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THE
S P E E C H
O F
LORD BELHAVEN,
IN THE
SCOTCH PARLIAMENT,
At the MAKING of the
U N I O N



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M, D C C, L X X X.

THE

S. H. R. & H.

LORD BRITANNIA

IN THE

WEST INDIES

AT THE

UNION



OF THE

WEST INDIES

LORD BELHAVEN'S S P E E C H.

My Lord Chancellor,

WHEN I consider this affair of an UNION betwixt the two nations, as it is expressed in the several Articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with variety of very melancholy thoughts; and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before, and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

I think I see *a free and independent kingdom* delivering up that which all the world have been fighting for since the days of *Nimrod*; yea, that for which most of the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities and dukedoms of Europe, are at this very time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were, *to wit*, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other.

I think I see *a national church*, founded upon a rock, secured by a *claim of right*, hedged and fenced about by the strictest legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with *Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries.

I think I see *the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland*, whose valiant predecessors led armies against

gainst their enemies upon their own proper charges and expences, now divested of their followers and vassallages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think I see a petty *English* excise-man receive more homage and respect than was paid formerly to their *quondam Mac Kalmores*.

I think I see *the peers of Scotland*, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-run countries, reduced and subjected towns, and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of *England*, now walking in the court of requests, like so many *English* attorneys, laying aside their walking swords, when in company with the *English* peers, lest their self defence should be found murder.

I think I see *the honourable estate of Barons*, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips, and a guard upon their tongues, lest they be found guilty of *Scandalum magnatum*.

I think I see *the royal state of boroughs* walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become apprentices to their unkind neighbours; and yet, after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies, and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein.

I think I see *our learned Judges*, laying aside their practices and decisions, studying the common law of *England*, gravelled with certioraries, *nisi prius's*, writs of error, verdicts indovr, *ejectione firmæ*, injunctions, demurs, &c. and frightened with appeals and advocations, because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with.

I think

I think I see *the valiant and gallant soldiery*, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as the reward of their honourable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest *English* corps kept standing.

I think I see *the honest industrious tradesman* loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to manufactories, and answered by counter petitions.

In short, I think I see *the laborious ploughman*, with his corns spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expence of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse.

I think I see the incurable difficulties of the *landed men*, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

I think I see our *mariners* delivering up their ships to their *Dutch* partners, and, what through presses and necessity, earning their bread as underlings in the royal *English* navy.

But, above all, *My Lord*, I think I see *our anti-ent mother CALEDONIA*, like *Cesar*, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last, with a *Et tu quæque mi fili!*

Are not these, *My Lord*, very affecting thoughts? And yet they are but the least part suggested to me by these dishonourable articles. Should not the
confi-

consideration of these things vivify these *dry bones* of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors *valour and constancy* rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors souls gone so far into the *English cabbage-stock and colli-flowers* that we should show the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded? Are our ears so deafened? Are our hearts so hardened? Are our tongues so faulted? Are our hands so fettered, *That in this our day, I say, My Lord, that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well-being of our ancient kingdom, before they be hid from our eyes.*

No, My Lord, God forbid: *Man's extremity is God's opportunity; he is a present help in time of need, and a deliverer, and that right early.* Some unforeseen providence will fall out that may cast the balance. Some *Joseph* or other will say, "Why do you strive together, since you are brethren?" None can destroy *Scotland*, save *Scotland's* self.

Hold your hands from the pen, you are secure. Some *Judah* or other will say, "Let not our hands be upon the lad; he is our brother." There will be a *J E H O V A H J I R E H*; and some *ram* will be caught in the thicket, when the bloody knife is at our mother's throat. Let us up then, *My Lord*, and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come.

My Lord, I wish from my heart, that this my vision prove not as true, as my reasons for it are probable. I design not at this time to enter into the merits of any one particular article. I intend this discourse as an introduction to what I may afterwards say upon the whole debate, as it falls in before this honourable House; and therefore, in the

the further prosecution of what I have to say, I shall insist upon some few particulars, very necessary to be understood, before we enter into a detail of so important a nature.

I shall therefore, in the *first place*, encourage a free and full deliberation, without animosities and heats. In the *next place*, I shall endeavour to make enquiry into the nature and source of the unnatural and dangerous divisions that are now on foot within this Isle; with some motives, shewing that it is our interest to lay them aside at this time. Then I shall inquire into the reasons which have induced the two nations to enter into a *Treaty of Union* at this time; with some considerations and meditations, with relation to the behaviour of the Lords-Commissioners of the two kingdoms, in the management of this great concern. And, *lastly*, I shall propose a method, by which we shall, most distinctly, and without confusion, go through the several articles of this Treaty, without unnecessary repetitions, or loss of time. And all this with deference, and under the correction of this honourable House.

My Lord Chancellor, The greatest honour that was done unto a *Roman*, was to allow him the glory of a triumph. The greatest and most dishonourable punishment was that of *parricide*. He that was guilty of *parricide* was beaten with rods upon his naked body, till the blood gushed out of all the veins of his body; then he was sewed up in a leathern sack, called a *Culeus*, with a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown headlong into the sea.

My Lord, Patricide is a greater crime than parricide all the world over.

In a triumph, *My Lord*, when the conqueror was riding in his triumphal chariot, crowned with laurels, adorned with trophies, and applauded with

huzzas,

huzzas, there was a Monitor appointed to stand behind him, to warn him, "Not to be high-minded, nor puffed up with overweening thoughts of himself;" and to his chariot were tied a whip and bell, to remind him, "That for all his glory and grandeur, he was accountable to the people for his administration, and would be punished as other men, if found guilty."

The greatest honour amongst us, *My Lord*, is to represent the Sovereign's sacred person in parliament, and in one particular, it appears to be greater than that of a triumph, because the whole legislative power seems to be wholly intrusted with him. If he gives the royal assent to an act of the Estates, it becomes a law obligatory upon the subject, though contrary, or without any instructions from the Sovereign: If he refuse the royal assent to a vote in parliament, it cannot be a law, though he has the Sovereign's particular and positive instructions for it.

His Grace the duke of *Queensberry*, who now represents her Majesty in this session of Parliament, hath had the honour of that great trust, as often, if not more, than any *Scotsman* ever had; he hath been the favourite of two successive Sovereigns; and I cannot but commend his constancy and perseverance, that, notwithstanding his former difficulties, and unsuccessful attempts, and some other specialities not yet determined, that his Grace has yet had the resolution to undertake the most unpopular measures last. If his Grace succeed in this affair of a Union, and that it prove for the happiness and welfare of the nation, then he justly merits to have a statue of gold erected for himself; but, if it shall tend to the entire destruction and abolition of our nation, and that we the nation's trustees shall go in to it, then I must say, That a whip and a bell, and a

sock,

rock, a viper and an ape, are but too small punishments for any such bold unnatural undertaking and complaisance.

That I may pave a way, *My Lord*, to a full, calm and free reasoning upon this affair, which is of the greatest consequence unto this nation, I shall remind this honourable house, that we are the successors of those noble predecessors, who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, amended, altered, and corrected them from time to time, as the affairs and circumstances of the nation did require, without the advice of any foreign power or potentate; and who, during the space of 2000 years, have handed them down to us, a free independent nation, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall not we then argue for that which our progenitors have purchased for us at so dear a rate, and with so much immortal honour and glory? God forbid. Shall the hazard of a father unbind the ligaments of a dumb son's tongue, and shall we hold our peace, when our *Patria* is in danger! I speak this, *My Lord*, that I may encourage every individual member of this house to speak his mind freely. There are many wise and prudent men amongst us, who think it not worth their while to open their mouths: there are others, who can speak very well, and to good purpose, who shelter themselves under the shameful cloke of silence, from a fear of the frowns of great men and parties. I have observed, *my Lord*, by my experience, the greatest number of speakers in the most trivial affairs; and it will always prove so, while we come not to the right understanding of our oath *de fideli*, whereby we are bound, not only to give our vote, but our faithful advice in Parliament, as we should *answer to God*; and, in our ancient laws, the representatives of the honourable barons, and the royal burroughs, are termed *Spokesmen*:

men : It lies upon your Lordships therefore, particularly to take notice of such, whose modesty makes them bashful to speak. Therefore I shall leave it upon you, and conclude this point with a very memorable saying of an honest private gentleman to a great *Queen*, upon occasion of a state project, contrived by an able Statesman, and the favourite to a great *King*, against a peaceable obedient people, because of the diversity of their laws and constitutions : " If at this time thou hold thy peace, " salvation shall come to the people from another " place, but thou and thy house shall perish." I leave the application to each particular member of this house.

My Lord, I am come now to consider our *divisions*. We are under the happy reign (blessed be God) of the *best of Queens*, who has no evil design against the meanest of her subjects ; who loves all her people, and is equally beloved by them again ; and yet, that under the happy influence of our most excellent *Queen*, there should be such divisions and factions, more dangerous and threatening to her dominions, than if we were under an arbitrary government, is most strange and unaccountable. Under an arbitrary Prince, all are willing to serve, because all are under a necessity to obey, whether they will or not. He chooses therefore whom he will, without respect to either parties or factions ; and, if he think fit to take the advice of his councils or parliaments, every man speaks his mind freely, and the Prince receives the faithful advice of his people, without the mixture of self designs. If he prove a good Prince, the government is easy ; if bad, either death or a revolution brings a deliverance : whereas here, *my Lord*, there appears no end of our misery, if not prevented in time. Factions are now become independent, and have got footing in councils,

cils, in parliaments, in treaties, in armies, in incorporations, in families, among kindred; yea, man and wife are not free from their political jars.

It remains therefore, *my Lord*, that I enquire into the nature of these things; and, since the names give us not the right idea of the thing, I am afraid I shall have difficulty to make myself well understood.

The names generally used to denote the factions, are *Whig* and *Tory*, as obscure as that of *Guelfs* and *Gibellins*: Yea, *my Lord*, they have different significations, as they are applied to factions in each kingdom. A *Whig* in *England* is a heterogeneous creature; in *Scotland* he is all of a piece: a *Tory* in *England* is all of a piece, and a Statesman; in *Scotland*, he is quite otherways, an Anti courtier and Anti statesman.

A *Whig* in *England* appears to be somewhat like *Nebuchadnezzar's* image, of different metals different classes, different principles, and different designs; yet, take them altogether, they are like a piece of fine mixed droggat of different threads, some finer, some coarser, which after all, make a comely appearance, and an agreeable suit. *Tory* is like a piece of loyal made *English* cloth, the true staple of the nation, all of a thread; yet if we look narrowly into it, we shall perceive diversity of colours, which, according to the various situations and positions, make various appearances. Sometimes *Tory* is like the moon in its full, as appeared in the affair of the *Bill of the occasional conformity*: upon other occasions, it appears to be under cloud, and as if it were eclipsed by a greater body, as it did in the design of the calling over the illustrious Princess *Sophia*. However, by this we may see their designs are to outshoot *Whig* in his own bow.

Whig in Scotland is a true blue *Presbyterian*, who without considering time or power, will venture his all for the Kirk; but something less for the State. The greatest difficulty is, how to describe a *Scottish Tory*. Of old, when I knew him first, *Tory* was an honest hearted comaradish fellow, who provided he were maintained and protected in his benefices, titles and dignities, by the State, was the less anxious who had the government and management of the church. But now what he is since *Jus Divinum* came in fashion, and that Christianity, and by consequence, salvation comes to depend upon Episcopal Ordination, I profess, I know not what to make of him. Only this I must say for him, that he endeavours to do by opposition, that which his brother in *England* endeavours by a more prudent and less scrupulous method.

Now, *my Lord*, from these divisions there has got up a kind of *Aristocracy*, something like the famous triumvirate at *Rome*. They are a kind of undertakers and pragmatic Statesmen, who, finding their power and strength great, and answerable to their designs, will make bargains with our gracious Sovereign; they will serve her faithfully, but upon their own terms; they must have their own instruments, their own measures; this man must be turned out, and that man put in, and then they will make her the most glorious *Queen* in *Europe*.

Where will this end, *my Lord*? Is not her Majesty in danger by such a method? Is not the monarchy in danger? Is not the nation's peace and tranquillity in danger? Will a change of parties make a nation more happy? No, *my Lord*; the seed is sown, that is like to afford us a perpetual increase. It is not an annual herb. It takes deep root; it seeds and breeds: and, if not timely prevented by her Majesty's

Majesty's royal endeavours, will split the whole island into two.

My Lord, I think considering our present circumstances at this time, the Almighty God has reserved this great work for us. We may bruise this *Hydra* of division, and crush this *cockatrice's* egg. Our neighbours in *England* are not yet fitted for any such thing; they are not under the afflicting hand of Providence, as we are: their circumstances are great and glorious, their treaties are prudently managed both at home and abroad, their generals brave and valorous, their armies successful and victorious, their trophies and laurels memorable and surprising; their enemies subdued and routed, their strong holds besieged and taken, sieges relieved, marshals killed and taken prisoners; provinces and kingdoms are the results of their victories: the royal navy is the terror of *Europe*, their trade and commerce extended through the universe, encircling the whole habitable world, and rendering the whole capital city the Emporium for the inhabitants of the whole earth; and which is yet more, for all these things the subjects freely bestowing their treasure upon their Sovereign; and, above all, these vast riches, the sinews of war, and without which, all the glorious success had proven abortive; these treasures are managed with such faithfulness and nicety, that they answer seasonably all their demands, tho' at never so great a distance. Upon these considerations, *my Lord*, how hard and difficult a thing will it prove to persuade our neighbours to a self-denial bill?

'Tis quite otherways with us, *my Lord*. We are an obscure people, tho' formerly of better account, removed to a remote corner of the world, without name, and without alliances, our posts mean and precari-

precarious; so that I profess, I do not think any one post of the kingdom worth the bruing for save that of being commissioner to a long session of a factious *Scots* parliament, with an antedated commission, and that still renders the rest of the ministers more miserable. What hinders us then, *my Lord*, to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily together in our present circumstances when our All is at the Stake? *Hannibal, my Lord*, is at our gates, *Hannibal* is come within our gates *Hannibal* is come the length of this table, he is at the foot of this throne, he will demolish this throne; if we take not notice, he will seize upon these *Regalia*; he will take them as our *Spolia opima*, and whip us out of this house, never to return again.

For the love of God then, *my Lord*, for the safety and welfare of our ancient kingdom, whose sad circumstances, I hope, we shall yet convert into prosperity and happiness! We want no means, if we unite; God blesteth the peace makers; we want neither men nor sufficiency of all manner of things necessary to make a nation happy: All depends on management; *Concordia res parva crescunt*. I fear not these articles, tho' they were ten times worse than they are, if we once cordially forgive one another, and that, according to our proverb, "By-gones be by-gones, and fair play to come" For my part, in the sight of God, and in the presence of this honourable house, I heartily forgive every man, and beg that they may do the same to me. And I do most humbly propose, That his grace my Lord commissioner may appoint an Agape, may order a love feast for this honourable house; that we lay aside all self-designs; and that, after our falls and humiliations, we have a day of rejoicing and thank-

thankfulness, may eat our meat with gladness, and our bread with a merry heart. Then shall we sit, each man under his own fig-tree, and the voice of the turtle shall be heard in our land, a bird famous for constancy and fidelity.

My Lord, I shall make a pause here, and stop going on further in my discourse, till I see farther. His Grace, my Lord Commissioner, receive any humble proposals for removing misunderstandings among us, and putting an end to our fatal divisions, upon honour I have no other design, and I am content to beg the favour on my bended knees.

No answer.

My Lord Chancellor, I am sorry that I must pursue the thread of my sad and melancholy story.—What remains, I am afraid, will prove as afflictive as what I have said: I shall therefore consider the motives which have engaged the two nations to enter into a treaty of Union at this time: In general, *my Lord*, I think both of them had it in their view to better themselves by the treaty; but before I enter upon the particular motives of each nation, I must inform this honourable House, that, since I can remember, the two nations have altered their sentiments upon that affair, even almost to downright contradiction. They have changed headbands, as we say: for *England*, till of late, never thought it worth their pains to treat with us; the good bargain they made at the beginning they resolve to keep; and that which we call an incorporating union, was not so much as in their thoughts. The first notice they seemed to take of us, was in our affair of *Caledonia*; when they had most effectually broke off that design, in a manner very well known to the world; and unnecessary to be repeated
here;

here ; they kept themselves quiet during our complaints upon that head. In which time, our Sovereign, to satisfy the nation, and allay their heats, did condescend to give us some good laws, and amongst others that of personal liberty, and that of peace and war ; but *England* having declared their succession, and extended their entail, without even taking notice of us, our gracious Sovereign Queen ANNE, was graciously pleased to give her royal assent to an Act of Security, and to give us a hedge to all our sacred and civil interests, by declaring it high treason to endeavour the alteration of them as they were then established. Thereupon did follow the threatening and minatory laws against us by the Parliament of *England*, and the unjust and unequal character of what her Majesty had so graciously condescended to in our favours. Now, *my Lord*, whether the desire they had, to have us engaged in the same succession with them ; or whether that they found us, like a free independent people, breathing after more liberty than what was formerly looked after ; or whether they were afraid of our Act of Security, in case of her Majesty's decease ; which of all these motives has induced them to a treaty, I leave it to themselves : This I must say only, They have made a good bargain this time also.

For the particular motives that induced us, I think they are obvious to be known. We found, by sad experience, that every man hath advanced in power and riches as they have done in trade : And at the same time, that no where through the world slaves are found to be rich, though they should be adorned with chains of Gold ; we thereupon changed our notion of an incorporating union to that of a federal one ; and, being resolved to take this opportunity to make demands upon them, before we

enter into the succession, we were content to empower her Majesty to authorize and appoint Commissioners to treat with the Commissioners of *England*, with as ample power as the Lords Commissioners from *England* had from their constituents, that we might not appear to have less confidence in her Majesty, nor more narrow-hearted in our act than our neighbours of *England*. And thereupon, last Parliament, after her Majesty's gracious letter was read, "Desiring us to declare the Succession in the first place, and afterwards appoint Commissioners to treat," we found it necessary to renew our former resolve, which I shall read to this honourable house.

R E S O L V E,

Presented by the DUKE of HAMILTON,
last *Session* of PARLIAMENT.

" T H A T this Parliament will not proceed
" to the Nomination of a Successor, till we
" have had a previous treaty with *England* in rela-
" tion to our Commerce and other concerns with
" that nation. And farther, it is resolved, That
" this Parliament will proceed to make such limi-
" tations and conditions of Government, for the
" rectification of our constitution, as may secure
" the liberty, religion and independency of this
" kingdom, before they proceed to the nominati-
" on."

Now, *My Lord*, the last session of Parliament having, before they would enter upon any treaty with *England*, by a vote of the House, passed both an act for limitations, and an act for rectification of our constitution. What mortal man has reason to doubt the design of this treaty was only federal?

My Lord Chancellor, It remains now that we consider the behaviour of the Lords Commissioners at the opening of this treaty; and, before I enter upon that, allow me to make this meditation, That, if our posterity, after we are all dead and gone, shall find themselves under an ill made bargain, and shall have a recourse unto our records, and see who have been the managers of our treaty, by which they have suffered so much, when they read the names, they will certainly conclude, and say, Ah! our nation has been reduced to the last extremity at the time of this treaty! all our great chieftains, all our great Peers and considerable men, who used formerly to defend the rights and liberties of the nation, have been all killed and dead in the bed of honour, before ever the nation was necessitated to condescend to such mean and contemptible Terms. Where are the names of the chief men of the noble families of Stewarts, Hamiltons, Grahams, Campbels, Gordons, Johnstons, Humes, Murrays, Kers, &c.? Where are the two great Officers of the Crown, the Constable and Marishal of Scotland? they have certainly all been extinguished, and now we are slaves for ever?

Whereas, the English records will make their posterity reverence the memory of the honourable names who have brought under their fierce, warlike and troublesome neighbours, who had struggled so long for independency, shed the best blood
of

of their nation, and reduced a considerable part of their country to become waste and desolate.

I am informed *My Lord*, That our Commissioners did indeed frankly tell the Lords Commissioners for England, That the inclinations of the people of Scotland were much altered of late in relation to an incorporating union; and that therefore, since the entail was to end with her Majesty's life, whom God long preserve, it was proper to begin the treaty upon the foot of the Treaty of the 1604 year of God, the time when we came first under one sovereign: But this the English Commissioners would not agree to, and our Commissioners, that they might not seem obstinate, were willing to treat and conclude in the terms laid before this honourable House, and subjected to their determination.

If the Lords Commissioners for England had been as civil and complaisant, they should certainly have finished a federal treaty likewise, that both nations might have the choice which of them to have gone into as they thought fit; but they would hear of nothing but of an entire and complete union, either by incorporations, surrender or conquest; whereas our Commissioners thought nothing but a fair equal incorporating union: Whether this be so or not, I leave it to every man's judgment; but, as for myself, I must beg liberty to think it no such thing. For I take an incorporating union to be, where there is a change both in the material and formal part of the government; as if two pieces of metal were melted down into one mass, it can neither be supposed to retain its former form or substance, as it did before the mixture. But now, when I consider this treaty, as it hath been explained and spoke to before us these three weeks bypast, I see the English constitution remaining firm, the same two Houses of

Parliament, the same taxes, the same customs, the same excise, the same trade in companies, the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and all ours either subject to regulations or annihilations: only we have the honour to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they please to contract more.

Good GOD! What is this! An entire surrender!

My Lord, I find my heart so full of grief and indignation, that I must beg pardon not to finish the last part of my discourse, that I may drop a tear as the prelude of so sad a story.

After having sat down, and some Discourses by other MEMBERS interveening, he continued his Discourse thus:

My Lord Chancellor, What I am to say, relates to the method of proceeding in this weighty affair. I hear it proposed by a noble member of the other side, that we should proceed in the same order as the Lords Commissioners treaters did. In my humble opinion, *my Lord*, it is neither the natural method, nor can it be done without great confusion and repetition. To say, you will agree to the union of the two kingdoms, before you agree on the terms upon which they are to be united, seems like "driving the plough before the oxen." The articles which narrate the conditions, seem to be the premises from which the conclusion is inferred, and, according as they are found good or bad, the success will follow. When a man is married to a fortune in England, as they call it, I suppose he is satisfied with the thing before he determines himself,

self to marry ; and the proposal I have heard, of agreeing to the first article, with a *proviso*, That if the rest of the articles shall be found satisfactory, and not otherways, is of a piece with the rest, and looks like beating the air, and no ways consistent with fair and square dealings. Besides, *my Lord*, if we were to go upon the first article, are not all the rest of the articles, besides many others not contained in the articles, valid arguments, either *pro* or *con*, against concluding or not concluding the first article ? and no vote in this House can hinder a man from making use of what arguments he thinks fit. Moreover, the searching the records, and revising the Statute books, comparing the books of Rates, Customs, Excise and Taxes of both nations, with one another, must all be previously considered, ere we determine ourselves in one single article.— Add to this, That the prohibitory clause, with relation to the trade of both nations, must be adjusted, lest, like *Æsop's* dog, we lose the old in grasping at the new. The state of the English companies must also be exposed, how far we shall have liberty into them, and what advantage we may propose to ourselves by trading to these places where they are secured ; and, above all, *my Lord*, the security of our national church, and of all that is dear unto us, must be previously established by us, if practicable, before we conclude the first article. Therefore, *my Lord*, though my humble opinion be, though we had a *Charte blanche* from England, yet the delivering up of our sovereignty gives back with one hand what we receive with the other, and that there can be no security without the guarantee of a distinct independency betwixt the parties treating ; yet, *my Lord*, for farther satisfaction to this honourable House, that every member may fully satisfy himself,

I hum,

I humbly propose, That passing by the first three articles, which appear to be much of a piece, we begin at the fourth article of the treaty; and, if I be seconded in this, I desire it may be put to the question.



BELHAVEN'S VISION.

I.

WHILE all the world to this day,
 Since Nimrod did a sceptre sway,
 Ensigns for sovereign power display,
 Shall it be told,
 We, for a little shining clay,
 A kingdom sold.

II.

I see an independent State,
 Repenting, when it is too late,
 They did ignobly abdicate
 An ancient Crown,
 Which their ancestors blood and sweat,
 Had handed down.

III.

I see the Church, round fenc'd with all
 The pointed laws kings could propale,

made Noah's ark to priests of Baal,
Socinian crews,
Arminian, and a black cabal
Of faithless Jews.

IV.

See our noble Peers resort
For posts and pensions to the Court,
And having danc'd attendance for't,
'Till they think shame,
Their Union guineas falling short,
Come trotting home.

V.

See our Barons, whose Grandfire
Did armies head, wall'd cities fire,
And honour, wealth and fame acquire.
Oblig'd to stand
At distance from an English squire,
With hat in hand.

VI.

See our Royal Burroughs glad,
By taxes on the nation led,
Worm'd out of every branch of trade,
With downcast eyes,
To supplicate the board for bread
In the Excise.

VII.

See an honest Ploughman spout
Half of his saltless Pottage out,
Lucking thumb-ropes of straw about
His unshod soles,

And

And kindling turf, or a tree-root,
 For want of coals.

VIII.

Our gallant Soldiers sent or fled
 Abroad to the plantation trade,
 Some left, their blood who often shed
 For their own King,
 Without subsistence to be led
 With dog and string,

IX.

The first three articles proclaim,
 That to be Scotsmen we think shame ;
 Their constitution is the same,
 Which long ago,
 Their Kings and Parliaments did frame,
 But ours not so.

The brave Belhaven he foretold,
 Whene'er our rights that we had sold,
 That it would prove but bitter gold,
 Which made our peers disdain him

Our nobles therefore did consent,
 To have an union parliament,
 For to secure their lands and rents,
 And keep them in communion,
 But tho' it seemed sweet like figs,
 Yet now they drink the bitter dregs,
 And scarce can stand upon their legs,
 For thinking on the union.

well as the outer sides of the walls. The view from the eminence on which the Castle stands is perhaps the finest thing of the kind in Scotland,—the broad river sweeping round the base, the lofty banks clothed with nearly every variety of tree, on the one hand serving as the frame to an extensive view of the open country beyond, and on the other terminating in a graceful bend of the course of the stream,—all conspire to excite emotions of delight in even the most prosaic observers. Few of our feudal strongholds have more frequently changed masters than this ancient fortress. Since the time of Edward I. it has been successively the property of at least ten different families. The residence of the present owner, Lord Douglas, stands near the old castle, on a beautiful lawn, adorned with some of the finest trees in the country; and on the opposite side of the river, very picturesquely placed on the brink of a perpendicular rock, are the ruins of Blantyre Priory. By the courtesy of the noble proprietor, the grounds are thrown open to the public on Tuesdays and Fridays.

The Holytown, Coatbridge, Garnkirk, and Steps Road Stations,

Succeed each other within a distance of 13 miles. The district is chiefly occupied by iron-works, coal-mines, brick-works, &c.; the former, particularly Calder and Carnbroe, on opposite sides of the line, sending forth torrents of flame, and at night illumining the country for miles round. There is little else calling for special notice, except the very lofty viaduct over the Calder valley, a quarter of a mile long and 120 feet high, and a short but intensely dark tunnel between Holytown and Coatbridge. The latter place bears the usual marks of prosperity in possessing among other fine buildings a handsome church built in the Gothic, and an Academy in the Italian style. The Germiston embankment, distant one mile from Glasgow, is three quarters of a mile long, thirty feet broad on the top, and nearly forty-five feet in height.

The Glasgow Terminus.

The permanent Station-houses at this end of the line are not yet erected. The present stopping-place is at the St. Rollox Station, the well-known terminus of the Garnkirk line, at the Town-head; but the line is now in course of being extended to Buchanan Street, where a much more central terminus will be obtained; and so soon as the necessary Acts of Parliament can be procured, the General Station in Dunlop Street will also be proceeded with, which will afford ample accommodation for the numerous passengers who will make use of the Caledonian Railway and its extensive ramifications.

THE CITY OF GLASGOW.

GLASGOW, although not the capital, is yet, in a commercial point of view, and in amount of population, the *first* city in Scotland. It now covers, including its various suburbs, a space of nearly 700 acres, and has a very large and rapidly increasing population, amounting in 1841 to 257,592. This great prosperity has been owing chiefly to its vast and extending trade in manufactured cottons, arising from its facilities of water intercourse with all parts of the world, and to its position in the centre of extensive fields of mineral produce of all kinds.

Although the *city of commerce* has neither the romantic situation, the high tone of aristocratic elegance, nor the architectural grandeur of Edinburgh, yet is it not devoid of elegant and spacious streets, public buildings, and institutions of great merit and of imposing appearance, besides many other objects of interest. Pursuing the usual route from the terminus to the town, we soon reach the Royal Infirmary, and close beside it stands the venerable and majestic Cathedral, now upwards of 700 years old, and surrounded by the graves of many generations. Opposite is the Barony Church, and between them the "Bridge of Sighs" over the Molendinar burn, leading to the Necropolis, or new bury-