestions. This is so much the more necessary, because our Enemies endeavour to maintain their own Cause, by creating in us a mutual distrust of one another, and dividing us amongst our selves by false reports. Thus some of the greatest Men of our Kingdom, as well as the greatest Friends of our Colony are sometimes traduced as carrying on a Jacobite design, and at other times reproached as falling in with the Faction at Court, that have declared themselves so openly against our Country.

But to return to the Presbyterians, as we would not be thought to dissuade them, or others, from entertaining high and dutiful thoughts of our most gracious Sovereign King *William*, yet on the other hand, as they never believed Kings to be infallible, we would have them to beware how they fall in with such measures as ill Men about His Majesty may put him upon in relation to our Country and Colony. We would not have them to lick up the Vomit of *Passive Obedience* that the Church of *England* hath spewed out, and though we would have them and all good Subjects to account His Majesty's Person Inviolable and Sacred, yet there's no reason that all about him should have the same privilege, or be protected from Justice when they invade the Fundamental Laws of our Nation, nor would we have them to obstruct the Peoples demanding a Redress of Grievances, or not to concur with the Parliament to maintain their Authority which is so manifestly violated, for this would be a direct breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, which obliges the Nation to maintain the Authority of Parliaments, as well as his Majesty's Just Right and Prerogative.

It had been time long ago to have drawn to a Conclusion, but the Pressures we labour under are so many, that we hope they will make an Apology for the length of this Discourse.

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It being evident that most of our Grievances proceed from His Majesty's absence, and our Circumstances being so unhapy, that we are no more to expect our Kings should reside amongst us. We have no other Remedy but to Address our selves to our Parliament, that they would take care to make up that want by good and wholesome Laws, which it's hoped His Majesty will very readily agree to.

Many Particulars might be insisted upon, but those which seem most necessary, are, a Law for a New Parliament once in three Years, as our Neighbours in *England* have, that in future Reigns we may not be liable to be undone by a Band of Pensioners, under the Notion of Representatives.

2. That we may have the benefit of a *Habeas Corpus Act* as well as our Neighbouring Nation, and so much the more, that we seem intitled to demand it by the Article of the Claim of Right, against *Imprisoning Persons without expressing the Reason, and delaying to bring them to Tryal.*

3. That some effectual Method be taken to prevent spending so much of our Money in *England* by our Nobility and Gentry; this is a Disease which feeds upon the Vitals of our Nation, exhausts our Treasure, and consumes our Substance, which ought to circulate at home amongst our own poor People, who labour for it with the Sweat of their Faces. It depraves our Principles and Morals, as is but too demonstrable from many sad Instances. How many of those who liv'd unblamably at home, have been debauch'd by the licentious Practises, and the Example of the Court of *England*, and the bad Conversation they have met with in *London*; and how much has their bad Example tended to spread the Contagion, when they return'd to their native Country.

There's nothing in the World that tenders our Nation more contemptible in the Eyes of the English, than the frequent Recourse of our Nobility and Gentry, to their Court, for they presently conclude that we are come either to complain of one another, or to sue for Places and Pensions, and in any of these Cases they are sure to make their advantage of us. They know well enough that the favour of Minions, or of that Party that has most Interest at Court, is absolutely necessary for such Parties or Persons in our Nation as would succeed in their Suits to the King, and that we must either bribe the Favourites, or make a Sacrifice of the Interest of our Country to the Court (if not both) before we can obtain what we seek; they know likewise that for our own Honour, we must make a Figure there answerable to those of the same Quality in *England*, which occasions our consuming a great deal of Money in their Country, and many times obliges persons of Quality to run in Tradesmen's Debts at *London*, and to Mortgage their Estates for Security: All these things together keep us in a Slavish

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Subjection to the English, which they being willing to perpetuate, use all possible endeavours to nourish Discord amongst us, and to keep us Low. This was plain from those barbarous Proceedings against the Presbyterians, which the Court of *England* fomented, and from the successive Imposts upon our Commerce, which they enacted in the late Reigns; and is equally demonstrable now, from their Practises against us, and raising Divisions amongst us, in relation to our Trade.

This one would think should be sufficient to put our Parliament upon finding out Methods to prevent this constant Recourse of our Nobility and Gentry to *London*, and to take effectual Measures to have our Affairs duly represented to His Majesty, by such as it shall not be in the Power of the English Court, either to bribe, or to frighten from their Duty. It's humbly conceiv'd a Committee of Parliament, chosen by the Parliament it self at every Sessions, and accountable to them for their Administration, were most proper for that end, and that they should depute one or two of their Number to attend His Majesty constantly, with Power to send and recall them as they saw meet: for His Majesty's Secretary, being his own Domestick, and by consequence under command, and liable to be turn'd out at pleasure, cannot be presum'd to be so fit to be intrusted with the Affairs of a Nation, which is unhappily depriv'd of the Presence of their Sovereign, as Persons who are chosen by the Nation it self. This it's humbly conceiv'd would oblige the Court to have more regard to the Welfare of our Nation, and to be more cautious how they invade our Freedom and Rights, than hitherto they have been. It is not reasonable that we should be govern'd at home by His Majesty's Domesticks, and such as he pleases to join with them for Privy Counsellors. It's enough for them to attend His Majesty's Household Affairs: Nor is it at all proper that we should be govern'd by the Servants of a Prince, who in relation to us is not his own Master. The English Courtiers will be very angry at this Assertion (we doubt not) as they were at some of the like nature in the *Enquiry into the Miscarriages of our Colony at Darien*; and particularly that the K. of Scots was a Prisoner in *England*; for which though they burnt the Book as false, they themselves have not prov'd it to be true beyond Contradiction, by telling him in their Address, that what he had done against us was agreeable to the sense of both Houses; and acquainting him further, that our Settlement at *Darien* is inconsistent with the Plantation Trade of *England*. This is so far from convicting us of Falshood, for saying they keep our King Prisoner, that on the contrary it is like putting him in Chains, to prove it to be true; having thus declar'd, that our Settlement is contrary to the Interest of *England*; it's as good as if they had bid him look to himself, if he do any thing to encourage it; for by their Treatment of him

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in other respects, we may rationally infer that they would never have digested such Invasions upon their Sovereignty and Trade. so calmly as we have done.

We know that His Majesty's Circumstances, as to *England* and *Holland*, are made use of by our Courtiers to excuse those Invasions, that have already been made upon our Sovereignty and Trade: but we hope this will be so far from prevailing with a Scots Parliament, to comply with the Measures of the Court, that it will rather put them upon effectual Methods to secure us against them; since our King is so unhappily circumstantiated, that he is not in a condition to perform his Duty to us, it's so much the more incumbent upon our Parliament to perform theirs, and to supply what His Majesty cannot do. He is as much our King, as if he were no way concern'd with *England* or *Holland*, and is as much oblig'd to promote our Interest, as if he had no other to promote but ours. If the Union of the Crowns make it otherwise, it is a fundamental and insupportable Defect in our Government, that makes it incapable of answering its end, which by the Laws of God and Man is the good of the People, or govern'd Society; therefore the States of the Kingdom are concern'd to look to it, and redress it, as they will answer it to God, to the Nation, and their own Consciences. It's plain from the 13th of the *Romans*, which hath been so much wrested to maintain the wicked Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and Non-resistance, that before Governments can lay any Claim from that Text, to Submission or Revenue from the Subjects, they must make it appear that they are such Powers as are there described, *viz.* Ministers of God for good to the Subjects, which is plain and demonstrable the King of *England* can never be to the People of *Scotland*, if the Union of the Crowns make him prefer or espouse their Interest to the Damage of ours, which the Houses of Parliament in *England* do plainly demand in their Addresses. From whence it's evident, that if these Grievances cannot be redress'd, such a Government is not what we are oblig'd to submit to, by the Law of God.

As to our own Constitution, it's well enough known what our Ancestors did, in relation to those Kings that subjected us to the English, and how they vindicated themselves from that Invasion, both by their Pens and Swords, when we were reduc'd much lower by the Court of *England*, in conjunction with our own Traytors than we are now, as to the Laws of Nations, whatever *Gulielmus Cardinalis* may possess some of his Brethren of the Clergy with, to the contrary; we are sure that *Alexander Cardinalis*, *Jason*, and *Imola* maintain, that a Prince who governs a free People cannot render them Slaves, or subject to the Dominion of another Prince, nor can the Barons of that Kingdom transfer the Prerogative of that Liberty they have receiv'd from their Ancestors, upon any other than their

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own Lord: and the famous *Bodinus* says, if a King who is subject to none, do either of his own accord, or be forc'd against his Will to serve and obey another. he loses the Title and Rights of Majesty.

We see then into what a Condition these pernicious Counsellors, who have advis'd the King of *Scots* to do such things as make the Kingdom of *Scotland* subject to that of *England*, would bring His Majesty; we never lov'd any Prince so well as King *William*, and are willing still to sacrifice our Lives and Fortunes for him as our lawful Sovereign: But there's no reason we should make a Surrender of our Freedom and Trade to the Humour of those pernicious Counsellors about him, who betray his Honour and Sovereignty in betraying ours: It being certainly more for his Majesties Glory to be Sovereign of two independent Kingdoms, than to be but Sovereign of one, and Vassal to himself for another.

From all this it follows, that the Parliament of *Scotland* have a right to address his Majesty, that such Persons as advise him to those things ought to be remov'd from his Presence and Councils forever, as Enemies to the Dignity of the Crown, and the Peace of the Nations.

It were also proper for retrieving the Honour of our publick Justice, that an Address should be made for removing those from his Presence and Councils, that stand charg'd with being privy to a design to assassinate King *Charles II.* with having Pensions in the late Reigns for secret Service, and with Accession to the Massacre of *Glenco*, and that the Actors in that barbarous Murder should be punish'd according to merit. Nor ought it to pass without enquiry, by what means those Persons under Condemnation for a barbarous Rape, and other inhuman Treatment of the Lady *Lovett*, come to be reprieved from time to time, to the scandal of the Justice of the Nation, and that one of them should be suffer'd not only to lurk in *England*, but have access to our Great Men in the Government, tho' a declared Rebel and Traytor, and ought to have suffered in *Scotland* for Theft and Murder. Certainly it is not for his Majesties Honour that the Court should be made a Sanctuary for the blackest of Criminals, and much less that we should be govern'd by the advice of any such, who besides have no Estate nor Interest in our Kingdom. But this is the effect of our not having insisted to have the chief Instruments of the Tyranny and Cruelty of the late Reigns made publick Examples. Others are not only encourag'd to follow their Steps, but it seems our Administration must be chiefly entail'd upon Men of that Kidney.

It would also seem absolutely necessary, that an enquiry should be made into those that advis'd the turning so many Persons of Quality out of Council, and other Posts of Honour and Advantage, for opposing a Standing Army, &c. last Sessions. This is not only contrary to the Claim of Right, which demands freedom of Debate

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and Speech in Parliament, but tends to the utter subversion of all our Liberties; for Parliaments are of no use if Members may not have liberty to vote there, according to the Dictates of Honour and Conscience: This is a plain demonstration that the Courtiers design to carry on an Interest opposite to that of the Country; and that we are riding Post to the Tyranny of the late Reigns. It shews also the height of Contempt for our Nation, since our Neighbours of *England* are not so treated; it being well enough known there, that Lords of the Bed-Chamber, and Officers of the Army, voted against a Standing Force in that Kingdom, without being turn'd out of their Posts, or any ways disgrac'd for it. To what a miserable Condition are we reduc'd then, when the Parliaments of *Scotland*, that formerly gave Laws to our Kings, cannot now espouse the Interest of their Country without being thus trode upon. This proves the absolute necessity of keeping Officers, and others that have dependence upon the Court, or Pensions from it, out of our Parliaments. Let us do all we can in that matter, the Court will have always more than its proportionable Influence there, by such Lords as have a dependance upon them, and those Officers of State that are allow'd to be in the House.

The Farming of the Customs by the Royal Burroughs, ought also to be taken into Consideration; for if that be found to have an influence on their Votes in the House, it's as much against the Claim of Rights, as these Proceedings complain'd of there, that were judg'd to be equal to the King's naming that entire State of Parliament. It's therefore hop'd that the Royal Burroughs will, by their behaviour in Parliament, vindicate themselves from all Suspicion in this Matter, and that they will not concur with any Design against the Trade of the Nation, wherein they have so great a Concern; especially when they consider that the more Restraints there are upon it, of the less value will their Farm be, if it be thought fit that it should be continued.

We might enlarge *in Infinitum*, the Grievances and Wants of our Country are so many; but must draw to a Conclusion, after having propos'd some few things more.

It seems absolutely necessary our Parliament should enquire what good Laws are needful to secure our Constitution, and to provide for it accordingly. In order to this it would seem requisite, that a Committee should be appointed to consider what our States insist'd on in 1641, as our Native Right, and what the English have obtain'd since the Revolution for securing their Liberty and Property. His Majesty if he be allow'd by our Enemies, to testify his paternal Affection towards us, cannot, nor will not think it hard if we demand that, and more, since we are reduc'd so low by the Oppressions of former Reigns, have lost so much by the Absence of our Kings, now almost for 100 Years, and are depriv'd of all hopes of having them reside amongst us any more. The

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The Damage we must of necessity sustain by that alone is very great, and not to be compensated by any Equivalent we can propose; for do what we can, our Princes must be educated in a Country, that as His Majesty himself has been pleas'd to express, it is like to interfere too often with us in point of Trade; and he plainly sees they have no Disposition to an Union with us, by which it might be prevented.

Since we are so unhappy, as to have our Princes educated by those who differ from us, both as to Church and State, and that by consequence they must needs be bred up in an Aversion for our Constitutions: It's absolutely necessary we should have Laws to secure otherwise it will be a perpetual Source of Discord betwixt Prince and People, and a Seminary of Division betwixt the two Nations; to prevent which as it's the Duty, so it ought to be the Care of every Prince that wou'd shew himself to be a true Father to his Country.

That this fear of creating in our Princes an Aversion for our Nation and Constitution, is but too well grounded; time past hath prov'd beyond Contradiction, and we wish that time to come may not prove it farther.

If we take but a cursory view of the behaviour of our Kings to us since that Union, the marks of their Aversion towards us, stare us in the Face. *K. James* our Sixth, and their First, tho' a Native of *Scotland*, and swore at his Accession to the Crown of *England*, he would visit us once in three Years, never came near us afterwards but once; and that only to strengthen the Faction amongst us, that had joined with him, in endeavouring to enslave us. *K. Charles I.*, tho' likewise a Native of *Scotland*, the first time that ever he came near us was with an armed Force to subdue us, because of our struggling against that Slavery, of which his Father had laid the Foundation. Having after this, under Pretence of a mock Treaty, sown the Seeds of an unnatural War, which soon after broke out in our Nation, by *Montrose*, and the Irish Rebels that join'd him, he never came near us more, till Necessity constrain'd him to flee to our Army. At that time, it's known we made honourable Terms for him with the English, and such indeed, as neither his Circumstances, nor our own could oblige them to make good; which, considering the Provocations he had given us, and the Sights put upon us, in all Treaties during that War, as is testified by *Whitlock* in his Memoirs, and other English Writers; could proceed from nothing but an Exuberant Affection, to a Prince that all along had testified such an Aversion for us.

His Son *K. Char. II.* he came to us in his Distress, or to speak more truly, we invited him to a Crown when he had not so much as a Cottage, and expos'd our selves to Ruin and Devastation for his sake; yet after the Restoration he never came near us; but ungratefully overturned our Constitution in Church and State, cut off

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the Marquis of *Argile's* Head that set our Crown upon his own, and made those injurious Acts which ruined us in our Trade with *England*.

King *James* our VII. and their II. when chased from *England* as a Traytor, and in danger of being excluded from their Crown, we received him with open Arms, Settled our Succession upon him, and turned the Balance in *England* on his side. Yet he never once came near us afterwards, but by his despotical Proclamations overturned the small remains of our Liberties that his Brother had left, and wounded our Religion and Laws both at once.

King *William* for whom we have shed so much of our Blood in *Britain*, *Ireland*, and the *Netherlands*, and whom we allowed a Standing Army when the Parliament of *England* would scarcely allow him his Guards. He hath never yet honoured us with his Presence, and we see how we have been treated by wicked Counsellors about him, how our Sovereignty is trampled under foot, our Trade opposed, our Men starved, and our Colony by that means deserted. Certainly these Instances are enough to justify our demands of having Laws for the security of our Liberty as good at least, if not better than those of our Neighbours, since our Kings have ever since the Union been in the Hands of our Enemies, and that there's little probability of its ever being otherwise.

To come to a Conclusion our Trade is the thing that's now struck at, and tho' we be a Sovereign free People, have Heads, Hearts, Hands, Commodities, Harbours, some measure of Shipping, and good Laws to encourage our carrying it on; yet our Neighbours will not allow us to do it, but break through all the Laws of God and Man to put a stop to it: Our King that should protect us and go in and out before us, is in the Hands our Enemies, that plainly tell him our Trade is inconsistent with theirs, and that they expect the preference; and in a word, he is forced to act against us: What shall we do then? Because our King is a Prisoner must our Parliament be so too? Because he cannot do what he would and what he ought, must not they do it neither? Because some of our Countrymen about him, and who have posts under him concur with our Enemies to betray us, must not the Representatives of our Country redress us? Must we who never allowed our Princes when at home and governed by our own Councils, to plead their Prerogative contrary to Law, suffer our Princes now, when govern'd by Foreign Councils, to swallow up our Laws and Constitution by pretended Prerogative?

We see that no Kings can either by the Laws of God or Man plead any Prerogative that's inconsistent with the good of the People, and our Kings least of any. Our Neighbours may boast of their *Magna Charta*, and other Priviledges granted them by their Kings. We have something more Glorious to boast of, and that is,

our Kings have no Prerogative but what was granted them by us. Our Ancestors who first inhabited this Island, did not receive their Lands from the Gift of a Conqueror or General, who afterwards made himself Prince, as happened to most other Nations in *Europe*, but being possessed of a Country, we sent for *Fergus* and made him King, and let his Eldest Son *Ferlegus* know to his cost, that we chose a King for our own good, to be our General, fight our Battles, and not to Luxuriate in Wealth and Pleasures; that Ambitious Youngster was quickly made sensible that we never intended our Crown should be Hereditary in such a manner as to be entailed upon the Heads of Fools and Madmen; in like sort when we were banished the island by the Britains, Picts and Romans, we sent from the Western Islands where we kept Possession, for *Fergus II.* and made him King, and under his Conduct recovered our Country. In a word, in all the Revolutions of Time and Government, it's plain from our Histories, that our Kings always received their Crowns at our Hands, upon such Conditions as we thought fit in the respective Junctures; from whence it follows that our Kings have no Prerogative but what they must plead from Act of Parliament, and that whatever they cannot justify that way, is an Usurpation of that Right which we still keep in our Hands.

Our Case is not like that of other Nations who obtained their Priviledges from the Favour and Clemency of their Conquerors, without whose Consent they could make no Laws; on the contrary we always reserv'd the Sovereign Power in our selves, and hence it was that our Ancient Parliaments or Meetings of the States did so frequently call our Kings to their Bar, and met without their Consent when the urgent Affairs of the Nation did require it. Hence it was that their Resolves had the force of a Law, whether their Kings consented or not; and that they dethron'd them for Male-administration, as happened to *Baliol*, *Q. Mary*, and others; and by that same Authority they forfeited the late King *James*.

Is it not strange then, that we should now suffer our selves to be bubbled out of our Sovereignty and Trade by the idle Stories of Parasitical Courtiers, who tell us *His Majesty is forced to Grimace to Please the English?* Will not all the World cry shame upon us, and Posterity curse us if we be hector'd out of our Liberties by the Bugbear of a Prerogative cryed up by a Mercenary Lawyer or two, who betray all Causes that ever they take in hand?

Such Gentlemen, we doubt not, will presently cry out Treason, and plead that this Book ought to be burnt as the *Enquiry* was in *England*; but if what is here said be not our ancient and true Constitution, let us burn our Histories and Acts of Parliament that mislead us; let us cancel all our Acts establishing the Reformation; let us condemn our Claim of Right to the flames, and abjure Par-

liaments for ever; let us cancel our Coronation Oath and to crown the work; let us send over to *St. Germain's* and pray the late King to return again, and Govern us by his Absolute Power, uncontrollable Authority, and Proclamations casting and annulling all our Laws; and to this let us promise him Obedience without reserve.

If it be not this, it is something as bad the Faction seem to be aiming at, when they make Invasions upon our Sovereignty and Commerce, give frivolous Answers to all our Complaints, falsify Promises of Redress, murder our Subjects abroad by fraudulent Proclamations, delay the Meeting of our Parliament, though our bleeding Honour and Interest require it; forbid Petitioning for a Redress of those things by Proclamation, and seem rather to upbraid than to answer us when it is presented; If to give Money to keep up a Standing Army to protect the Advisers of those Grievances, and compleat our Slavery be of more consequence to the Nation than to have those Grievances redressed, let us begin with that the Faction calls the Kings Business, but if the Cry of an Ancient, and Gallant, though oppressed Nation, that reach up to the Heavens be of any weight, let's give the Redress of those Grievances the preference.

Our Company for trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, have by their Memorials and Addresses, asserted our Rights as became true Patriots of their Country. May it never be said we are so much degenerated, that our Parliament shall not as much outdo the Company in this, as they are Superior to them in Interest and Power. This Company is the Creature of our States, (for the Faction will not suffer His Majesty to own it) therefore they are oblig'd in Honour and Duty to support it; we hope then it will be no unreasonable Request if the Nation desire, that the Money that was spent on a Mercenary Army to enslave us be given for the Support of a Trading Company to enrich us, and that our Law-givers would likewise be pleas'd to consider the Groans of our poor oppress'd People throughout the Kingdom, make Laws for encouraging our Husband-men to plant and inclose, to advance and incourage our Foreign and Fishing Trade, and to prevent the levying of our Men for English, or any foreign Service: Must we be perpetually condemn'd to breed up Men to be destroy'd in the defence of other Nations, after we have been at the Expence of their Maintenance and Education? Must we still be depriv'd of the Fruits of their Labour that should reward us, and of their Offspring which would strengthen and enrich us? What vast Sums do we lose every Year by the Multitudes of our People, that are forc'd to go abroad for want of Employment at home, and how much our want of good Laws to incourage their Industry, and secure their Property discourages such of them from returning again, as acquire Estates and Substance a road, is obvious from many Instances; but from none more.

more than that late one of *Sir William Brown*, the great Dantwick Merchant, who, upon that account chuses rather to become a Purchaser in *England*, than to return to his native Country.

Thus we have spoke our Mind freely, as we think it incumbent upon all true Scots-men in this present juncture to do. The Grievances here pointed at, are to be remedied no other wise but by Parliament, and tho' it be scarcely consistent with our Safety, that one Parliament should continue so long as this hath done, because of Members being liable to Tentations by Pensions or Places; yet there may perhaps be a Providence in it, that God would reserve the Honour of compleating our Deliverance from Tyranny, by the same Parliament that had so gloriously commenc'd it. Our Kingdom never had greater Provocation to resent the Treatment of wicked Counsellours than at present, nor could we expect a more favourable opportunity for it. The House of Commons in *England* have set us a noble Example, pour'd Ignominy and Contempt upon some of those Evil Counsellours, and have squeez'd the Purses of others: we have as good reason as far as our Case requires it to take the same Method. We have reason to apprehend that our Grievances proceeds from some of the same Persons. It's well enough known that those by whom we are chiefly govern'd have all their dependance upon them; and since we find them to be such as are capable of Bribes, to give His Majesty such Advices as are inconsistent with his Promises to the Parliament of *England*, and by them declared capable of creating a Misunderstanding and Jealousy betwixt him and that People. Why should we not think they are guilty of the same things, in relation to us. If they be such as take Money to act contrary to the Interest of that potent Nation, what should hinder them from taking Bribes to ruin the Honour and Trade of ours; if they shew such favour to Irish Papists against the Interest of Great Britain, and the Protestant Religion, Why may they not take Bribes from the Spaniards or French, nay from the Pope himself, to oppose our Settlement in *America*, since he dreads it so much. At the same time its known we have Enemies nearer home, and such as understand the Art of Bribing too: They have declar'd themselves so much in opposition to our foreign Trade, as demonstrates they would not grudge some Money to have it totally obstructed. This makes it necessary to enquire how our Treasury has been manag'd at home, which way our Forfeitures here have been dispos'd of, and whether we have any within our own Bowel, that have the Art of taking Money, or are possess'd with Souls mean enough to become Deputy Pensioners to those great ones: It were one good way to try it, to see who would oppose a Vote in Parliament, that such as shall be found guilty of taking Bribes, Pensions, or Places to vote for a Standing Army, and against a Tax for maintaining our American Colony, be for ever declar'd

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declar'd incapable of sitting in Parliament, or of bearing any publick Office in the Kingdom. This is so much the more necessary, that 'tis openly discours'd in England, as if a great Sum of Money were to be dispos'd of for that end, and that Precepts are drawn to pay it accordingly upon the opening of our Parliament. It's to be hop'd that none of our Nobility and Gentry, who have been formerly so renown'd for gallantly defending their Country, will be bought off from espousing its Interest in this critical juncture. Pensions and Places can't be assur'd to their Posterity; where as the Shame and Ignominy of such a Practise will render their Name and Memory as execrable to the Scottish Nation as are those of the infamous Baliol and Menteith, and be eternal Monuments of Disgrace and Reproach to their FAMILIES.

*Vitam quam Patrie debeo, ei devovi; cui si aliam opem affere non possim, piis, erga eam conatibus immoriturus sum.*

F I N I S.

Ordinibus Regni, Scotorum gemitus & lamentabiles querelæ

**T**HE People of Scotland, most Illustrious Patriots, like Children in a great measure depriv'd of the Kindness and Protection of one of their Parents, have recourse to you as the other. When one Parent is dead, or under a moral Incapacity of performing their part, if the other prove unnatural or negligent, the poor Children must unavoidably be undone. The People of this Kingdom whom you Represent, have been depriv'd of the benign Influences of our Kings these 100 years. Our Neighbours having the Political Fathers of our Country under their Command, are so far from leaving them at liberty to treat us as Subjects and Children, that they have from time to time made 'em treat us like Enemies; but never more than at present, as is obvious to all the World, to our great Loss and Dishonour.

We have no other Remedy left us then, most Noble Representatives, but to prostrate our selves at your Feet, and to throw our selves into your Arms, as those of our other Parent, humbly imploring, nay conjuring you by all that is Sacred, and by the Honour of the Scottish Name, that you would not suffer this Ancient and Gallant Nation to be so much contemn'd and injur'd. We beg of you to consider how our Sovereignty and Freedom is violated, our Laws trampled upon and our Trade interrupted; how our Brethren have been starv'd and made Slaves, our Colony deserted and our Ships burnt and lost abroad; whilst our Petitions have been rejected, our Company baffled, our People famish'd, our Metropolis burnt, and flames of divisions kindled amongst us at home. We intreat you to consider, how they that ought in kindness nay in gratitude, to have let us had Provisions for our Money, whilst they enjoy'd Plenty, and ought to have protected us with their Ships, since we are under one Sovereign, and have lost so many Men in their Service by Sea and Land, suffered us to die for want; and would not let us have the use of our own Friggots, that were built at our own Charge. We must beg you to take into your most serious Thoughts, How your own Authority hath been trod under foot, your Acts violated, your Address slighted, and the Company of your Establishment oppos'd and oppress'd. We pray you to remember, How Promises made you to advance our Trade have been broke, how those to our Company have been falsified, and how English Ministers have had private Orders to act contrary to those Promises. We beseech you to remember, how a Petition for delivering from Slavery, Gentlemen related to so many of your Families, &c. was slighted and oppos'd; How our Liberty of a National Petition for calling you together, Most Illustrious Representatives, to redress our National Grievances was invaded and traduced. How Your Meeting

Meeting has been unreasonably adjourn'd from time to time, tho' the bleeding Honour and Interest of our Nation call'd aloud for a present Remedy.

We beg of you with Fears, as you tender the Honour and Welfare of this Ancient Kingdom, to undeceive His Majesty, who by His Answer to our Commissioners seems to have been informed that your Sentiments, and those of the Nation express'd in our Petition, would not be the same.

We hope you will consider the Dishonour put upon your Selves, by the effectual Answers given to the Addresses of a Neighbouring Parliament, whilst yours is unregard'd; and that you will assist the Liberties of this Injured Nation against the Insolence and Oppressions of Ungrateful Neighbours. Consider the Noble Achievements of our Ancestors, in defence of our Freedom and Honour. May it never be said we are so much devalued as meanly to part with those Liberties, which they purchased for us with the Price of their Blood. And much less, should those who falsely reproach'd us with selling our King, should have just Grounds to tell us that any of our Representatives sold our Country. Let not this Nation that they could never Conquer by their Swords, be ingloriously subdued by their Money.

We must leave it with you most Noble Patriots, to take care that no such Judas's bring a perpetual Infamy upon the Parliaments of Scotland. May the very aspect of your August Assembly prove their Bane; may it force them to confess their Treasonable Crime in betraying our Blood and Honour; may they afterwards go to their deserved Places, and may their Puffs be fill'd with Honour.

We must in the last place humbly beseech you to prevent our being further impoverish'd and enstar'd, by a standing Army in time of Peace. We have the same Love for our Country that our Ancestors had, and are as willing to defend it as they with our mercenary Troops. Let us all be Arm'd and Disciplin'd as they were, and then we shall soon make good our Motto of Nemo me impune Lacesset. Our forefathers did Wonders without standing Armys, and that we have not lost our Native Courage is evident from what our undisciplin'd Men did both here and in Ireland since the Revolution.

Let not a Nation then who formerly spread the Glory of their Arms all over Europe be dispirited under the Bondage of a Foreign Court. Let not that Blood that formerly us'd to gather Lavvils in the field of Battle, and rais'd the Honour of our Country be so prodigally spilt in the Quarrels of other Nations that make us such Ingrateful Returns. May Heaven inspire your August Assembly with proper Methods to deliver us from being oppress'd at home and despis'd abroad. May you be Bless'd to improve the present Opportunity of so doing, which is lost the like is not to be again expected, and as you have had the Honour to begin and advance our Deliverance, may you have the Glory to complete it, and to render your Memory Sacred to all succeeding Ages.