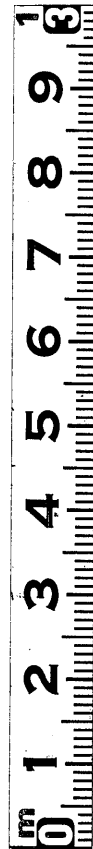


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REFLECTIONS

On a late

SPEECH

BY THE

Lord HAVERSHAM,

In so far as it relates to the

Affairs of Scotland.

CONTAINING,

A Brief Account of the late Change in the
SCOTS Ministry.

Of the Miscarrying of the *HANOVER* Suc-
cession in the Parliament of *SCOTLAND*.

And of the Acts of that Parliament for Arming
their People, and Exporting Wool, &c.

In a Letter to a Friend.

LONDON: Printed, and Sold by B. Bragg, at the
Blue-Ball in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, 1704.

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REFLECTIONS

On a late

SPEECH

BY THE

Lord HAVERSHAM.

S I R,

THE Noble Lord, of whose Speech you sent me an Account, is so very obliging in his Character of our Country-men, that to Encounter such an Adversary, if we may properly call him by that Name, has something of a Charm in it: I shall therefore, in as few words as I can, give you a true Account of that which is the Subject of his Lordship's Speech, whereby I hope those Fears and Jealousies, conceiv'd by that Noble Lord, and other worthy Patriots of the *English* Nation, from the change of our Ministry, and the proceedings of our Parliament, may in a great measure be remov'd.

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His Lordship is in the Right, *that a little before the Meeting of our Parliament, there was only some Alteration made in our Ministry*: Had the Change been *total*, there had been no Occasion for his Lordship's calling it a *Motly Ministry*; and had it been *more Early and Universal*, its probable those *Divisions* amongst them would never have happened, which, as his Lordship says justly, *made our Ministry so weak, that instead of doing every thing, they could do nothing*. But for the *small Change* made at that time, and the *greater one* that has been made since, the Revolution Party in *England* has no Cause to complain of it, for whatever some People suggest to the contrary, the Change is wholly in favour of that Interest. Some of those turn'd out were known to be Enemies to it, and others of them oppos'd the Abjuration of the *St. Germans* Pretender, that carried a first Reading in the Session of Parliament next after King *William's* Death, and might then have had the Royal Assent: This would have secur'd all, there being at that time a considerable Party form'd, to have promoted the *Hanover* Succession, on Condition of Limitations; but how that *Abjuration Oath* came to be quash'd, and how a Noble Lord, who had form'd that Party, came to be betray'd, is best to be accounted for by some whom your *Revolution Party* has endeavour'd to Support against Men who are really for the *Hanover* Succession, upon Conditions that are in Her Majesty's Power, as Q. of *Scots*, to grant, which would make their Country easie, and remove the growing Jealousies betwixt the two Nations. This, I hope, is sufficient to justify the Change in our Ministry: And I dare make bold to say, that things will still go well, notwithstanding late Disappointments, if Her Majesty be not dissuaded from going on as she has graciously begun;

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begun; and if the Privy Council of *Scotland*, and other Parts of the Administration there, be as *little Motly* as her present *Scots* Ministry. In a word, if there be care taken to Imploy none in Places of Power and Trust, but such as are staunch for the Government, as settled upon the Revolution foot; and if the Nation be allow'd time to breathe, and to consider the ill Consequences of those Disorders, which some false steps in the late Government, and some unhappy Changes that follow'd King *William's* Death, had thrown them into, those who are for the *Hanover* Succession, upon the restoring so much of our old Constitution, as may secure us from the bad Influences of Foreign Councils, will in a little time be able to Triumph over all Opposition.

But it will be impossible to settle the Succession, without some such Limitations and Conditions as may satisfy our People, who grow every day more and more uneasie under the false Methods of Administration that have been made use of in *Scotland*, for most part, since the Union of the Crowns. This was well known to those Gentlemen of the New Party, who were taken into the Government soon before the meeting of our Parliament, and therefore they could not but in Honour, and Faithfulness to Her Majesty, acquaint her, that this was the only way to carry the Succession, and to dispose the Nation to a cheerful Compliance with it: but they were so far from undertaking for the success of it, last Session of Parliament, as their Enemies falsely give out, that they only promis'd to use their utmost Endeavours, as appears by Her Majesty's Letter; and that they did so, and acted their Parts in it, like Men of Honour and Integrity, will be denied by none but such as are piqu'd against them,

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them, know nothing of the Matter, or are secret or open Enemies to the Design.

My Lord *Haversham* observes very Justly, and as becomes a Person of his known Loyalty and Penetration, *that her Majesty recommended the Succession in the Protestant Line, with the greatest earnestness, in her Letter,* and to this may be added, that her Majesty according to the faithful Advice of some of the New Ministry, Impower'd her Commissioner to give the Royal Assent, to whatever could in Reason be demanded and was in her power to Grant, as to such Terms and Conditions of Government, with Regard to the Successor, as might secure the Sovereignty and Liberty of the Nation. * This was well seconded and explain'd by the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, Lord High Commissioner, and the Earl of *Seafeld*, Lord High Chancellor, as may be seen by their Speeches, wherein they Inform'd the Parliament of her Majesty's having given Instructions to pass such Laws as might rectifie Abuses in our Constitution or Administration, as might remove all Encroachments upon our Sovereignty and Liberties, and as might deliver us from such Inconveniencies and Hardships as we have lain under, since the Union of the Crowns, and which of late have grown heavier upon us. This one would think should have removed all manner of Suspicion of the Sincerity of her Majesty, and of her new Ministry; but that it did not, appears plain as my Lord *Haversham* truly observes from the Earl of *Cromarty's* Speech, wherein he Vindicates her Majesty, and distinguishes betwixt the Secret and reveal'd Will.

* See the Queen's Letter.

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It must be own'd, that no better Expedient could be propos'd for carrying the Succession, than those Concessions granted to the Nation, by Advice of the new Ministry; Because our Parliament had formerly insisted upon them, and at the same time it serves to demonstrate the fallhood of those Mens Suggestions, who alledge that the Succession was hinder'd by the Change of such a Ministry as insinuated to her Majesty that those things were Incroachments upon the prerogative. * Whereas its plain the Parliament thought them necessary for preventing all Incroachments upon our Sovereignty and Liberties, and would never have agreed to the Succession without them.

I come now to the Reasons of its having miscarried, wherein there appears such a mixture of Heterogeneous Causes, as I am satisfied must needs surprize you. Be pleased then to take them as follows.

1. The difficulty of reconciling People on a sudden who had been so long in opposition, as the new Party, and many of those of the Late Court, who had fallen in with such measures, as the other Party thought prejudicial to the Country.
2. The doubtful Event of the Campaign, which encouraged the Enemies of the Succession to oppose it.
3. A Rumour maliciously spread, that those Intrusted by her Majesty acted wholly by *English* Influence, and out of a servile Compliance with the Desire of a prevalent Party in *England*, whom a disaffected Party in *Scotland* misrepresent as our Enemies, because of that

* See the Duke of *Q*———'s Letter to the Queen, of Aug. 11. 1703. Printed in the proceedings of the House of Lords about the *Scotts* Plot.

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and some former proceedings. This was improved to such a height, that several Gentlemen, formerly very popular for Services to their Country, were insulted by the Rabble. By this, Sir, you may judge how unjustly those Gentlemen are treated, and how artfully their Enemies manage their Game, who exposed them to outrages in *Scotland*, as being too Zealous for the Succession, in compliance with the *English* Nation; and to Reproach and Slander in *England* as having betray'd it, out of Enmity to that Country.

4. An unaccountable Liberty that many People took to express their suspicion of the Courts sincerity, and the falling in of 32 or 33, who had one way or other a dependance upon the Court, with the Resolve for *putting off the Succession, till we have had a previous Treaty with England, in relation to Commerce and other Concerns with that Nation.*

You may depend upon it, Sir, that none of the new Party were of this number, and as this may give her Majesty much juster Cause to say, *that she has been ill served in Scotland* than her Predecessor of Glorious Memory had to say so upon another occasion; It gave all Honest Men Cause to bewail that our most Excellent Sovereign should have been so imposed upon, by those who recommended such Persons to be employ'd or continued in Trust by her Majesty, or to be the Objects of her Royal Bounty.

You may be well assured, Sir, that none of those Men acted thus by the Advice or Influence of the new Ministry, and it is as certain a Truth, that some of them had got into considerable Posts, and others of them had received Pensions, by means of the old one, and that but a very little while too before the meeting of our Parliament; and tho' it is not to be denied
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that many of those Gentlemen would have otherwise been for the Succession, yet they were tempted to take this Method, by Suggestions that they might find their Account better, by defeating it in the hands of those now employed by her Majesty, which would give a handle for the employing those again, who had so lately obliged them with Places and Pensions, and would then be in a Capacity to oblige more of them in like manner.

Nor is it to be omitted that they were perswaded this would give them an opportunity of making their Court to the next Successor, by shewing how much their Influence might conduce to the furthering or retarding the Succession; and this they were the more induced to comply with, because of a Report industriously spread in *Scotland*, that the Change in the Ministry was only made to serve a Turn, that their old Friends would come in play again, and that those who opposed the Succession at present, should then be the Men in favour. Thus Sir you may see that this point was not carried by the proper weight or dependance of those formerly in power, but by an ill use which some People made of her Majesties Goodness and Clemency, to perswade others that they were still the Men in Chief favour.

5. The putting the Succession upon the Foot of a Treaty with *England*, was the surest as well as the most plausible and unexceptionable way that could be taken to delay it; and they that proposed this, were as I am very well inform'd encouraged to it by Letters from *England*, after the arrival of which, those who were for settling the Succession immediately, lessen'd in their Number, though before that time they had good ground to think they had a Majority. Nor

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are we to wonder at the Influence of this proposal upon many honest Men, who did not perceive the craft and danger of that Expedient, by which they hoped to increase the Trade of their Country which is in a ruinous Condition, and has ever been declining, since the *English* Act of Navigation.

6. There were several other Causes of less weight, which being joined together, had no small Influence in defeating the Succession. As, 1. Some opposed it out of meer humour, because they were not at first taken into the Measures, or put into Posts. 2. Some People knowing very well that they had made themselves liable to the Justice of the Nation for some foul proceedings relating to the Plot, and for such Advices as tended to little less than a Conquest of their own Country by an *English* power; they were very willing to barter the Succession with a respite from prosecution, and to make sure of that, by joining the Malecontents of the late Court Party, and those who are Enemies to the House of *Hanover*, in order to defeat the Succession at this time. And some of those Men are so well vers'd in the Art of putting false Glosses upon things, that they know how to make their Court when time shall serve, by pretending they did not oppose the Succession, but only the Limitations, because they hate all Inroachments upon the Prerogative. 3. Some of the new Ministry having been formerly of the Country Party, they could not but resent both in publick and private the Injuries they supposed were done to the Kingdom of *Scotland* in the late Reign.

This, by their Adversaries, was interpreted to be down right Jacobitism, and some Whisperers, who make their Court to great Men, by telling of Stories, transformed

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transform'd every thing of this Nature into Railing upon King *William*, reviling his Memory, running down the Revolution, and sapping the Foundations of Church and State. It's unconceivable what a Handle some People made of this; how they buzz'd it in the Ears of some English Lords; how they allarm'd some Dissenters about *London* with it, and engaged them to communicate the same to their Brethren in *Scotland*, where some prov'd but too susceptible of it. By those Artifices, the Lords and Gentlemen entrusted by her Majesty to carry on the Succession, were and are still sought to be ruined in the good Opinion of both Nations.

I come now to our *Act of Security*, which my Lord *Haverham* thinks fit to call an *Act of Exclusion*. I shall not much differ with his Lordship about that Title, since it positively *excludes all Popish Successors*, and with that I am sure his Lordship is not offended. But, *My Lord*, may be pleas'd to observe further, that it likewise excludes all other Successors, till they have taken the Coronation-Oath, by the Appointment of the Parliament, and have accepted of our Government upon the Terms of the Claim of the Right, and when his Lordship knows that this annuls the slavish Act of 1687. made in favour of the Duke of *York*, which left the Country at no Liberty to refuse the Lineal Successor, were he Turk, Jew or Papist, or as mad as the present King of *Portugal's* eldest Brother, my Lord has so much Liberty interwoven in his Constitution, that he cannot dislike this, and his Lordship is so good a Protestant, that he must needs be pleas'd to understand, that by our Act of Security, it is no less than High Treason for the Jacobites to offer at proclaiming the *St. Germain's* Pretender, which, had not

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the Act of 1681. been virtually repeal'd by this Act, they might perhaps have ventur'd to have done for any other Bar that lay in their way from the Claim of Right, or any other Law now in being, especially if that Pretender had given them the least ground to alledge that he was a Protestant.

And it is nothing the less considerable, that it excludes in the same manner all the other Pretenders of the Line of *France* and *Savoy*, who, by the Lineal Succession suppose themselves to be next in the Entail to the *St. Germain's* Family.

Then as to the Exclusion of the same Successor with *England*, that's only conditional; as appears by the following Clause. 'Providing always that the same be not the Successor to the Crown of *England*, unless that in this present Session of Parliament, and any other Session of this or any other ensuing Parliament during her Majesty's Reign, there be such Conditions of Government, settled and enacted, as may secure the Honour and Sovereignty of this Crown and Kingdom, the Freedom, Frequency and Power of Parliaments; the Religion, Liberty and Trade of the Nation from English, or any Foreign Influence, &c.

Now these Conditions being no other than what we have heard already by her Majesty's Letter, and the Speeches of her Ministers, she was graciously pleas'd to empower her Commissioner to grant, they don't fall under my Lord's Exception, concerning which he is pleas'd to say *might have full as well been left out, for he that asks what he knows before will never be granted, asks the Denial.*

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It's true indeed, that the Resolve for putting off the Succession till a Treaty be had with *England* about Commerce, and other Concerns, seems to give just Cause for his Lordship's Reflection upon some of the then *Scots* Ministry: And it must be likewise own'd, that the Clause relating to a Communication of Trade, and the Freedom of the *English* Plantations, which was Inserted into the Act of *Security* by the Courtiers in the D. of *Queenberry's* last Parliament, the Copy of which Act, I suppose, his Lordship had before him, gave him yet further ground for that Reflection, but that Clause being left out of the Act of *Security* as now pass'd, it is my humble Opinion, that our New Act of *Security*, and our *New Ministry*, are neither of them Chargeable with asking the *Denial*, as his Lordship elegantly expresses it.

I must likewise own, that this Proviso, or Clause of Exception, is by some understood to Exclude the same Successor with *England*, in case the Succession be not settled on the Conditions propos'd during Her Majesty's Reign; but I know some very Great Men, who are concern'd to understand the meaning of the Act, are of another mind, and they seem to be in the right, because in the beginning of the Proviso the *English* Successor is nam'd; and at the end of the Proviso, these Words immediately follow: *And it is hereby declar'd, that the said Meeting of the Estates shall not have Power to Nominate the said Successor to the Crown of this Kingdom, in the Event above expressed, [i. e. in case of Her Majesty's Death] during the first twenty days after their Meeting.* Now, in my humble Opinion, the words said Successor must relate to the Successor last mention'd before those Words, and that is plainly the Successor of *England*; and this, I conceive, to be strengthened by the

the words of Restriction; viz. *In any other Session of this, or any other ensuing Parliament, during Her Majesty's Reign.* For if there be any Parliament sitting at the time of her Death, then it falls literally in the Power of that Session to settle the Crown upon the *English* Successor, on the Conditions mention'd in the Proviso; and if there be any Parliament then in Being, tho' not sitting, they may properly be call'd the last Parliament of Her Reign, and therefore, I think, are Impower'd by this Act to settle the Crown upon the *English* Successor.

But allowing it to be otherwise, and that the Act does really Exclude the *English* Successor, except the Succession be actually settled during Her Majesty's Life; Blessed be God Her Majesty is in a very good state of Health, and, according to the Course of Nature, may live many Years; and, by what Her Majesty has done already, we need not doubt of her Royal Care to provide, as soon as may be, for the Safety and Security of her People, against that fatal Day. But in case it should please God to afflict these Nations by Her Majesty's Death, before the Succession can be settled in *Scotland*, we have seen by a very pregnant Instance, in the beginning of Her Majesty's Reign, that it is in a manner Impracticable for one Parliament to limit another, and therefore that Exclusive Clause in the *Act of Security*, can put no Bar in the way of our Estates to settle the same Successor with *England*, provided they find it for the Safety of the People, which is the *Great and Fundamental Law of Government*, that no *Act of Parliament* can reverse. The Case being thus, it is in the Power of *England* to Ratify or Annul this Exclusive Clause, either before or after Her Majesty's Death: For if they agree with Her Majesty to remove those

those things which give us cause to complain of Invasions upon our Liberty and Independency, that puts an end to the Exclusion of an *English* Successor at once, but if those hardships be still continued upon us, which make our People think it unsafe to come under the same Successor with *England*, then that Irreversible Law, of our Peoples Safety, will oblige us to Exclude the *English* Successor, tho' there were nothing in the *Act of Security* that had a tendency that way. It's hop'd my Lord *Haversham*, who is a Person of so much generous Fortitude, that he has complain'd undauntedly of Publick Grievances in all Reigns, with relation to *England*, will allow *Scots-men* to do the same with relation to their own Government; and perhaps, it will be found the most speedy and effectual way to prevent all those Dangers which his Lordship, and other good *English* Patriots, apprehend from our *Act of Security*, to enquire a little into the Causes of our Discontents, in order to have them remov'd. This were to act like Friends and Neighbours, that are willing to have us continue under the same Allegiance upon equitable Terms: All honest *Scots-men* would be so far from looking upon this as an undue intermeddling with our Affairs, that they would think themselves infinitely oblig'd to his Lordship, and others, that should concur with him in such a Generous and Friendly Office. Had others of his Lordship's Country-men, who have had Occasion to mention our Affairs, treated us with the same Honour and Candour that his Lordship has done, our Discontents had never risen so high as they are at present. Our Country-men are not so fond of a Stoical Apathy, as to continue unfeeling of Injuries, attended with Scorn and Contempt. His Lordship may easily believe, that since our Nation did

did, by Act of Parliament, soon after the Union of the Crowns, forbid all Reproaches upon *England* by Word or Writing, under severe Penalties, they don't think themselves very handsomly requited, when every forward Author may, with Impunity, launch out beyond his Depth, and attack our Antiquity, Sovereignty and Independency, by counterfeit Histories and forg'd Charters: - When some that were in Publick Posts have countenanc'd Runagate Fellows to Libel our Country, to treat our Company's trading by National Authority as *Pirates* and *Freebooters*; and when every Impudent Libeller may safely make our Country the Subject of his Buffoonry and Laughter. Nor is it a proper way to lessen our Resentments, for any one to talk of bringing us to Terms by Force of Arms, whenever they hear of any of our Complaints of Publick Grievances. I am satisfy'd that none but such, as converse only with the Skirts of Affairs, will talk at that rate; Wise men, and such as understand business, will enquire into Matters before they pass their Judgment upon them; and every honest Man, will be for removing Differences by hearing of the Cause, and doing of Justice, and not blow the Coals of Division betwixt Nations, in order to bring things to a Determination by Violence, since daily Experience tells us, *that the Battel is not always to the strong.*

There are others again who run down our Country because we insist on greater Limitations upon our Successor than the Parliament of *England* has thought fit to do upon theirs; but these Men don't consider the different Constitutions of Nations, and the different Circumstances of People, who may live under one and the same Prince. The weakest Child is generally most

most indulg'd by a tender Parent; and as the absence of a Prince is a great weakness to any Country, its but reasonable that a Nation under such an afflicting Inconvenience, should have some Compensation made them by favourable Laws. When the Subject is aggrieved and the Sovereign in another Kingdom, whose Ministry perhaps may Contribute to those Grievances; Its difficult for the aggrieved Kingdom in such Cases to obtain a Redress. King *Charles I.* tho tenacious enough of Prerogative, was so sensible of this as to *Scotland*, that in 1641, he granted us the power of chusing in Parliament our Privy Councellois, our Officers of State and our Judges, &c. according to our old Constitution, and the Reason given in the Narrative of these Acts is, that the absence of the Prince may be compensated by the goodness of Laws.

Then since there is no Condition of Government propos'd in our *Act of Security*, as a Limitation upon the next Successor, but what is agreeable to our old Constitution, and necessary to preserve our Freedom and Independency; No *English* Man can blame us for this Care, without reflecting at the same time, upon their own Wise Ancestors in the time of King *Edward III.* who being King of *France* by Right of Succession, the Parliament of *England* fearing that their Country might by reason of that, be subjected to *France*, they procur'd a Statute to prevent it; which because so applicable to our present purpose I shall insert as follows.

Anno. 14. Ed. 3. & Anno. Dom. 1340. By a Statute it was ordain'd, that the Realm of *England* and the People thereof shall not be subject to the King or Kingdom of *France*.

Edward by the Grace of God King of England and
 France, and Lord of Ireland, to all those which these
 Letters shall hear or see Greeting Know ye, That
 whereas some People do think that by reason that the
 Realm of France is devolv'd to us as Right Heir of the
 same, and for as much as we be King of France, our
 Realm of England should be put in Subjection of the
 King and of the Realm of France in time to come: We
 having regard to the Estate of our Realm of England,
 and namely that it never was nor ought to be in Sub-
 jection, nor in Obeisance of the Kings of France,
 which for the time have been, nor of the Realm of
 France, and willing to provide for the Surety and De-
 fence of the Realm of England, and of our Liege Peo-
 ple of the same, Will and Grant and Stablish for us and
 our Heirs and Successors, by Assent of Prelates, Earls,
 Barons and Commons of our Realm of England, in
 this our Present Parliament summoned at West-
 minster, the Wednesday next, after the Sunday in Middle-
 Lent, the 14th Year of our said Reign of our Realm
 of England, and the first of France, that by the Cause
 or Colour of that We be King of France, and that
 the said Realm to us pertaineth as afore is said, or that
 we cause us to be named King of France in our Style,
 or that we have changed our Seal or our Arms, Nor
 for the Commandments which we have made, or from
 henceforth shall make as King of France, our said Realm
 of England, nor the People of the same, of what Estate
 or Condition they be, shall not in any time to come be put
 in Subjection nor in Obeisance of us nor of our Heirs, nor
 Successors as Kings of France as afore is said, nor be
 Subject nor Obedient, but shall be free and quit of all man-
 ner of Subjection and Obeisance aforesaid, as they were
 wont to be in the time of our Progenitors Kings of
 England

England for ever. In Witness of which things, &c.
 Dated at Westminster, &c. the 14th Year of our Reign
 of England, and the First of France.

Now let any Impartial Englishman compare this
 Act with our Act of Security, and honestly declare his
 Judgment, whether the Terms of this Act be not
 much stronger against all subjection to the King of
 England, as King of France, than the Terms of our
 Act of Security are, against any subjection to the King
 of Scotland, as King of England; and let them tell us
 freely whether that can be Culpable in us, which they
 reckon commendable in themselves.

But further let any Man compare the two Cases
 together, and honestly speak his Mind, whether We
 had not much greater cause to have made such an Act,
 than the English had. And to prevent the Charge of
 partiality, I shall Exhibit the Comparison made by
 the English Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, as I find it in
 his Discourse of the Postnati, upon the famous Case of
 Calvin, in the Year 1609, as follows.

Now if you will make an apt and proper Appli-
 cation of that Case then, between England and France,
 to this our Case now, between Scotland and England
 it must be thus.

1. Edw. 3 then King of England (being the Lesser)
 had afterwards the Kingdom of France (being the
 Greater) by Descent, and took the stile of King of
 France.

King James King of Scotland (being the Lesser)
 hath afterward the Kingdom of England (being the
 Greater) by Descent, and taketh the stile of King
 of England.

2. King Edw. 3d. altered his Seal and his Arms,
 and placed the Arms of France before the Arms of
 England. C 2 King

‘ King *James* hath changed his Seal and his Arms
‘ in *England*, and hath placed the Arms of *England*
‘ before the Arms of *Scotland*.

‘ 3. It was then doubted, that King *Edw. 3.* would
‘ remove his Court out of *England* the Lesser, and
‘ keep his Imperial Seat and State in *France* the
‘ Greater.

‘ King *James* has indeed remov'd his Court out of
‘ *Scotland* the Lesser, and doth in his Royal Person
‘ (with the Queen and Prince, and all his Children)
‘ keep his Imperial Seat in *England* the Greater.

‘ 4. In all these the Cases agree, but yet one dif-
‘ ference there is, and that is in the Stile for King
‘ *Edw. 3.* in his Stile plac'd *England* the Lesser, being his
‘ Ancient Kingdom before *France*, the Greater being
‘ newly descended unto him.

‘ But King *James* in his Stile placeth *England* the
‘ Greater, tho' newly descended unto him before
‘ *Scotland* the Lesser, being his ancient Kingdom.

By this Comparison it is plain, that we suffered a
great deal more both in Profit and Honour, than *Eng-
land* either did or apprehended from *France*, when
they made the before-mentioned Act. For our Court
actually removed to *England*, and has staid here ever
since, whereas the Court of *England* did not remove to
France; which alone, would have justified our ma-
king an Act of Security in much stronger Terms than
that of the 14th of *Edward* Third, and so much the
rather, that we have actually suffered so much in our
Religion, Liberty and Trade by the Influence of *Eng-
lish* Councils since the Union of the two Crowns;
that except in some few Intervals, we can scarce say,
that *Scots-men* have, since that time, been allow'd any
Property in their Souls, Bodys or Estates. It were
easie to demonstrate this, but I forbear it. On-

Only I shall ask those Men who presently fly out in
a rage, if they hear *Scots-men* say their Country suf-
fered much in King *William's* Reign, in the Affair of
their *African* Company and *Darien* Colony. How they
think their Ancestors, who procur'd the Act of *Edward*
the Third just now mention'd, would have resent'd
such Treatment from that Prince in favour of *France*,
as we had from King *William* in favour of God knows
who; and whether all the glorious Atchievements of
Edward the Third for the Honour of his Country,
would have prevented their Complaints of such Inju-
ries, had that Prince done them any of the like sort.
Let me add, for the sake of some of our own Coun-
try-men, as well as others, who are ready to interpret
every Complaint of King *William's* personal or pub-
lick Miscarriages, to be a flying in the Face of the Re-
volution, that they may as well charge the Pen men of
the Sacred Scripture with calling *David* a Knave, and
Solomon a Fool, because they mention some of their
personal and publick Faults, tho' at the same time,
they acquaint us, that the former was one of the ho-
liest Men, and the latter one of the wisest that ever
was upon Earth.

Some Persons of that Stamp may perhaps endeavour
to make their own Court with *England*, because of
their Compliance with the Measures of the late Court
against the interest of their Country, and at the same
time attempt to run down others who oppos'd those
Measures, but whatever favour some People who have
occasion for their Service, may pretend to shew them
upon that Account. It is certain that no wise *Eng-
lish-man* can think that such of our Country-men as
went into Measures so prejudicial to *Scotland*, can
ever be useful or steady Friends to *England*. The Pro-
verb

verb is known, *That they who love the Treason hate the Traitor.*

I shall conclude this part of my Subject about the Terms of Government with another Instance of English Justice and Wisdom, in a Case much of the same Nature with that now under Consideration, and exactly paralel, in so far as it concerns our Country.

Queen *Mary* of *Scotland* being Wife to the King of *France*, that Monarch, by the Influence of French Councils, attempted to bring *Scotland* under Subjection to his Native Crown. The Estates of *Scotland* being absolutely averse to it, entred into Measures with *England* to prevent it; To effect this, the Great Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, in a Memorial dated the 5th of *August* 1559, among other Advices, gave them those that follow.

1. That they should demand a Redress of their Grievances from their own Queen, and the *French* King her Husband.

2. That they should demand to be Governed by their own Natives, and by a Council not subject to the direction of *France*.

3. That the three Estates should have the Administration of the Revenue, and power to appoint how much the Queen should have for her Portion during her absence out of the Realm, how much should be expended in the Government and defence of the Kingdom, and how much should be Yearly laid up in the Treasury.

4. That no Office of profit should be given to any but *Scots-men*, with the Consent of the Estates.

5. That no *Scots-men* should have any Pension from *France*, but whilst in the *French* Service, lest the *French* should thereby corrupt them to betray their Country.

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6. That if these things were not effectually granted, they should commit their Government to the next Heir of the Crown, upon condition that he should observe the Laws and Ancient Rights of the Realm.

These were the Advices given us at that time by Queen *Elizabeth* and her wise Councillors, and if any Man compare them with our present *Act of Security*, and the Limitations now demanded, he will find the difference to be very little; the Clause for arming our People being excepted, and for that there was no occasion in those Days, because our Fenceable Men were then all Armed, and Disciplin'd and commanded in case of a War (by our Nobility and Gentry). And by the way, it is fit to observe, that by the Lord *Burleighs* Memorial, here's not only an Exclusion, but a Dethronement Advis'd, if our demands were not granted; then surely no *Englishman* of Ingenuity will offer to say that the Methods here advis'd to, are not as proper and Equitable to be made use of now for preserving our Sovereignty and Independency, as they were then.

It is Her Majesty's Glory, that she proposes Q. *Elizabeth* for her Model; and all Men in Justice must say, that for what has hitherto pass'd, Her Majesty has infinitely outdone that great Princess, both in Moderation and Success: and as it was no small addition to the Glory of that renowned Queen, and of her Wife Ministry, that they help'd to deliver *Scotland* from the Thraldom of *Spain*, it will be no less Glorious for Her Majesty Queen *Anne*, and her present Ministry, to have it recorded in future Story, that they agreed to set *Scotland* free from such Incroachments by Foreign Councils, upon their Religion, Liberty and Trade, as prov'd ruinous to that Country, and have ever since

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the Union of the Crowns been so far from promoting the true Interest of *England*, that they have only tended to embroil and endanger it. This we have more reason to expect from Her Majesty, who is our Natural Sovereign; and certainly all prudent *English men* will consider the consequence of strenghtning Her Majesty, in doing such things for her ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* as she is Advis'd to by the great Council of that Nation, (if they be not a demonstrable Injury to *England*) lest the President should come home to themselves, and give a Handle to future Princes to prefer foreign Advices, in National Concerns, to that of their great Council the Parliament of *England*, for in this, as well as in other things, *what has been, may be.*

I shall touch a little further upon the Communication of Trade, and Freedom of the *English* Plantations, which so many of our Country-men seem to desire, and is the most popular Handle that can be made use of in *Scotland* for delaying the Succession. I confess I don't understand Commerce so much, as to be able to form a Judgment, whether this Communication, if granted, would be of most Advantage to *Scotland* or *England*. Our *Scots* Parliament seem'd to refer it to a Treaty, and to that I leave it: Only thus much I think may be said, that tho' I be not for making it one of the Conditions of Government upon the *English* Successor, because of the dangers that might follow such a delay, yet I think there's a great deal to be said why our Country men ought to have a Hearing on that Matter. As, 1. The Absence of our Prince and Court, which hinders Money from coming into the Country by Foreign Ambassadors, Travellers, Merchants, and others, that a Court necessarily draws after them. 2. The great decay of our own Manufactures, and other

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other Trade, which the Presence of a Court does mightily encourage. This, I am sure, the *Londoners* ought to be sensible of, who made such loud Complaints in K. *William's* Time, because his frequent Absence beyond Sea did so much lessen their Trade. 3. The great Export of our Money, by our Nobility and Gentry, who are oblig'd to attend the Court; and when there, they buy the chief of their Apparel and Furniture in *London*, which enriches *English* Tradesmen, and ruins those at home. 4. The Absence of our Court deprives us of a Theatre of good Breeding, which obliges more of our Gentry to go abroad than would otherwise be needful; and in going and returning, they generally Visit *London*, and, if of any Quality, must pay their Respects to their Sovereign, which drains our Country of a great deal of Money. 5. The Union of the Crowns dissolv'd our Ancient and Honourable Alliance with *France*, where we had the same Privileges with the Natives, a constant Nursery of Military Men, and such Posts in the Court and Army as made Honourable Provision for the Younger Sons, and sometimes for the Eldest Sons of our chief Families; and the remainder of those Privileges which was an Immunity of 50 *Sous per Tun* on our Shipping, was taken away by the late Lord *Hollis's* means, when Ambassador in *France* for K. *Charles II.* 6. Since *Scotsmen* have contributed so much to People, Enrich, and Defend the *English* Plantations, and since so much *Scots* Blood is constantly shed in the Armies and Fleets of *England*, in which our Country men have always their full proportion of Danger and Loss, whatever they have of Honour and Profit, it would seem to be no such unreasonable thing for those who live under the same Allegiance, and upon the same Island, who are of the same

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Religion, who have the same Common Interest, and who on all Occasions contribute their Endeavours against the Common Enemy, to demand a Communication of all other Privileges with their fellow Subjects. But instead of being allow'd this, we are cramp'd and discourag'd in our Endeavours at home and abroad: We contribute to obtain Victories, but have neither Honour nor Benefit by them: And when Treaties of Peace are set on foot, the Interest of *Scotland* is no more consider'd, than if we were not a Nation. If we commit any Crimes, we have the Privilege indeed of being Tried, and punish'd as *English* Men, without a *Medietas Linguae*; but for Matters of Advantage and Reward, we are, generally speaking, worse treated than Foreigners, of which many Instances might be given both in *England* and the *West-Indies*. And when our Ministry have sometimes endeavour'd to redress or prevent our Publick Grievances of any sort, they have either been turn'd out of their Posts, or frighted into a Compliance.

These are a few of the many things that have occasion'd *those Discontents*, and *that Poverty*, which my Lord *Haversham* has observ'd with too much truth do abound in our Country; and to which may justly be added, that it must be the removal, and not the continuance of those Grievances, that will make our Nation easie.

I come now to the Clause for Arming our People, from which that Noble Lord, and other good Patriots of *England*, are apprehensive of so much danger.

It must be own'd, that Strangers who know not the State of our Country, or the Proceedings of our Parliament about that Act, have just enough ground for such Apprehensions: And some of our Country men, who are not so much displeas'd with the Act, as they
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are desirous to make it a Handle against the New Ministry, are very forward to heighten those Jealousies; and their Partiality is so much the more gross, that they say nothing of the *Act of Peace and War*, that pass'd under another Ministry, which leaves us at liberty (in case of the same Successor with *England*) to engage in their Quarrels or not. And this we must observe by the way, was our undoubted Constitution and Right, ever till the Union of the Crowns, for our Princes could engage in no War before that time, without our Parliaments Consent.

But to return to the Arming of our People: That Clause was promoted by as good *Revolution Men*, and as firm *Protestants*, as any in *Scotland*. The Noble Lord who (to use the English Phrase) propos'd the tacking of it to the Money-Bill, is firm to that Interest, and lives in that part of the Kingdom which is the strength of our *Revolution Party*; and many other Noble Lords, and not a few Gentlemen of the same Principles, concurr'd with him. Besides, this Clause, with all the others in the *Act of Security* as now pass'd, was carried by 70 Votes, and debated and agreed to with such Solemnity and Deliberation, (the Parliament before) as the like has not been known in *Scotland* for 100 Years backward. The refusal of the Royal Assent to that Act then, hindred the Parliament's giving Money to the Court, and the like refusal now would have had the same effect, which might have prov'd much more dangerous at this time, because then there was Money in the Treasury to pay the Standing Troops but now there was none; so that the Army must have been Disbanded at a time when all Informations from Abroad spoke of an Invasion. Let any Man consider then, whether it was safe for our *Scots* Ministry to Advise Her Majesty to re-

fuse the Royal Assent to an Act for Arming *her Protestant Subjects*, at such a Juncture as that, thereby endangering their Country so much it might have cost them their Heads

I know there are some who object that our Troops might have been paid by Money from *England*; but these Men ought to consider, that the Parliament of *Scotland* would have prosecuted for High Treason any Man that should have proposed or concurr'd in such a thing; because they could not but interpret a step of that Nature, to be a manifest design to subject her Majesty's Crown and Dignity as Queen of *Scots*, to the Government of another Kingdom, for Standing Armies will readily act as their Pay-Masters would have them.

To this may be added, That the disarming of our Protestant Subjects, being one of the Grievances the Nation complain'd of in the Claim of Right, and never effectually redress'd till now, by the above-mentioned Clause of the *Act of Security*, the Revolution Party in *England* has no just Cause to be offended at it; and so much the less, if it be considered, That in those Reigns, when Popery and Slavery was the Design, the best affected Shires in the *Kingdom* were disarm'd; and by the Act against *Conveening the Lieges*, &c. it was made no less than High Treason for any of the Subjects (except the Militia) to meet together in Arms for Discipline; and at last the Government dar'd not to trust even the Militia be South *Tay*: So that by this means the best and most populous Counties of the Nation, were expos'd to be ravag'd by Highland Hosts and standing Forces, and to all the other Inconveniencies which attend an oppressed and defenceless People; whilst those Counties where Papists and Men of Arbitrary Principles are most

most numerous and have the greatest sway, were allow'd the use of their Arms, in order to over-awe the rest, and still continue better arm'd and disciplin'd than the other Counties, generally speaking; so that by the *Act of Security*, the best affected Shires are put in a Capacity of being arm'd and disciplin'd as well as the other, without any danger from those oppressive Laws: And as those Counties lie next to *England*, and make up the Strength of the Revolution Party in *Scotland*, they will rather prove a Barrier than an Offence to *England*, and cordially join with them in the support of a Protestant Succession and Common Liberty; so that instead of conceiving any Umbrage at those Peoples being arm'd and disciplin'd, It would seem to be the Interest of the Government to send them Arms *gratis*.

I shall conclude this Head with observing that our Parliament has taken so much care to prevent Papists and Jacobites from making any advantage of this arming Clause, that *none but Protestants are allow'd to be arm'd*, and the *Freeholders* who are to Command and Discipline our People, are by the same Act obliged to take the *Oath of Allegiance*, and likewise the *Affurance*, by which *they declare that in the sincerity of their Hearts, they acknowledge and assert that her Majesty Queen ANNE, is the only Lawful and undoubted Sovereign and Queen of Scotland, as well de Jure, as de Facto; and that they shall with Life and Estate maintain her Majesty's Title and Government, against the pretended King James VIII. his Adherents, and all other Enemies, who either by open or secret attempts shall disturb or disquiet her Majesty in the Exercise thereof; And all Men capable to bear Arms, and suspected of Popery are by the same Act obliged when required to renounce Popery in*

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Grosse. So that its hard to be imagined why the Revolution Party in *England*, should be apprehensive of danger from the Armed and Disciplined Protestants of *Scotland*, since the *Salisbury* Campaign is sufficient to convince them, that a Protestant Army is by no means proper to maintain a Popish Prince on the Throne, and much less to bring one to it who with the Idolatry of *Rome* has suck'd in the Tyranny of *France*.

Besides, this Act for arming the People, will scarcely supply the laying aside of our Militia, by the Act of *May 23. 1693*. Except in case of an Invasion, on consideration of a present Levy of 2797 Foot, then granted to King *William*, for the Defence of the Kingdom; together with 1000 Men Yearly for Recruits, by two Posterior Acts; so that its a very hard case for a Nation neither to have a Militia, nor their People armed and disciplined. For that objection made by some, that the *Act of Security* Arms those whom King *William* did disarm for disaffection to the Government; its a palpable mistake, because none are allowed to be armed and disciplined, but such as take the Oaths of Allegiance and Assurance as above mentioned.

The Learning and Bravery which my Lord *Haverham* so Generously ascribes to our Nobility and Gentry, must certainly give them an utter Aversion to Popery and Slavery, which may well encrease, but can never remove, their discontents. We know *French* performances too well, to give much heed to their Promises; and since by their former assistance against *England*, they had well nigh bereft us of *Scotland*, Whatever particular Persons may do, its certain the Generality of our Country will never be for making another Experiment, except Violent measures against their Inclinations drive them to such a fatal Necessity, which

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which we hope in God will never be the Case. Our Common People are numerous its true, and God knows, their Poverty (taken notice of by his Lordship) is too too great, but I am sure they are sensible that a *French* Army will never make it less, nor will the Learning or Bravery of such of our Nobility, as shall attempt the bringing in either *French* or other Troops to force a Successor upon us without previous Limitations, protect them from the Resentments of our numerous Commons, whose Native stoutness is as well known on the Banks of the Danube, as that of our Neighbours, and were other; as Generous and Just as his Lordship it would be more taken Notice of.

The same Apprehensions of danger from Standing Troops in time of Peace, which his Lordship expresses, is one of the most Cogent Arguments that can be made use of for our Country to Arm and Discipline. We have felt abundance more of the sad Effects of a Standing Army in time of Peace, since the Union of the Crowns, than *England* has done I am sure; when the best Counties of the Nation were oppress'd and disarm'd, we had Standing Troops, and *Highland* Hosts made use of by our Government, to force us to a Compliance with the *English Prelacy*, which gives ground enough for us to Arm and Discipline, lest the same Men should be made use of again, to force us to a Compliance with *French Popery*. And his Lordship may rest assured, that those Counties which lie next to *England*, and forfeited the pretended Father, will never make use of their Arms and Discipline to bring over the supposed Son. If any thing of that nature be done, it must be by those Counties which were armed and disciplin'd before our Act of Security.

I come now to the *Wooll Act*, and then shall have done,

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done. It is really hard that a Free Nation should be oblig'd to account for their Proceedings at Home to their Neighbours Abroad, and that they must neither buy nor sell but as others please. However, as to the Wooll Act, the Fact is thus. The People concern'd in our few Manufactures complain'd, That under preence of exporting English and Irish Wooll, our own was carried off, so that they could have none to work: And this occasion'd the Prohibitory Act against exporting those Commodities. And pray take Notice, that the said Act expired with the last Session of Parliament; so that our People might without this new Act have exported what Wooll they pleased. But our Farmers by that Prohibition had their Wooll lie rotting upon their Hands, so that they could not pay their Rents: And this occasioned the Act for Exporting our Wooll; which some People transform into a Design against *England*, and make part of a Plot to bring over the *Pretender*; tho' by Act of Parliament in King *Charles II's* time, the Lords of our Treasury were allowed to grant Liberty for such Exportation, and that it was our best affected Counties which suffered most by the Prohibition, and put in the Request, by which the Act was procured; which at the same time is to last no longer than till the close of the next session. Thus, *Sir*, I hope you are satisfied that there's no such Danger in our New Ministry, *Act of Security*, or *Wooll Act*, as some People would suggest to you. I remain,

S I R,

Your humble Servant.