141-1

ADVANTAGES SCOTLAND An Incorporate Union ENGLAND. Compar'd with These of a Coalition with the Butch. League with France. In Answer to a Pamphlet, call'd, The Advantages of the Act of Security, &c. To which is added, 33

A POST-SCRIPT

The Letter concerning the Consequence of an Incorporating Union.

Printed in the Year M. DCC. VI.

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Advantages of Scotland,

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An Incorporate Union with England, &c.

NE would have thought, that the Fundamental Articles of the Treaty of Union now on foot, 'twist this Kingdom and that of England, had been sufficiently handled, by what has been already Writ, and made Publick on that Head, and what the Wisdom of Parliament, after long Debates, and the narrowest Scrutiny, has Determined by a great Majority of Voices; and evinc'd to be the Best, the Sasest, and the most Advantageous Measures, Scotland is capable of taking, for the Security of her Future Peace, a Flourishing Trade, and its Establisht Church Government.

But, here's an Author, comes in Jehu-like, as if he'd carry all before him, and with the bold Enthuliasticks of Dumfries, knock down, the whole Fabrick at once; and would not only Oblige the Commissioners of the Treaty, to take Remissions from Parliament, but even 3 ds of the Parliament it self, to stand in need of the same Favour, for having gone so far, as to approve the most Material Articles of it, in the Terms resolv'd. And,

This he does, after (as he believes) he has Demonstrate, the Destructive Consequences, of an Union with England; and by a may-be Coalition with the Dutch, but a certain Renovation of the Old Alliance with France, has fixt Scotland on the highest Pinacle of Wealth and Glory; making the poor English, Court our Protection, be proud of our Modes and Fashions, and beg we may not be so unkind Neighbours, as to Invade, and Conquer em.

Who would not think, the Golden Age returning to the Rocky Kingdom of Scotland. What is it, says our Author, our Eyes can covet; or our Hearts desire, but we shall have? O!

Rare! But.

That this St. German Molchus, may appear in his proper Colours, let's do by him, as the Surgeons do, by a Criminal when they get him, dissect him; and then we shall soon fee, what's found in him, and how far his Corruption has overspread the Carcass. A Trouble, I had not given my self; but to clear some Mens Eyes, he has thrown a Dust into selection and lew selection bear beset sent no rolling

First, Then, he begins with an A pology or a Vindication, (which he pleases) for his Title-Page, and allows, it may be taken for a Paradox, which no Wit can make good; but let him alone, he'll do it, and show his Logicks. Then he makes a heavy Complaint, and tells ye, Our Trade is Sunk, our Coin Stoln or Dilapidate, the Publick Revenues diverted into private Pockets, our Blood lost in Quarrels, not our own, Battels gain'd without Glory, Groaning under Foreign Influence and Divisions at home, an Universal Poverty, and what not. Hence, He fays, Our Endeavours of Improvement and Crusht, our Laws deny'd, the Royal Sanction, the Freedom of our Senate overaw'd, and our Capital Invaded by Standing Force; and in fine, to sum up all, The Properties of the Subject, and Independency of

the Crown, very nigh being Surrender'd. A swinging Indite-

Then he tells us of three ways propos'd, for retriving our

Languishing State.

First. To Unite with England on the Treaty now in hand. Or, Secondly. To settle our Crown on the English Successor with proper Limitations. Or,

3tio. To pitch upon a King of our own.

The first, he says, Is to a plain Demonstration, altogether against our Interest, and that by the Opinion of Man, Woman, and Child. And will have it, That if the Parliament should Ratifie the Treaty, somewhat more than their Authority, must be made use of, to Inforce the Articles.

As for the Second, He concludes it no better than the first; nor shall I trouble my self about it, being what sew Covet, and none believe Useful and Durable.

And for the Third, His Catholicon, I shall lay it aside, till I have Examined the above Charge, and his Dogmatick Decision.

To begin then, he tells us, Our Trade is Sunk. I would fain ask him, when we had a greater Trade than now, do not we Trade to all the Places in Europe, where ever we Traded before? And if our Trade be Decay'd, whose fault is it? Our Laws are as Encouraging as ever; he'd take it ill now. if I should tell him, it lyes in a great Measure at our Merchants Door (if we have any who deterve that Name) and yet it's true. For our Traders here, begin with redling Stocks, and when they have got, some 5, 6, or 7000 lib: Sterling a Stock fit to begin upon; then, Adieu Business, they must Buy Estates, and turn Lairds, they're too great for Merchandifing. And when they do Trade, is it not to a Demonstration, That hastening to be Rich, not respecting the Interest of the Nation; their Import exceeds their Export, as far their

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Credit

Credit in the Countries they Trade with, will reach; and what they do Import, are such Commodities, as are all Consumed at Home, without Exporting again, to the Value of 1000 lib: Sterl: per Annum, in Legal Trade: And this to a Demonstration, makes their Trafficking rather Prejudicial than Advantageous to the Kingdom. To prove this, there are two Characteristicks common in Trade, by which the

Profit arising to any State, may appear.

The First, is, the Exchange of Bills, 'twixt such and such Places as Trade together. And this is Judged a Standing Rule, through out the whole Trading World, that in whatever Country, the Exchange to another place of Trade is above the Value of so much Specifick Silver, that Nation or People is so much a Loser, of its Internal Stock and Wealth, to that Place to which the Over-ballance is pay'd, and those so much Gainers, as they get more, than the true Value of their own Specie, from their Neighbour's. Now let us see, how Scotland will stand the Test here.

The Principal Places, we trade to, from hence, are Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden; and Norway and England. As to Holland, it's known our Exchange is generally at 25 Stivers the Guilder, which is no less than 25 per Cent more than the intrinsick Value, of a Guilder. And here the difference, is just 25 per Cent on the Common Standert, out of the Nation's Stock; and of Consequence, is so much clear Gain to the Duch. And when they fend home Goods to us in their own Bottoms as most of the Borrowstonness Ships are; and which they frequently do; these Goods are Sold at 28 Stivers per Guilder, to our Shop-keepers here, which makes 15 per Cent more than the Exchange, in all 40 over the lest shoulder.

Our Merchants tell us. We are this Year, much upon a Ballance with France, which is indeed a wonder; but that if our Lead should fail us, which is but a Casual Commoditie, we should

should lose as much if not more, in our Trade thither, than to Holland. It's true from Sweden and Norway, & generally from our Trade in the Sound some Dollers are imported; when the Victual is cheap here; and gives a tolerable Price there or when there's a good Tack of Herring: but this happens fo feldom, and the Specie imported so inconsiderable, that dear Years or a bad Herring-fishing soon brings us to a Level; their Commodities are indeed what's most useful to us, and what we most want, tho' some of 'em might be very well rear'd in our own Country. The truth is, if it were not for what we got this way and for the Linnen Cloth and Cattle, which is carry'd hence to England, we should scarce have any Money amongst us; for notwithstanding the great Concourse of our Nobility and Gentry to London this Year, Merchants had their Bills at 9, 9 - and 10 per Cent, from which taking off, 1 per Cent for Factor-Fees, and half per Cent for Postage of Letters, the Ballance will be on our fide; and this will appear further under the second Characteristick.

Which is the Specie Current.

Amongst us, the Coin of all Countries to which we Trade; (that is of Gold or Silver) pass's, as does that of our own Mint; now, if we export more of our own Product; and Manusactories, to any Place of Trade, than we import of their Commodities; there will be aBallance of Money in their Hands due to us; which must be return'd in Specie, for should that, Ballance be brought home in Commodities, it still makes an Import, equal to the Export, and so we gain nothing by our Trade. This then being Uncontravertible, Let us see, what Species, of Cash we have in the Country, and how it arises.

Our Stock of Cash is but very small and what we have; confifts, mostly in Guineas, Ducatoons, and Dollers of which we have sew, but those of our Coyn; and our 14 sh. Pieces,

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which pass no where else, but to the Value of uncoin'd Silver.
Guineas indeed are what we have most of, which shows, that the most of our Prosit is in & through England, and that's much more owing to our Drovers and Linnen Cloth Men, than to our Merchants.

As for the Ducatoons, it's no wonder they're brought in amongst us since they're allow'd a Value in Currency with us, so far above our Native Specie; they pass in Holland, for but 63 Stivers, and here, for 6 sh. and 2 d. Sterling: while our 40 d. pass in Holland for the same they do here, which has given so vast an Encouragement to some Folks, to export the one, and bring home the other, that they have made Estates by it, leaving the real Loss upon the Nation.

And fince the End of Trade, is, not only to supply a Country with what it wants from other Nations, by vertue of its own Product and Manufacturies, but also to bring yearly an Increase of Bullion to every Nation which follows it, and thereby encrease the National Stock of Cash; and that there is scarce a Tale of Money to be found amongst us, I'd fain know how much we are oblig'd to our Merchants; or how far we are to depend upon their Affertions in Trade.

I know it may be objected, That this is caused for want of Prohibitory Laws; but that's a Mistake: If the Merchants would not bring home a Superfluity of unnecessary Commodities; if they were as much for the Interest of the Country, as they'd pretend by their Writings; and if they brought home a Ballance in specie or Bullion, as they ought to do, and are obliged to do, those Trisles would neither be so much used nor wanted as now they are.

Besides, the Wisest and best Trading Nations seldom or never make a total Prohibition of any Commodities, but in place of that, they lay on a Duty, which is next to a Prohibition, that in case any of the Luxurious o' their People will have have these Unnecessary Goods, they must pay two Prices for them; of which the one comes to the Support of the State, and the Publick Service, and the other to the Merchant: Besides, I am apt to believe, we seldom traffick't for more than we do at present, tho probably we have done it formerly to much better purpose; our Luxury being now sour fourfold what it was sourscore Years ago; but what makes our Trade appear less, is our Import and Consumpt at Home to maintain that Luxury, and the daily Increase of our Neighbours in Trade, while ours stands where it was.

Another Reason, why some of our most considerable Merchants are at present against the Union with England, is, that they have got into a Course of Trade, very Beneficial to themselves, tho not so for the Country, and which they know, will not continue, if the Treaty succeed, that is.

The Sending of Lead, Wool and Skins to France, Stockholm and other Places, but particularly to France, by which they make 80, 90, and Cent per Cent, and return Wines, a Commodity pis'd against our Walls once a Year, by which also they have their Prosit. But.

I expect to be told, It's the fault of our Neighbours of England, that our Trade is crush'd, and that, had they suffered our African Company to have gone on in their Project, we had been a Flourishing People by this time. It's well urged, but ill proven; and I must beg leave to tell these Gentlemen who are of that Opinion; that they speak by guess of a Plantation Trade, and would they look back to the English Colonies, they'd find, the first Adventurers there had not a Dividend for some 15, some 16, some 18 Years; nay the East-India Company were one and twenty Year before they made any thing of a Dividend, or any return in Profit for their Money; any who will be at the pains to read my Lord Verolam on this Subject, will be convinced, that

(10) he has Demonstrate, no Return can be made upon such Undertakings in less time, Coasters indeed may, but we despised that Method, tho the only for us, and what we would never probably have been Interrupted in. And if we'd lay our hands on our Hearts, I believe we'd confess, that had

we gone on in that Project to this day, we should have lost both our Patience and our Stock, as well as our Men and

our Money.

Nor was King William, for all that's lay'd to his Charge, so much to blame, as the very Managers of that Company. The King was prest to do what he did, or to disoblige a Reigning Party in the Parliament of England at that time, when he was Engaged in a Heavy War, and without whose Assistance and Concurrence, he had been forced to a Shameful, Dishonourable and Disadvantageous Peace; and if we will speak to us, as we'd speak from us, sew People will conclude, That he should have run that Risque, for a Project we had laid down and put in Execution, without so much as acquainting him of it, and what he faw, must have ruined us at last. Besides, I can Remember very well, what he told a Noble and Worthy Patriot of this Country, one of the most eminent in it, and to whom we owe more than ever he'll tell us of, or I am afraid we'll be sensible of, because we will not be so; whatever Fools, Madmen and Jacobites, may asperse him with. I say, I remember, that when he, I now speak of, prest the King to Revock and Call in the Proclamations which had been issued in the West-Indies: The King told him, how these Proclamations were extorted from him, how he could not call 'em back; and that it was not the Proclamations, which hindered the Scots from being supplyed with what Necessaries they had occasion for, but their want of Money to purchase them from the People there. For that he faw, how his Woollers in Rumny-marsh, run vast Quantities

(II of Wool every year to France, tho the Exporting it out of the Kingdom is death by the Law, and all because they were fure of ready Money and a good Price. The Story is easily

apply'd.

Thus far for Trade, till I come to consider my Gentleman on the Advantages of the Treaty; and I think too, it may Answer him, as to the Stealing and Dilapidating of our Coin, which is owing to his Darlings the Merchants, at least to fome of them; I know there are Good and Worthy Men amongst them, according to their Stocks and Education; but they must not take it ill, if I say, I do not believe there's ten in Scotland, who deserve the name of Merchants, that is, Men Univerfally known in Trade.

And for our Publick Revenues being diverted, into private Pockets. I suppose, he means the Revenue o' the Crown, (for he cannot say either the Cess or Excise is so) I can tell him, if it were carried out in Specie every Year to London, for the Queen's use, he'd make a greater Bustle about it, and one would conclude, The Gentleman should rather be thankful, that Her Majesty disposes of it in the Country, since no Body will question, but She may bestow it where She pleases.

And as for Our Blood being spilt in Quarrels not our own, and Battels gain'd without Glory. I must tell him, these seem like design'd Insinuations to Incense a Giddy Mobb. I'd fain know of him, whether it be not our Concern to keep our Enemies far from us? few but himself, and his St. German's party, will believe it had been for the Interest of England, to stand by, and let France over-run Holland, and wait with Patience, till her own Turn come next; or that our All, in such a case, did not ly at Stake, as well as that of England. Nor have they deny'd us, the Glory due to our Arms; Witness the Advancement they have given to our Officers Abroad in their Service, where almost all our Collonels, except one or

two,

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two, and these not of a year's Standing, are General Officers: Not that they want good Men o' their own, as some of us, are soolish enough to believe, and others would Maliciously Suggest, but because they Love to Encourage and do Justice to such as serve them Faithfully. Nor was it the Parliament or People of England's Fault, that our Forces were not cleared as other Foreigners were, after the Peace of Reswick, or our Officers continued on half Pay, as their own Disbanded Officers were. For the Funds given, should have clear'd the whole Army; neither did the Deficiences of these Funds sall in the hands of the Government. And had our Officers applyed time enough to the Parliament, or given in their Petition, Craving to be cleared as other Foreign Troops were, or to have their Officers subsisted, (as it was first drawn)

they had obtain'd the one or the other.

Our Author's next Clamor, is, English Influence, and Groaning under Divisions at Home. When was Scotland, without such Divisions? I could never find us of a Piece, in all the Histories Thave read of us, nor is it to be expected we can be otherways on the foot we stand. We are Poor, Idle and Proud. A Mer. chant that gets 5 or 6000 Lib: Serl: must be a Laird; a Laird that gets 20, or 25000 Merks per Annum, must be an Earl or Viscount at least; (no body will be a Lord or Baron now) and then it's below Laird, Lord or Earl, to put his Son to a Trade, or even to be a Merchant. Lawiers and Divines (tho few Divines indeed come now from those Classes of the People) are the lowest Business they'l condefeend to, and how far these two Professions inrich the Nation. I am't well enough skilled in Mystery to Determine. This I know, that Parents of Substance, breeding up their Children in the way they do, causes such an Universal Affectation of Grandeur amongst us, and that so filly and insignificant a Pride, and the Want of wherewithall to Maintain both. begets such a spirit of Envy and Malice, at those whom the

King or Queen shall Honour with being their Servants, that not having another Butt to shoot at to gain a Prize by every Man pushes his Horns in their sides; and by geting them out of the Stall, makes room for himself. These are the Causes of

our everlasting Divisions at home, and these Divisions amongst Subjects, make itnecessary for the best Monarchs, sometimes to take the Advice of those, whom they know to be honest Men and faithful Servants, of whatever of their Dominions they be.

Then we are told, Our Endeavours of Improvement are Crusht: The only thing he can name me of Moment, is the Darien Business, which is already Answered. And as for Our being denyed the Royal Sanction to our Laws, I'd fain know, what these Laws were, consistant with the Prerogative and

Useful for the Subject.

He says, The Freedom of our Senate is over-aw'd, and the Capital Invaded by a standing Force. Me thinks, this Gentleman makes pretty free with the High Court of Parliament, who by his Language, Condems that Honourable House, tor bringing Regular Forces to Guard themselves, against the Insults of his irregular Free-booters and worthy Patriots the Mob; and by arguing the Capital to be Invaded, because the Parliament sitting there, is pleased to bring in a Guard for its own Sasety. But,

His last Consequence is a terrible One, in fine, says he, The Property of the Subject, and Independency of the Crown, are very near surrender'd, That is, if the Union be ratify'd, they are

actually furrender'd.

I am afraid this Gentleman wants a Property, which every fensible Man should have; Has the People of England any Property? or is there any Nation in the World has its Property better secured against the Invasion of its Monarch upon the Subject than England has? and are not the same Laws of Government to be common to us both? or will the united King.

14) Kingdom make one Limb lean, to make the other Fat? Does he think the Parliament of Britain will lay four Shilling per Pound in Tax on all be-North-Tweed, and but Two on those be-south it; Or that what pays but a Crown Custom in England, will pay Ten Shillings here? If he does, I recommend him to the Doctors. But which way is the Independency of our Crown furrender'd? Does a Coalition of Monarchy, extinguish one more than the other? Or does it not rather strengthen both? Will not the united Sovereignty of Britain, of which we make a considerable Part, be as Independent as that of Scotland is now? Or will the Name of a Scots-man found Greater and more Honourable in a Foreign Country, than that of a Subject of Great-Britain? This minds me of a little foolish Girle, who gave Five Shillings to a Wagg of a Foot-man for a Guilded Counter, which was not worth five Farthings.

Now let us see, how he attacks the Treaty; not by any Arguaments of his own, but by --- The so much as has been already said and written so well, upon that score; so many Addresses from all Corners of the Kingdom, expressing the Dissent of the Nation from it, so many Instructions Commanding and Requiring, &c. That its

plain as any Demonstration, &c.

As to the First, For my part, I declare, I never heard or read any tolerable Objection or Reason offer'd, why we should not go into this Union; but what were rather Supposititious and Nominal, than Real or Solid, and which have been so fully Answered, that our Author does well not to condescend upon 'em. However, before I proceed surther, I shall Answer the most material; and indeed the Only One which bears any Shadow of Reason; which is,

That the English Taxes, as they now stand, are more than our

Country is able to bear, and will ruin our People.

To

To' do this, I shall First consider the Land-tax, as it's settled

by the 9th Article of the Treaty.

There it's agreed, When England pays the Sum of 1997763.

8. 4. ½ sterl: which is their 4 st. Aid, Scotland shall pay 48000 l. which is our 8 Months Cess, and so proportionably for any greater or lesser Sum raised in England by any Tax on Land, and other

things usually charged, together with the Land.

Now, we all know, That 4 J. per Pound valued Rent, is the highest, the Parliament of England has ever charged the People with, during the heaviest of the War, and that, Eight Moneths Cess is the least we pay in time of Peace; when England seldom pays 2 f. which reduces us to four Months, and often but 1 f. as in the time of Charles the 2d. which brings us to two Months Cess. Sure here's an Advantage with a Witness:

Let us see Next, how we shall stand after the Union, in re-

fpect to the Customs.

To do which, it's but reasonable we lay aside the Commodities of Luxury (these being only consumed by the Rich, who have Money enough to spare, and who properly should support the State, or by Fools who know not to keep the Money they have got; and so no Body has a better Right to it than the Government;) And with the Committee o' Parliament, whose Generous Pains, will, I hope, open the Eyes o' the Nation, take in such Goods as Scotland cannot want, and which Trades men; Laborers, Work-men, and Poor People must necessarily have. And compare the Duties we now pay upon them with the Duties we must pay till the year 1719, and after, supposing the Union.

The Commodities are, Tar, Tobacco, Iron, Dales, Trees fingle and double, Lint, and Lint-feed, and indeed all the Customs arising from the rest of our imported Goods, except

Wines, are very inconsiderable.

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The Committee then by a Medium of t tracted out of the Custom house Book doms, find	hree Years, as ex-
The present Customs in Scotland on the foresaid Commodities To which, if we add the Duty Scotland	Lib. Sterl. 2 1098: 14 8 ½
pays on the Linnen and Cattle Imported to England.	} 22719: 2.1
The whole will make	43817: 16:80
From which, if we deduce the Duties we fall into by the Union, till 1710.	3 4446: 12: 4
Scotland will fave immediately	-9371: 4: 4
But deducing the English Duties, as they'll stand after 1710	10803: 7:5 =
Scotland will fave yearly in its Cu- froms of Sterling Money, suppo- sing our Trade no better than at present.	33914:9:3

Thus I have Answer'd to a Demonstration, the strongest Objection against the Union in Scotland, and shown it to our Advantage, as we now stand, and what must it be with an Increase of Trade; nor do I remember of any Material Omission alledged upon the Articles of this Treaty, but that of Adjusting the Excise, the Draw-back on Victual, and the Duty upon Salt, and to Answer these, the Excise is already Determined, with several Advantages it had not before, to stand as it now does. The Draw-back is agreed on, to be more than double what it formerly was, & the Salt will be settled to the Satisfaction

of all Concern'd. And should the Wool-masters Com. plain, that they'd be considerable Losers by this Union; their Loss might be made up to them several ways; as by Burying in Flannel, and the Improvement of Woollen Manufacture; Besides, I'd have them consider, that before the late Revolution, till the M--ks's fell upon the Exporting of it to France and Stockholm, the Wool was at as low a Rate as it can be after the Union; and tho' since that time, by the great Demand from abroad, most of them have near doubled their yearly Rents with their Prices, by which they have impoverish'd the North of Scotland, who Manufactur'd that Commodity, whereby a Multitude of People got their Bread, and brought a considerable Profit to the Nation in Specie; yet, were there no Union in hand, it's allowed a Maxim in all States, that Private Interest should give place to Publick Good; and it's but reasonable that 8 or 10 Men should Retrinch, when by that Retrinchment, many Thoufands subsist, and the Country is Inrich'd. But to give one Answer for all, no thinking Man, will doubt, but that England will condescend, to every thing which conduces to the Profit of Scotland in particular, and to the United Kingdom in General, unless we should ask a Profit for this Part of the Island, which might do more Prejudice to another, than Good to us, and the Whole will of Consequence become the equal Care of the British Parliament, since after the Union, the Interest is one. But,

O! The Petitions, the Addresses, the Instructions, are of mighty Moment with this Author; I shall not say, how far these Proceedings are allowable in this Country, by vertue o' the Claim of Right; but we know by recent Example, that if the like had been practised in our Neighbour Nation; who are as Tenacious of their Liberties and Rights, as we can be, they would not have been so well received in such a Tu-

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multuous manner as some have been here. He says, These Addresses come from all Corners o' the Kingdom; he did well to fay Corners, and he might have added from the Obscurest o' the People too; for he will not tell me, that the hundreth Heretor in the Kingdom has fign'd these Addresses, Petitions, and Instructions; nor that those who have sign'd, are the hundreth Part of them Heretors, or Men of Repute; and many of these few, are either disaffected to the Government, or Dependents upon those who are. Now,

This to me, is the greatest Argument can be, That the Generality of the Nation are for the Union, and that because, had the whole Nation, Man, Woman, and Child, as our Author fays, been against it; sure, none in the Whole, had been abasht to Address in so goodly a Company; whereas, their not doing it, when once so industriously begun, shews their tacit Consent to, and Resignation in the Wisdom o' the Parliament. But,

Now he tells us, If the Parliament shou'd by a Plurality of Votes, ratify the Treaty, it's most certain, that somewhat more than their Authority, (how Great and August soever) will be necessary to enforce these Articles on the People. Then, he would excuse himself from vindicating the Mob, and so falls Slap Dash on poor Mr. De Foe, and his Revolution Maxims, to whom I leave him for that part of it: But me thinks, we may try to find out, where the Necessity of that somewhat more comes from, and what that somewhat more must be; I know but one way he can explain himself, that is, to tell us in plain Scots, The Country will rife, and that Regular Troops must be had to quash the People, but he does not vindicate a Mob, no, not he; yet he would oblige us mightily, if he'd tell us, who else these must be; will he bring home his St. Ger --- n Friends and join the Enthusiastick Hepburnians and their Associates: For, tho' pains has been taken to Frighten the Ecclesiastick Ministry with a Deprivation of their Establis'd Church, and mighty

(19) mighty Assurance of Support given them from those who'd never do them the Favour to think so well of their Doctrine, as to go and hear them; yet, at last, their Eyes are open'd, and they begin to leave off running their Fingers into the Fire to Feed the Fox with Chestnuts, unless it be some sew, who Act rather like Jesuites in Disguise, than Sons of the Reformation, and would Grace a P---ry better than a P---it.

These then, and these only, must be those whom he understands to stand in need of a greater Authority, than that of Parliament, to enforce the Union upon them; and may such meet with their proper Cure: I dare affure him, the Kingdom will be at no great Loss, in the Price of a few Ropes, and some Powder and Ball, to purge the French Disease from out its Body; nor is the Distemper so virulent (what ever he would perswade us) but that a few Dozes will do, without putting the Nation into a Course of Mercury.

I could almost now find in my Heart, to tell him some of the good Consequences of the indended Union with England, fuch as,

1. That by it, our Church Sovereignty is founded upon a sure Basis, if any Fundamental can be Secure, at least upon a greater Certainty, than the Church can have upon the Precarious Settlement of any as yet unknown, or unthought on Successor.

2. That our Liberties and Properties are hereby fecured, on a firm and lasting bottom, with the Hedge of

those of England about them.

2. That these Divisions and Animosities amongst us, about Posts in Government, (not amounting in all to 15000 l: sterl: per Annum,) will be entirely done away; by which our People will be induced to think, on more ProProfitable ways o' gaining their Bread, and Improving the Nation.

4. That our Manufactories must of course increase, by having sit Ports allowed us for their Sale; chiefly our Linnen Cloth, of which England will take as much from us, as we are able to make, and as many Cattle as we shall have to send 'em, without Custom or Impost.

5. That our Fisherie may be Improved, to Imploy in their Fisheries at Sea, setting them out with Ships, Riggings, Cask, Salt, and other Materials, above Two Hunder Thousand Men; and at a modest Computation 40000 more, for Shipping and Sailing off; this Commodity, as any who will Consult Sir Walter Rawlegh, Gerard Malines, or John D' Witt, on the Dutch Fishing, (of which this is not computed to one Third) may easily see.

6. That our Lands by long Leases, Hedging and Ditching, might be Improved to an Equality with those in England, by which our Cattle might be brought to as large a Brood, our Sheep to as big a Size, and our Manusactories to as good a Substance as theirs are.

7. And that by all these our Merchants should become Merchants indeed, by having a full Subject of Export, unconfin'd to particular Ports, and our People who sit now, half the day Idle, would be tempted to Work, and gain a Substance to themselves and the Nation; by which we must necessarily increase in Riches and in Wealth.

8. Nor is it amongst the least of the Advantages, we shall reap by this Union; that we shall hereby be secured in a lasting Peace, and reciprocal Interest, with the Nation in the World most capable of destroying us in it self, and most able to defend us, against others.

But I fancy my Author is too blind to fee thefe things, those Sun wou'd shine upon them; so I leave him to his wilful

the Sun wou'd shine upon them; so I leave him to his wilful Ignorance. But First, I must Answer his Supposition, That England will treat with us better, and grant us better Terms, after

Her Majesty's decease, than now.

I would fain know of him or any Man elfe, what these better Terms are to be; here we are to be one with them in every thing, except Church Government, & our Statutes about private Right, two Exceptions we make for our selves, & what would we have more, unless we'd have them take the Coats from off their own backs, and put them upon ours? Would we have them to make us, better than themselves, or diminish our Duties and Taxes, while they must keep up their own, and so send their People down amongst us, to ruin their Country, and inrich ours? Would we keep up a Parliament here, with a Supream and Ultimate Power, and be one in every thing else? How inconsistant are two Supream Judicatures in one State? and how many troublesome Consequences must attend such a Model of Government?

I am aware, that France, Spain and the Dutch Provinces will be urged against me, but each of these have but one Supream, and the rest are Subordinate; Have not the Dutch their States General, the French their Parliament of Paris, and Spain their Cortes? What must we have then a Parliament, above both our Parliaments? Sure every Reasonable Man will allow the Method proposed in the Treaty, much preserable, and more practicable. And now,

Since we cannot expect, nor indeed have not to expect, better Terms, after it shall please GOD to afflict us with Her Majesty's Death, than are offered us now, is it not Gaining of Time to embrace them? It's an old Scots Proverb, Delays are dangerous; and we have a new one amongst us, which says, What has been, may be; Our Convention of States at the

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Revolution, had time enough to deliberate, and reason enough to hope, what Terms they pleased from England; and yet there was a Persuasive sound, which brought our then Principal Patriots to make an Offer of our Crown, and that without any Terms at all, while some People now have the Impudence and Arrogance to treat these, who have obtain'd for them all their Hearts could honestly wish for, or their Reason justly desire; by the Names of Traitors, Betrayers & Sellers o' their Country. Good GOD! what are we,or what would we be at! We seem to want Courage enough to venture out of our beaten Track of a lazy Misery; we have not Faith enough to trust those, who would do us good, nor Temper to bear the Blessings of Providence, when they are shower'd down upon us.

And before I leave this Subject, I cannot but express my Wonder at some Rational Men, who affirm, We shall be Lofers in our Trade by this Union. Is it possible, that that very Mean, which in about 120 or 130 years has raised our Neighbour Nation, from a State and Condition much about what we are now, to one of the most Glorious and Fotent Monarchies on the Earth, should ruin us totally? This is a

Paradox indeed, and wants to be explain'd.

I now come to our Author's Catholicon. Nothing will do with him, but a King of our own; and yet all the Revenue, which we have to support him, Guards, Garrisons, other Troops, and Ships of War; taking in Cess, Excise, Customs, Crown-rent, and all together does not amount to 125000 lib. Sterlin. But that's no matter, we have Men enough, he says, and these will get us good Terms from the Dutch or French, that we may be a Thorn in the side of England: So it's of no Consequence, whom we join with, if we can keep but the English in hote Water; and there's not a word of Supremacy or Independency, when a Coalition is proposed with the Dutch, without which my Author cannot find a way within our selves

felves to support that Independency and Supremacy: But who told him, the Dutch will go into a Coalition with us? We know very well, that when the Parliament of England in March 1652, then every where Triumphant, sent their Chief Justice St. John and Mr. Strickland, to treat of a Coalition with that State, whose Title and Government were the same, or much like the same, with the Rump's; the Conjunction of which two Republicks, being so incomparably Superior to all the Kings on Earth by Sea, was enough to render them the only Merchants in the World, and to give Universal Laws

to Trade. But, the Dutch fearing, That their Richest Merchants, in case of such a Coalition, would be tempted to lay out their Monies upon Real Securities in England, rather than venture them on the Precarious Bottom and contingent Accidents of Trade; and that the Harbours in England, being better and much more numerous than those in Holland, would rob them of the Trades and Trading People they were then possest of; not only refused the Coalition, but rudely treated Chief Justice St. John for his Proposal. The Rump to be revenged on the Dutch for this, made their Act of Navigation (fo much complain'd of fince) which in reality proved quite the contrary. And so Positive were the States in this their Answer to the English, that they chose rather to enter into a Bloody and Hazardous War with England, than coalite. And no doubt the same Reasons with many more, such as entering into a War with England, Hanover, Prussia, and the Allies of these Potentates, will keep them from Coaliting with us, who have no Shipping at all to join them; and the same Scare Crows, England then had to frighten them.

Our Author tells us of the Dutch Kindness to us, in allowing us a Staple-Port, with a Conservator and other Privileges

there

here; he's ignorant it feems how we first came by it: But I'll show him, that Compliment has cost Scotland dear.

Upon the Marriage of our James the 3d with Margaret Daughter to Christian the 1st of Norway, the Rights of the Fishery of Shetland were transferred to the King of Scots and his Heirs; this begot Bloody Quarrels betwixt the Scots and Hollanders about the Fishery; which was at last composed, thus:

That in time to come the Hollander should keep eighty Miles from the Coasts of Scotland, lest the Shoals of Herring should be interrupted; and if by Accident they were driven nearer, they were to pay Tribute at the Port of Aberdeen before their Return; where there was a Castle built and fortified, for this and other Occasions. About the Year 1609, King James the Sixth before the Birth of Prince Herry, was on a Bargain with the Dutch, to let the Fishing upon the Coast of Scotland for 15 Years, after which they were to take Licences, and pay so much for each.

Upon this the Dutch to carrefs the King the more, became God-Fathers to the Prince, presented him with 400 Ounces of Fine Gold, and a Deed Sealed, whereby the Prince was to re-

ceive 5000 Florans yearly out of Campvere.

On a Posterior Agreement the States were to pay 25000 lib. Sterl: yearly, and Campvere the Security for it; And Doctor Stubb tells us, That the Fisher-men in one year paid the States, 300000 pound Sterling for Herring and Codsish, taken on the Coasts of England and Scotland, besides the tenth Fish, & Cask paid for Wharsage, which comes to at least as much more; and which he says, are Duties proper to the Kings of England and Scotland. And if they were so then, what would they be now, if under a Piece?

Pray then, are the Dutch most obliged to us, or we to them, Considering the Advantages they have of our Seas, and the Bal-

lance they draw yearly from us in Trade, and the bringing Home our Grocery Wares, as our Author calls em? A mighty Advantage fure /--- to have other Ships than our own bring home our Goods to us; - and yet a greater, that most of the Ships in our Harbours belong to Datch Owners, a Practice never allowed in their State, and yet it must be good Herauldry in outs of Normustvi pass by one thing, the's forproud to have dearn'd from the mouth of the Author of the Observations on the 5th Article, where he draws a mighty Advantage from the Cheapness of the Durch Ships: But I can'tell him, if it be good Logick in Scotland, that we should rather pay 22 shill: Sterl: for a Yard of Fine Cloth, made here, by which our own People are imployed and our Wool confumed; than buy as good from England for 16 lb. It must be equally true, that England and we too, had better build our own Ships, tho at a greater Charge at first, than buythem from Abroad. Themhertells us of their Church Government being much

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Then he tells us of their Church Government being much the same with ours; it may be so; but if our Divines were to be sent a Pair of Wooden Shoes, a long Staff, and half a Crown, when they meddle in State Affairs, our Pulpits would be soon thin'd, and our Clergy believe themselves retrencht of a Mighty Privilege. Sure those I named before, had long ere now been obliged to lay by their Sheeps skins, and put on

their Natural Woolf ones.

But granting the Dutch would coalite with us, and that that Coalition were to be of more Advantage to us than an Union with England, our Author gives us but bad Encouragement to go into it; when he tells us, these two States must soon go by the Ears together; and we of Course commence War with our Potent Neighbour. But I shall end with this: I am hopeful that we are wifer, than to think a Coalition with Holland equal to an Incorporate Union with England; as I am perswaded, that they'll ne'er be mad enough to

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run the Confequential Risks which would attend it. But I fancy our Author only premised this, that he might bring

in the Old French League with the better Grace.

There's at last his mighty Catholicon. Well, let's see how he'd bring this about; we'll suppose Her Majesty dead (which GOD long prevent) our Parliament, according to the Act of Security, met, the 20 days are over, and the Unanimous Opinion of the House, and the Call o' the People to be,

A King of our own, and a League with France.

I cannot but think our Author will believe the first Article the King of France would insist upon in the Old League revived, would be, to take Home his Pupil of St. Germain's; he would tell us, Gentlemen of Scotland, this is your lawful Prince, and I affure ye, I have bred him up in the Mysterious Rules of Government, with a Matchavilian Doctrine, and as if I my felf had begotten him; besides I have been at much Expence about him, which you must re-imburse as you can; and then you shall have all your old Immunities and Privileges in my Dominions, as you had formerly, and be all true Frenchmen; only one word more: The Prince your King is bred up in the Holy Mother Church; and tho you have deserted that Sacred and Only Guide to Salvation, yet your King shall never impose upon your Tender Consciences, only you must allow him two or three Priests for Confessors, and some half a dozen Jesuites for Privy Counsellors; and so, Gentlemen, I wish ye Joy. These are such reasonable Terms, as no honest Scots-Man sure can resuse, and much preserable to all England can give us.

Our clear fighted Patriot assures us, That by our Old League, and a Communication of Trade with France, we shall never hazard our Name, Sovereignty or Constitution, (words of mighty found) but drink abundance of the Sweet, and never taste the Sour; we shall feast upon their best Fruits, we

(27) shall carouse in their Richest Wines; nay we shall have Plenty of their fine Madamoiselles too, and out-rival the Jolliest Musselman in all Paradise, in Plenty and Luxury. -- England, Pho! the English Court shall look like Tinsel to our Burnisht Gold in Politeness, Splendor, Glory and Grandeur; and their Ladies shall be fain to send down their Tire Women here, to learn our Modes and Fashions, and may-be, we'll send'em back without'em too: Our Men shall fight their Battels, and get Double Pay; but if they fight for us, they may e'en pay themselves. We'll scorn to send to honest Queen Bes, or any of her Succeffors, to drive em Home again, as we did before, --- not we; ---- Had we kept 'em then, we had not wanted them now; --- Nay our very Men will prove an inexhaustible Treasure, --- they'll be a Glorious Trade, no Matter what they cost us in bringing up; let'em go there, and fight, and dy, and be damn'd; there's Glory: --- What, has England like this?

But ah! here's a plaguie Objection, France is Popish, the Scots Presbyterian. -- But -- that's no Matter, he tells ye, lay but Prejudice aside, and it signifies nothing, ha'nt ye, the King of France's word for it, a Tye he never broke, that your King shall never so much as offer to trouble your Tender Consciences, depend upon it; you may be Turks, Jews or Instidels, if you please; he'll swear he was never born to dye a Martyr, tho his Father was.

Me thinks, I fee honest Mr. W---- and Mr. M----, walking at the Cross of Edinburgh, with holy Father Dominick twixt them, and Mr. D---- 's Ghost, hovering over their Heads, with the Covenant in his Hand, Crying, Brethren, go on and Prosper.

Besides, is this Glorious young Monarch should take it in his Pate, to raise an Army of 50 or 60000 of his Beloved Subjects in Scotland, and march them into England, to Establish

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his Pretentions there, as ten to one if he'd think it worth his While, his Majesty with Mr. Tallard and his French Allies, by the good Conduct of the Militant Mr. Campbel of Glasgow, should force the Prince of Hanover and Duke of Marleborough, with all the Pock-Pudden-English, to their Heels, and make 'em seoure sor it, as fast as they did at Blenhem and Ramillies. And when we have once Conquer'd that Rebellious Nation, which by the by, is much more probable than that they should Conquer us; we'd Plunder Lumber-street, set London on Fire, and put upon them the Bonds of Slavery, for ever : And tho it's probable, our Gracious Son of Rome, would take up his Residence there, being the Sunny side of the Brae; yet we are assured, we should be his own Bairns still, and get all his Gear amongst us, even by the Legacy of Don Diego. And should the English in the mean time, revive their Alienating At, tho' it's certainly very unjust, to Alienate those, who defign to be no longer concern'd with them. Yet, --- what care we, ---! And he was affuredly a Traitor and Son of Whore, who said, That if that Act take place but for two years, these very Mob, who would have Infulred the Commissioners o' the Treaty of Union, for endeavouring to carry it on, would have been the first who would have rise'n to have tore in pieces, those who opposed it.

This is but our Author's Sense in other Words; but to handle this matter a little more seriously, because there are but too too many amongst us, who do not take Pains to trouble. their Judgments with the Product of their first Notions, but vent all for Good that comes in their Noddles, and who out of a Radical hatred to England, and from the fine Tales, which have been industriously buzz'd into their Ears of the days of yore, have really taken up a Fancy, that it's from 'a League with France only, we can be happy. I shall examine how practicable this may be, of what Ule suppose it might be, and Compare it with the Union in hand.

If.

(29) Then suppose the 20 days elapsed after the Meeting of Parliament, the House begins to proceed to the Election of a Monarch; it's scarce to be doubted, but there will be such Divisions and Contending Parties, when they want a Head to guide them, as must beget Confusions, if not Blood. The Ist. Question to be debated amongst them, will naturally be, Whether they'll have a King o' their own, or once more Embark with England? If it carry the last, then we must Commence a Treaty; which I do not see, can be on any better Terms, than what's now offered, if there are any such, I should be glad to see the Scheme. If it carry Separate, Then the next Point will be, to condescend upon the Man. The Jacobites and Episcopalians will be for the P---ce of W----s in all Probability; and to enforce their Choice, they'll tell ye, that without him, France will decline the League, or at least, not be so soon brought in to it, but that England may over-run jus in the mean time, and they ll affure ye, he shall be a very good Presbyterian; the Presbyterians on the other hand, they'll fet up for some body else, no matter who, (tho I believe they would be hard put to it, to name one or if difficulted, might propose a Geneva Model of Government.

What the Consequences of such Divisions might be, I shall not determine, but it's not improbable, it would end in a Civil War; nor can we suppose the English would fit tamely by; and see us sever'd from a Reciprocal Interest with them, and give our selves up to a Foreign Power, their most Ancient and Inveterate, Enemy, without endeavouring to pluck up by the Root, a Thorn springing daily Briars, to prick them in their very Bosoms; Besides, lince by an Act of Parliament, we have deprived all Popish Successors in the Royal Line, the Prince of Hanover, who may be supposed then King of England, may come to think he has a good Title, as the next Protestant Heir, to sorce us, to acknowledge his Pretensions. Our Author would have us believe, That by Exercifing our Men, being in a Warlike Posture, and having Friends in England, (no doubt he means the Jacobites) we should find it no hard Matter, to repel Force by Force.

I would not have my Author, nor any Body else, take me to be an Advocate for England, from what I am a going to fay. These who are at the pains to think, will find, I speak rather like a Well-wisher to my Country, when I tell them, That for us, in the Condition we are now in, to make War upon England in the State and Alliances they are in at present, (and tho this be a Providential Age, and a Reign of Wonders,) I'm afraid we would make such another Game of it, as did the Duke of Lorrain, in his War upon France, with this Difference, That he was certain of a Powerful Monarch to affift him, while we know of no Mortal, and that he commanded his Country to follow him, like one Man, while we should be under such Divisions at Home, that England needed be at little more Pains than Queen Elisabeth was, when by fending down Money, Ammunition and Arms, she play'd her own Game, and brought Scotland to what she desir d.

But granting we should Unite as one Man, call Home the P---ce of W---ls (for I see no other Choice Scotland could make, capable, so much as to pretend to keep up the Monarchy, but him, and that by the power of France only,) and with all our Force invade England; For its not to be supposed, if he were King of Scotland, he would sit down and not urge his Pretensions to that Crown. Is it probable that we, with our Revenue of 125000 per An: suppose we would double it, which is more than we are able, with our own Men, could make our Putt Good against the English, who are much more Populous, can afford 3 or 4 Million per Annum for many years together, have at least 80000 Men practised in War, with Abundance of good Horse, the very Life of an Army, which we intirely

want, and a Fleet to Insult us on every part of our Coast. But grant we could oppose all this, and by a Bent in England, should come to place our new Monarch on the Throne of that Kingdom; would we be in any better Condition than hitherto we have been, or are now? Would he disoblige a Powerful, Opulent, and Rich Nation, by which alone his Regal Grandeur can be maintained; for a Kingdom from whence no King who ever sat upon the English Throne drew 6 d. No.

our Case behoved to be what it now is. But.

On the other Hand, supposing what is much more Probable, That in this Attempt, or in that of dividing from them, England should Conquer us, what were we to look for but Fetters binding us to depend upon the Pleasure of their Parliament, as Ireland does at this Day, and not expect any Act of Grace; but in so far as they served for the Interest of the People of England, to keep us from assisting the Monarch to an absolute Tyranny; but supposing all these things not to happen, but that England would patiently suffer us to go into a League with France, and to choose John o Stiles for our King, let's consider the Consequences.

This is certain, That every Polite Prince will measure all his Leagues and Treaties with Horeign Nations, by the Standard of his own Interest, and will abide no longer by them, than they abide that Test, and in so doing, justifies himself by the common Practice of all Civilized Nations, and all Ages: For, the Honour of a Prince, which is his Moral Conscience, is no more than the Interest of his People; And that this has been the constant Maxim of France, we have innumerable Examples, I shall give but one of the most Remarkable, which is of the Treaty of Hendry the 4th. With Queen Elisabeth of England and the States General, where this King was solemnly sworn by an Article of that Treaty, and made several Vows and Protestations before the Earl of

Sauls.

Saulsberry, and afterwards confirmed the same by several Letters to the Queen under his own Hand, never to make Peace with Spain, without the Consent of both Parties; yet not with standing the great Debt of Gratitude he ow'd that Queen, for many Signal Benefits, and the sharp Expostulations of Bernowels, purposely sent to him, to consist him in the League; he excused himself with Arguments drawn from the Importunity of his own Affairs, and other urgent Considerations, pretending, That should he resuse a Peace from Spain, he must involve himself in Trouble at Home, pleading the Law of Nature for Self-preservation, and that the Kingly of Office willing the Peoples Good, was the Supreme Law, and is so concluded a Separate Treaty at Vervine, and left the Queen and the States to prosecute the War.

Many such Instances might be given, to let us see, that upon fome Emergencies, there's no Security in a Foreign League, the Case of King Augustus of Poland with the Muscovite, is and Instance at this Day; so we see, Quicquid cogit excusated

And might not this be our State, if at any time the King of France should be forced to beg a Peace, as he's a doing now in a War, where England might be concerned. What were we then to expect? Is this to be put in Competition with an Union with one of the most Powerful Nations of the World; lying Contiguous to our selves, of the same Religion, the same Language, and are mixt with a numerous Alliance of the Best Families in both Kingdoms? No, sure, no Wise Man will so much as sancy it. Besides, are the French on any Terms capable to Propagate or Desend our Trade so, as of Course we must be encouraged and desended when one with England?

Is it nothing to have in our Metropolitan numbers of People of all Ranks, Pimps, Jesuites, and Panders, with Popular

pish Factors in all our Ports to debauch our People, and subvert our Government?

Is it nothing to have the Councils of France industriously buzz'd into the Ears, and suck d in by the very Hearts of our Princes? Or when we were in League with them, was it not a League to us of the Deepest Dye? Did not they on every Falling out they had with England, engage us in their Quarrel, by which we sacrificed Millions of Men and Money to their Interest? In a word, all the Money we could make, and all the Men we could bring up, were exposed for them. What got we for all this? Some of our Generals, who no doubt deserved it, were made Marishals of France; a mighty Compliment indeed! In short, for as Wise as we were, it's to a Demonstration, that all that time we were in League with them, they made meer Tools of us, and blew us up to a greater Loss, by their Deluding Arts, than ever England selt from the Force of their Arms.

We have had time enough, to teach us the Use of Wit, bought by Experience; and I think I need say no more (tho much more might be said,) to convince any reasonable Man. That,

If we do not chearfully and with Thanks to the Almighty Providence, embrace the Present Opportunity, offered us, whereby we can settle our selves and our Posterity in a lasting Peace, and a Demonstrative Scheme of Honour, Wealth and Grandeur, we shall give the World too much Occasion to call us, True Scots-men wife behind the hand.

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POST-SCRIPT

Have just now seen, a Letter concerning the Consequences of an Incorporating Union, in which the Author would make England to have gain'd in 200 Year but 8 Millions, by all their Boasted Trade. What a Juggle, and what a Falshood is here? He computes the Profit of England's Traffick during that time, from the Quantity of its Current Specie at present; which too, he diminishes one third of what it was found to be on the Alteration of the Coin there: But he forgets the Vast Stocks lying in the hands of Merchants and Shop-keepers in London; which has not been valued under 50 Millions these 50 Years past; he forgets the vast Improvement of Lands, Houses, and Stocks of Manufacture, Cattle and Horse, throughout the Kingdom; which may be justly computed at 50 Million more; he forgets the Vast Increase, Strength and Riches of Shipping in England, with the charge of Guns, Ammunition and Arms; he forgets the Immense Sums expended by England in the Wars, and the Riches of that Kingdom in the East and West-Indies; he forgets the great Banks of Cash, which many Merchants in England, have in the several Trading Places of the World, and the great Quantities they have in that Nation, of Plate, Jewels and Rich Furniture, all which is the Effect of their Trade; and in a word, he forgets, does not know, or will not tell, That by Computing all these, and Comparing them with the State of England

200 years ago, that People may be modestly allowed to have bettered their State by Trade, 200 Million, Which is one for every year. And I am forry, the Gentleman should have Learn'd so little, when he pretends to know so much.

He too, is upon the Datch Coalition; but for his Naturalizing Project, I fancy, he may as foon get Jupiter to rain down Gold upon us, as to perswade the Queen to grant such an Act, or the Datch on passing it; to allow their People to Displant, without inslicting the greatest Punishment, they could Frame or Contrive in such a Case.

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