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THE

# DUTCH

Better FRIENDs than the

### FRENCH,

TO THE

Monarchy, Church, and Trade

O F

### ENGLAND.

In a LETTER from a CITIZEN to a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

### The Second Edition.

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## FRENCH, &c.

SIR,



HEN I reflect upon Her Majesties Speech to her Two Houses of Parliament, but this very last Session, in which she declar'd her Own Interest to be inseparable from that of the States-General of the United Provinces; 'tis not without a Mixture of Indignation and Surprize that I hear those very People, who would be thought the Queen's best, if not her

only Friends, most passionately desiring the Ruin and Destruction of that very Interest, with which that of Her Majesty is so inseparably united. When I consider what Arts have been made use of, by some profligate Scriblers, to disguise real Truth, and scatter Lyes among the Mob, I am not much surpriz'd, if Plowmen and Mechanicks, if such as never read a History, or saw a Map, should be wheedled into a fond Imagination, as if their Protestant Allies and best Friends were now become their most-suspected Rivals, if not their most dangerous Enemies: But, that you, Sir, who have had an Education above the Vulgar, who, 'tis to be hoped, have had your Views extended beyond the Stable and the Dog-kennel, that fuch as you should be for aggrandizing of the French, and look upon Holland as the only formidable Neighbour that we have; this is whar, I confess, amazes and confounds me. I make no Question, but that France has her Emissaries both in England and Holland, whose Business it is to foment Divisions, to

exasperate one Nation against the other, that so, by their mutual Quarrels and Contentions, they may both fall a Sacrifice to her Ambition. Should the two Maritime Powers be so far abandon'd of Common Reason, as to dash against each other, they must both necessarily be broken in pieces, and furnish their watchful Enemy with an Opportunity to triumph in their Destruction. This being the state of our Affairs, and we having a reftless Faction in the midst of us, who by Calumnies, Misrepresentations, and lying Pamphlets endeavour to possess the Minds of the Common People with cruel Prejudices against their old Allies and Friends, I cannot but look upon it the Duty of every one that loves his Country, to endeavour, in his Station, the quenching those Flames which these Incendiaries are so active to kindle. To this End I have diverted my self a little, in drawing up an Answer to those Objections, which, as you inform me, are in the Mouths of almost every Peasant and Mechanick. You will find, that my Arguments are all grounded on Matter of Fact, and that I have advanc'd nothing for which I have not produc'd my Authors, and fuch as are of a most establish'd Reputation. What Interpretation may be put by some on this Essay, I cannot tell; my Design, I am sure, is just and honourable, to disabuse the Ordinary sort of People; to let 'em see how grosly they have been impos'd upon by the Partisans of France and the Pretender; that so it may not be in the Power of our new Allies to make us fall out with our old Friends, but that we may be united in Affections, as well as we are in Interest.

i Obj. The first Popular Objection against the Dutch, which you were pleas'd to take notice of, is this; That they are Men of Antimonarchical Principles; That they countenance and abett a Republican Faction here at home, who only wait an Opportunity to Subvert the Constitution, and erect a Commonwealth upon the Ruin of it. As to the latter part of this Accusation, it has nothing in the World but Noise and Clamour to support it. In all' my Conversation, never did I hear one fingle Man deny the English Form of Government to be the best in the whole World; And could any such Criminal Correspondence, as is suggested, be prov'd against the Whiggs, you may depend upon it, the Nation would quickly ring of the Discovery. 'Tis true, the Inhabitants of the United Provinces are Members of a Republick; they were born and educated in a Commonwealth, and tis very probable, may admire their own Constitution, looking upon it as most convenient for them in their Circumstances: But have we any Reason to be angry with them on this [5]

account? I am confident, you will determine in the Negative, when you confider, (1.) that their casting themselves at first into such a Model was the Effect, not of Choice, but absolute Necessity. (2.) That they have manifested themselves better Friends than the French. to the English Monarchy in general, and to the Person of Queen ANN in particular. (3.) If we are angry with them because they have a different Government from us, we must, for the same Reason, be angry with all Mankind.

I Ans. I affirm in the first place, that when the Hollanders form'd themselves into a Commonwealth, this was Matter of Necessity rather than of Choice. 'Tis not consistent with the intended Brevity of these Papers, to enter into a Detail of the Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of the Low-Country Wars; let it suffice at present to remind you, that the United Provinces were once Subjects to the King of Spain: That the Invasion of their Civil Liberties, and the inhuman Cruelties which those of the Reform'd Religion suffer'd, provok'd the poor Inhabitants to take up Arins in their own defence, and to withstand those Instruments of Cruelty that were made use of to oppress 'em. After many Tumults and Confusions, there was a Convention of the Estates at Antwerp, in the Year 1581, in which 'twas determin'd, That Philip King of Spain, by invading their Priviledges, and overthrowing their Constitution, had forfeited his Right to govern those Provinces; or, to use a modern Dialect, That he had broken the Original Contract, and the Throne was become vacant. But instead of moulding themfelves into a Commonwealth, they at the same time elected the Duke of Alanson, younger Brother to the King of France, to be their Sovereign (a). This Prince accepted their Invitation; but being influenc'd more by Humour and Caprice than by the Maxims of Policy and Wisdom, and being guilty of an unaccountable odd Conduct, he quickly lost the Affections of his new Subjects. When he perceiv'd this, he retir'd into France, and quickly after died there. The Provinces being once more without a supreme Governour, they offer next to transfer their Allegiance to our Renowned Queen Elizabeth. (b) She refus'd indeed to accept of this Proposal, but afforded them a very generous Assistance, and continued their Friend and Patroness to the Day of her Death. By this Account, Sir, you may see, that when the Dutch form'd themselves at first

<sup>(</sup>a) Vide Stradam de Bello Belgico, Decas p. 2. 179. Bentivoglio's Hist. of Flanders, p. 172. (b) Cambden's Hist. of Q. Elizabeth, p. 320, Ed. 4.

2 Anf. I am next to prove, that the Dutch have manifested themselves better Friends than the French to the British Monarchy. And here I hope you will allow this to be a true Maxim, that A Friend is known in Adversity: This distinguishes a real Friend from a perfidious Flatterer, just as Fire separates Dross from Gold. Who is there that will not flatter and caress a King, while he maintains his Dignity, and is able to raise those to Honour and Preferment who can infinuate themfelves into his Affections? But certainly, he best deserves the Name of Friend, who faithfully adheres unto him in his Diftress, and espouses the Royal Interest when at the lowest ebb. Now, 'twas not many Years ago that the English Monarchy was overthrown by Crommel and his Faction, the Royal Family banish'd, and K. Charles the Second forc'd to wander up and down the World in an uncomfortable Exile: And if in these Circumstances he was treated with more Civility and Respect in Holland than in France, I hope you will allow that I have fairly prov'd my Affertion. The Witness which I produce to this Purpose is above all Exception; 'tis the renowned Lord Clarendon, a Person who attended his Royal Master in all his Motions beyond the Seas, and writes of those things which he faw with his own Eyes.

We will first see what Manner of Friends the French were to the British Monarchy during our late intestine Wars. And here we are assured by this noble Historian, "that the Rebel-" lion had been originally somented, and afterwards counte-" nanced by them (a); that the French, according to their Na-" ture, were active and intent upon blowing the Fire; that the Commotions in Scotland had been raised by the special Encouragement, if not the Contrivance of Cardinal Richelieu; "And that the French Embassador Monsieur la Fert dissem- bled not to have notable Familiarity with those who go- vern'd most in the two Houses, and that he took all Oppor- tunities to lessen and undervalue the King's Regal Powers, (b) and had done the King all imaginable Disservice (c): And is not this a Convincing Evidence of that Respect and Veneration these People bear to the English Crown?

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Let us next see their Carriage towards the Person of King-Charles the Second, who was forc'd to live some time as a Refugee amongst 'em, both during the Imprisonment of his Father, whilst only Prince of Wales, and after his Father's Murder, when he enjoy'd the empty Title of a King. Here the Lord Clarendon affures us, "it can hardly be believ'd, with " how little Respect they treated him, during the whole time " of his stay there (a). That he was never Master of ten Pistoles " to dispose of as he desir'd (b). And when there were Vigorous Efforts made, both in Scotland and Ireland, to rescue King. Charles the First from his Captivity, and prevent the Subverfion of the Government; when the Royal Party had their Expectation very much rais'd, the Prime Minister in France "was " fo far from giving any Countenance or Warmth to their " blooming Hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the " destroying them, but the Imprisoning the Prince (c). These were the Civilities he met with in France whilst Prince of Wales; nor was the Case alter'd, except for the worse, when by his Father's Death the Title of King was devolv'd upon him. Thus our Noble Author informs us, "That as the King had " receiv'd no kind of Civility from France fince his last co-" ming, so it was necessions enough that his Absence was im-" patiently desir'd by that Court: That tho' he had not been in any degree chargeable unto them, yet he was an Unwel-" come Guest (d). When His Majesty first came to Paris, he had a little Room allow'd him, in which the English Liturgy was read to him and his Protestant Attendants, but this was quickly taken from him; "Which, said the Lord Clarendon, " was another Instance of the King's extream-low Condition, " and of the Highest Disrespect the Court of France could ex-" press towards him (e). When Cromwel turn'd the Rump Parliament out of doors, and set up himself Protector, there was an endearing Correspondence between Him and the Prime Minister of France, " and such mutual Offices perform'd between "them, as, with frequent Evidences of Aversion from the "King and his Interest, made it very manifest to His Majesty, " that his Residence would not be suffer'd to continue longer " in France (f): So that there could be no Doubt but that " the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he " was so ill treated; where he liv'd so uncomfortably, and " from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven (g):

<sup>(</sup>a) Clarendon's History, vol. 3, p. 5. (b) Ibid. vol. 2, p. 71. (c) Ibid. P. 307.

<sup>(</sup>a) Clarendon's History, vol. 3, p. 26. (b) Ibid. p. 88. (c) Ibid. p. 155. (d) Ibid. p. 251. (e) Ibid. p. 304. (f) Ibid. p. 393. (g) Ibid. p. 393.

'Tis true, when there was a Prospect of his being restor'd to his Kingdoms, the King of France sent him a Compliment, and invited him to pass thro' his Territories; but the King knew that Nation too well to trust his Royal Person among 'em. "In the mean time it was no small Pleasure to His Majesty, to " find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of a Great "King, to enter his Dominions, out of which he had been re-" jected with so many Disobligations and Indignities (a).

This, Sir, was the Entertainment which K. Charles the Second met with in the Court of the present French King, who, you must remember, was his near Kinsman, they two being Brothers and Sisters Children. And I must leave it to your maturer Thoughts, whether the British Monarchy may be more secure by an Alliance with such a Nation, than with other States

and Provinces.

Let us now see, whether our banish'd Monarch met with fairer Quarters amongst the injur'd and revil'd Dutch. His first Arrival in Holland was during the Imprisonment of his Father, when, we are told, "That Prince was receiv'd by the States " with all outward Respect, and treated by them for four " or five Days, at their Charge; His Royal Highness every "Night lodging in the Palace which belong'd to the States " too (b). Whilst he was a Sojourner in Holland, the fatal News, of his Father's execrable Murder was brought over into these Provinces. Now, if the Dutch had such an implacable Aversion to Monarchy, as some would fain make the World believe they have, they would have rejoic'd in this Change of Government amongst us: But, says that Noble Author I have so often cired, "The Truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd with " what a Consternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, " even by the Common People of that Country: There was " a Woman at the Hague, of the Middle Rank, who being " with Child, with the Horrour of the mention of it, fell into "Travail, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence " of a general Detestation than there was, amongst all Men, " of what Quality soever. Within two or three Days, which " they gave to the King's Recollection, the States presented "themselves in a body to His Majesty, to condole with him " for the Murder of his Father, in Terms of great Sorrow. "The States of Holland apart perform'd the same Civility to-" wards His Majesty; and the body of the [Presbyterian] Cler-"gy, in a Latin Oration deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of

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" the Hague, lamented the Misfortune, in Terms of as much "Asperity and Detestation of the Actors, as unworthy of the " Name of Christians as could be express'd (a). Whilst His Majesty was at the Hague, the Parliament of England sent over one Dr. Dorissaus as their Agent, to propose a near Alliance between the two Republicks. While he was at Supper in a publick Inn, some Scotish Gentlemen came into the Room where he was, and dragging him from the Table, stabb'd him to the Heart, and made their Escape. Now it cannot be denied, let the Man be what he will, but that his publick Character should have skreen'd him from any Insult. This was, without dispute, a barbarous Outrage, and an Indignity to the Government, under whose Protection they all were. Had the States been inclin'd to deal roughly with His Majesty, this Accident had given them a vory plausible Handle, the Murder being committed by some of his Subjects. But, "It cannot be de-"ny'd but the States proceeded upon these Disorders, to which "they had not been accustom'd, with great Gravity, and more "than ordinary Respect to the King (b). During his abode in Holland, he was invited by his Scotish Subjects to come into that Kingdom, who engag'd (tho' upon Terms a little too severe) to recognize him as their Sovereign, and affift him in recovering the rest of his Dominions. When the Agreement was fully made, and the Terms adjusted, "The States of Holland suf-" fer'd their Ships to transport him, they gave all Countenance " to the Scotish Merchants and Factors that liv'd in their Do-" minions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms " and Ammunition, and whatloever else was necessary for the "King's Service, into that Kingdom (c). And sure this does not look like the Conduct of Men that were envious at his Exaltation. I need not recount unto you His Majesty's Misfortunes at Dunbar and Worcester, nor his miraculous Escape beyond the Seas, after he had conceal'd himself in Woods and Barns, and other obscure places. When he had spent many, Years in a tedious Exile, and his Case seem'd to be desperate. what by the Zeal of his Friends, what by the Folly and Rashness of his Enemies, but above all, by the Providence of God, the Nation became generally inclin'd to return to their Old Form of Government. The People being in this good Dispofition, His Majesty thought it Prudence to draw near the Sea-

<sup>(</sup>a) Clarendon's Hist. vol. 3, p. 215, 216. (b) Ibid. p. 229. (c) Ibid. p. 287.

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shore, and, tho' he was invited by the Kings of France and Spain to make some stay in their Dominions, yet he rather chose to trust himself amongst the Republican Dutchmen, than either of the others. Accordingly he came to Breda, where he resided till Things were ready for his Reception in England. You have heard of the Grief and Consternation with which the Ruin of our Monarchy was receiv'd by the Hollanders , let us next see how these People were affected at its Restoration. " All things (fays the Lord Clarendon) being in a readiness, and " the States having fent their Yachts and other Vessels as near " to Breda as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal " Sifter and Brothers, left that Place in the beginning of May, " and within an hour embark'd themselves on board the "Yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam, Dort, and the other " places near which they pals'd, making all those Expressions " of Joy, by the Conflux of the People, to the Banks of the "River, and all other ways which the firmation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they enter'd into their Coaches, " from whence to the Hague they feem'd to pass thro' one con-"tinued Street, by the wonderful and orderly Appearance of " the People on both fides, with fuch Acclamations of Joy, as " if themselves were now restor'd to Peace and Security. The "Entrance into the Hague, and their Reception there, and the " conducting His Majesty to the House provided for his Enter-" tainment, was very magnificent. The Treatment of His Ma-" jefty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the States " Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued " many Days, was incredibly noble and splendid, and the uni-" versal Joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded " by that of his own Subjects (a).

Upon the whole, be pleas'd to compare the Civilities King Charles met with in Holland with the Indignities offer'd him by the French Court, and then let Reason say which of these two Nations were best affected to our Monarchy when in Distress, which is the surest Test of Friendship. Resect upon that unfeigned Sorrow which the Dutch manifested on the Death of the Father, that universal Joy which dissured it self throughout the Seven Provinces upon the Restoration of the Son, and then let me ask you whether we have any reason to conclude 'em such Enemies to Crown'd Heads and the British Monarchy as they have been represented, by a pack of Mercenary Scriblers in the midst of us.

(a) Clarendon's History, vol. 3, B. 529.

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As the Dutch have manifested themselves better Friends than the French to the British Monarchy in general, so to the Person of Queen ANN in particular. This is a thing so evident to all the World, that there is no need of many Words to prove it. No sooner had they Notice of Her Access to the Throne, but they order'd their Minister to own her Title, and court her Friendship, and are still desirous of a strict Alliance with her. On the other hand the French, for many Years, gave her no other Title than Princes of Denmark: They own'd another Person as King of Great Britain, and to support his Pretensions, invaded her Dominions, and have done as much as in them lies to wrest the Sceptre out of her Hand, and to pull her out of that Throne on which she hath shone with somuch Glory. Nay, fince the Treaty of Utrecht hath been set on foot, and fince the Grand Monarch hath receiv'd from our Queen greater Obligations than he ever merited, or had any great reason to hope for, yet in the Preliminary Articles fign'd here by Mesnager, and in the Specifick Explanation of the faid Articles, deliver'd by his Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, he only promifes to acknowledge (at the figning of the Peace) the Queen of Great Britain in that Quality. Upon which the House of Lords represented in an Address to Her Majesty, "the Just Indignation of that " House, at the dishonourable Treatment of Her Majesty by "France, in having propos'd to acknowledge Her Majesty's "Title to these Realms no sooner than when the Peace shall be " fign'd (a). Nor can I understand that to this very Day he has by any authentick Declaration own'd her Title. These things consider'd, methinks it should be no difficult matter to determine, whether the French or Dutch are the Best Friend to rhe Person of Queen ANN.

3 Anf. To conclude, If we are angry with the Dutch because they do not live under the same Form of Government that we do, we must, for the same reason, quarrel with the whole World, and bid Desiance to all Mankind. My reason is, because there is no other Nation that has the same Constitution that we have, nor, I believe, so well adapted to the Happiness of the People. If we curse the Dutch for having no King, we may as well curse the French for having no Rarliament, whose Consent is necessary to the enacting Laws, or raising Money. Had the Hollanders attempted to obtrude their own Model upon us, we had some reason to be angry with them;

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but this they never did. I might add, That the Prince whose Conduct you so much admire, even the Grand Monarch himfelf, trusts his Person to the care of his Swiß Guards, that is, of Men born and bred in a Commonwealth, and under a Government as Antimonarchical as Holland. This is a Demonstration that Men may be Republicans in their own Country, and yet be true and faithful to a Crown'd Head in other places.

2 Obj. A second Prejudice that has been industriously fomented against the Dutch is, That they are Presbyterians, and Enemies to the Church of England. And under this Pretence, no Curses are thought too bitter for them. 'Tis true, there is a Notion lately started that robs all the Protestant Churches abroad, and a very large part of our own here at home, of their very Christianity. To this purpose 'tis asserted, That Baptism is absolutely necessary to make us Christians; that none but such as are Episcopally ordain'd can administer this Ordinance; that the Baptism of others is but Lay-Baptism, and that is invalid, and good for nothing; whence it follows, that foreign Protestants and domestick Dissenters are No Christians. I shall not at prefent insist upon it, that this is a Conceit that Paganizes abundance of the Establish'd Church, even of the Clergy themselves; such, for instance, as were born before the Restoration, or of Diffenting Parents since. But there is another Mischief; the Scheme which these Gentlemen are erecting looks with an untoward Aspect upon their dear Friends the French, as well as others: In all Popith Countries, the Midwives are not only allow'd, but even enjoyn'd, to baptize such new-born Infants as have any dangerous Symptoms upon 'em. This you may find determin'd in the Trent Catechism, which adds, That those Midwives are by no means to be censur'd who baptize an Infant, tho' one of the other Sex should be present, if the Man be not so well skill'd in the Way and Manner of administring this Sacrament as the Woman (a). That these Females may be duly qualified, they are usually taught to pronounce the Latin Words which the Priest makes use of. This, I suppose, gave birth to that Custom of Midwives taking out of Licenses from the Bishop of the Diocess. In the Year 1680, the present French King publish'd an Edict, in which he forbad all those of the Reformed Religion to perform the Office of a Midwife to any Woman whatfoever. The Reason affign'd for fuch a Decree was this, That the Hereticks, not looking upon Baptism

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Baptism as necessary to Salvation, a great many poor Infants went out of the World without it (a); whereas the Catholick Gossips could be serviceable to Soul and Body too. 'Tis true, if the Infant survives, he is brought to Church, where the Priest crosses his Forehead, spits in his Month, and plays a thousand Gambol Tricks, but never pretends to rebaptize it. Tis certain, that many who in their Infancy have Fits and other Diforders, do yet live to be old Men, and no doubt but some of these come to be Priests and Bishops, but according to the Doctrine lately started, their Baptisms and Ordinations must be all absolute Nullities, for he that is no Christian can never be a Christian Priest: So that this Conceit renders every Man's Christianity precarious and uncertain. I know not how far you may be tinctur'd with these Principles, but hope you will allow me, that he who is baptiz'd by a Dutch Presbyter, may be as much a Christian as he that is baptiz'd by a French Midwife; which is sufficient for my present Purpose.

Ans. To return to the Objection of the Church's Danger, 'tis own'd, that the Government of the establish'd Church in Holland is Presbyterian; but then it must be consider'd, they never attempted to obtrude their Model upon us; they don't look upon their particular Discipline as absolutely necessary to Salvation, nor do they condemn those that disser from them; they look upon the Church of England as a Sister-Church, and pay a due Regard unto Her. To give some Instances.

In the Reign of King James the First, when the Peace of their Provinces was very much disturb'd by the Arminian Controversies, they sent to that King, desiring that some of our British Divines might be permitted to come over and Consult with those of other Resorm'd Churches, in order to compose these unhappy Differences. Accordingly the then Bishop of Landaff, with the Doctors Davenant and Hall, afterwards Bishops of Sarum and Exeter, were sent over by the said Prince, with other eminent Men (b); These met with the Divines of Holland and Germany at the samous Synod of Dort, where they voted and gave their Suffrages with the rest. So that at that time the Churches of England and Holland look'd upon each other as Members of the same Body. Nor have the latter to this very Day receded from that charitable Temper.

You have not forgot the Danger which our Church was really in, under the Administration of King James the Second, when

<sup>(</sup>a) Vid. Catechism. ad Parachos, p. 188.

<sup>(</sup>a) Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, tome 3, part 2. p. 400. (b) Vid. Acta Synodi Dordrecht, p. 19.

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when her Bishops were imprison'd, when an illegal Commission was set up, prepar'd to execute the Vengeance of enrag'd Papists upon all the Clergy in the Kingdom: In that Distress did we not implore the Assistance of the Dutch? Were they not the Instruments under God of rescuing our Ecclesiastical and Civil Liberties, whilst the French offer'd their Troops to enslave us? And can it be a Question, who were the Church's truest Friends, they who actually sav'd it from impending Ruin, or these who would fain have compleated its Destruction?

I have one or two Instances more of that Respect which is shown in Holland to our Common-Prayer. The Dutch have confented to the erecting a stately Church in Rotterdam, in which the English Liturgy is to be read to such British Merchants and Traders as reside in that Town. And private Contributions not being sufficient, Our Parliament this last Session, gave 2500 l. for the compleating that Structure (a). When the Bishop of Bristol arriv'd at Otrecht, as Her Majesties Plenipotentiary, the States offer'd his Lordship the Use of one of their publick Churches in that City, for the Celebration of Divine Service according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of England. And pray what greater Deference could be paid to his Lordship's Character, or to those Forms of Devotion that are used by Him?

Let us next see whether your new Friends the French have fuch venerable Thoughts of your Church and Liturgy as you imagine: In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, there was a Book publish'd in Latin by Sanders, a famous Jesuit, with this Title, The History of the English Schism. A Book full of Lies and impudent Falshoods against the Church of England. Abundance of these Calumnies you may find confuted by Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation. This Book of Sanders's was, some time since, translated into French by Mr. Maucroix, Canon of Rheims, and printed with the Approbation of the present French King, and a Royal Privilege for the sole Impression of the Book. The second Volume carries this Title in its Front, The Schism renew'd, and chang'd into the Heresie of Calvin by Q. Elizabeth (b). This, I think, is a Demonstration that they make no manner of difference between a True-blue Churchman and a Calvinist or Presbyterian: They look upon em both as cursed Hereticks, and confign 'em over to the burning Lake, without the least distinction.

(a) Annals of Qu. Ann, vol. 10, p. 372. (b) Histoire du Schisme d'Angle-cerre, Tom. 2, p. 1.

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During the Heat of the late Civil War, K. Charles's Queen, who was a Daughter of France, thought it expedient to retire into that Country: "The late King, her Husband, had ap-" pointed a Chaplain of his own, Dr. Cosins, who was after-" wards Bishop of Durham, to attend her Majesty for the con-" stant Service of that part of her Houshold, the number " of her Protestant Servants being much superiour to those " who were Roman-Catholicks; an under-Room in the Louvre, " out of any common Passage, had been assign'd for their Mor-" ning and Evening Devotions, the Key whereof was commit-" ted to the Chaplain: This continued some time; but at last " an Order came, that the Room should be no more apply'd to " that Purpose, and that the French King would not permit " the Exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than "the Roman-Catholick (a). By this you may perceive, that in the Apprehension of those Pharisaical Bigots, the very reading of your Liturgy, tho' in an obscure Corner, has such a contagious Air with it, that it infects and pollutes the most spacious Palace. I shall present you with one Instance more, and that a very modern one: The Town of Dunkirk was this last Sumrmer deliver'd into the Hands of the English; the French Soldiers being all drawn out of it, there were none but English remaining in it. In this Citadel there is a Chapel, which the French make no use of, nor have they now the least Occasion for it; upon this, our Garrison took possession of it, and had Divine Service, according to the Church of England, perform'd in it: But as soon as the Court of France had notice of it, Orders were fent to demand it, and we were oblig'd to quit the same, and take up with an old forry Storehouse (b): An Indignity that English Spirits would have resented at other times, but we are now in too good a Humour to be sensible of an Affront, unless it comes from Holland. When our Soldiers die in Dunkirk, they are not allow'd Burial in a Church-yard, the Dust of Hereticks profaning that sacred Ground. By this you see, that tho' the flattering Monsieurs may compliment and caress you for their own Ends, yet the Truth on't is, they detest and abhor your Prayers, and use your dead Bodies like the Carcafe of a Dog, and, as much as in 'em lies, send your Souls to the Devil. These, Sir, are your new Allies; these are the Men, for whose sake you drink Consusion to the Dutch; these the Men, from whose Friendship and Protection you expect Security to your Church and Common-prayer-book.

<sup>(</sup>a) Clarendon's Hift. vol. 3, p. 304. (b) Political State for Offeb. 1712,p.247.

3 Obj. The next Objection against the Conduct of the States, is this, That they permitted their Subjects, even during the War, to have an open Trade with France, by which they grew rich whilst we were impoverished.

Now, as to Matter of Fact, 'tis true, that a great many Ships failing with French Passes did take in Wine and Brandy at Bourdeaux, Rachel, and other places, and sell them again in Holland: This is confess'd, and I yet am not without Hopes of fatisfying you, that this Matter deserves not so great a Noise and Clamour as has been made about it.

I Anf. I would in the first place recommend it to your Confideration, that our Circumstances are vastly different from those of the Dutch, and that we stand not in need of foreign Liquors, as they do: You, Sir, have your Cellar crowded with October, and may drink a Bumper to the Church and Queen out of the Product of your own Land; but 'tis otherwise with the poor Hollanders; they have no Liquors to drink, but such as are imported from other Countries, or the Grain that makes 'em; nay, they have not so much as good clear Water of their own: Pray then from whence should they be supplied? Not from the Rhine, as formerly, the poor Germans inhabiting the Banks of that noble River being forc'd to leave their Vineyards uncultivated, to beat their Pruning-hooks into Swords and Spears, to defend their own Throats from an inhuman Enemy; not from us Britains, we love the Juice of Barley too well our selves to spare much to others. So that these People seem to be under a necessity of importing French Wine, unless you would have 'em content with souping Puddle out of their own Ditches. I might add, that their foggy Air and ill Diet renders 'em the more excusable: I grant, that a Chop of your Mutton, or a Slice of Roast-beef, may sit pretty warm and comfortable in a Man's Stomach, tho' wash'd down only with Small Beer; but were you to dine with a Dutchman upon raw Cabbage, or a Platter of cold Sallad, you would be apt to look upon a Glass of Bourdeaux, or bright Champsign, as very requisite to correct the Crudities of such a Meal. The Observation of Sir William Temple is pretty suitable to my present Purpose, speaking of these People, " Their great foreign Consumption, says he, is " French Wine and Brandy, but that may be allow'd 'em, as the " only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains (a). To all which I might add, that by these Liquors, brought from France, our

(a) Observations on the United Provinces, p. 209.

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Armies in Flanders were supplied: And had you lain but one September Night in the Trenches, up to your Knees perhaps in Dirt and Mud, you would not think a Dram or two of Nants ill bestow'd upon those brave Fellows, who are every moment

looking Ten thousand Dangers in the Face.

2 Ans. But if nothing of this Nature could be pretended, yet we could not justly exclaim against them for Trading with the Enemy, because we have done the same Thing our selves. One of the first Acts made by this Parliament, was to give leave for the Importation of French Wines. Now may the Dutch fay. if they did ill, why did we follow them, if not, why do we condemn them? When the War was first proclaim'd, 'twas against King Philip, as much as King Lewi, and it began with burning the Spanish Galeons at Vigo. Notwithstanding which, our Merchants traded to Bilbon and other Places, with which we were as much in War as with any Town in France: To which I might add, that the English living in Ireland, have, during the whole Course of the Wars, had an open and free Trade to France, importing Wine and Brandy in exchange for Beef and Butter. This I have been affur'd of by Gentlemen living all the Time in Dublin and Waterford, that it was known to every Body and conniv'd at by the Government. I must appeal to you, whether we have any Reason to curse and damn the States-General for suffering their Subjects to Trade with France, when the Subjects of her Britannick Majesty have done the very same thing, and that in as open and publick a manner as the other.

4 Obj. The next, and I think the most popular Objection against the Dutch is this, viz. that tho' we came generously into the War to help them in their Distress, yet they have thrown all the Burden of it upon our Shoulders, which they themselves would scarce touch with one of their Fingers; that they have rook'd us of our Money, but done little or nothing to promote the Common Cause. This is that Prejudice which has made the deepest Impression on the Minds of the Common People. Profit and Loss are things by which they are most sensibly affected. Do but allure them with the Prospect of easing them of their Taxes. and they will run into the most destructive Schemes; do bur confidently affirm, that they have been cheated of their Coin by fuch or fuch great Men, their Rage is presently kindled without waiting for a Proof, or expecting any Evidence. Thus you may remember in the Reign of King William, the Impatience of the People under Taxes, together with a groundless Clamour rais'd against that Prince, as if he had transported the Treafures of the Nation into Holland, constrain'd him, contrary to his own sense of things, to precipitate a Peace with France, whereas the carrying on the War till the King of Spain's Death, and the expending 8 or 10 Millions then, would have fav'd the Nation 50 Millions since.

But to give a direct Answer to this Objection, I will undertake to prove, (1.) That the English were as much concern'd to enter into the War as the Dutch. (2.) That they maintain'd more Soldiers against the Common Enemy than we did. (3.) That their Taxes lie incomparably heavier upon them, than ours do upon us. (4.) That they have not drain'd us of

our Gold and Silver.

I Ans. In the first place, I affirm, that England was as much concern'd to enter into the present War as Holland. This I shall prove to you by the Authority, not of the second and third Par-Siament in this Reign (you will object against those as Men of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles) but of the present House of Commons, and the first chose after her Majesty's Access to the Crown, who in every Session brought in the Occasional Bill. I hope therefore you will allow the Members of these Senates to be Men of Loyal Principles, and True Churchmen. But we will first consult the Queen's Declaration of War, in which, amongst several other Reasons for her engaging, she asfigns this following: "The French King has, to other Violen-"ces, added a great Affront and Indignity to Us and Our King-"dom, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of " Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has also " influenc'd Spain to concurr in the same Affront and Indignity, " as well as in his other Oppressions (a). So that we have been fighting to keep a Protestant Queen upon the Throne; and this is a thing we are more interested in than any other Nation in the World. A few Months after this, the House of Commons had Occasion to Compliment Sir George Rook, upon his great Success at Vigo; accordingly their Speaker, now Lord High-Treasurer of Britain, made him a very eloquent Harangue, in which he has this Expression, "The Wealth of Spain, and Ships " of France, are, by this Victory, brought over to our juster "Cause (b.) Now if the War was just, 'twas necessary, for War always brings with it such a Train of Calamities upon Mankind, that nothing but unavoidable Necessity can justify any Prince or People engaging in it. In the latter end of that Year, the Commons presented an Address to her Majesty, desiring her to insist upon it, with the States General, that a stop be put to all Correspondence with France and Spain; which, say they, "Your " Commons are humbly of Opinion, is so absolutely necessary " for carrying on the just and necessary War wherein your Ma-" jesty is engaged (a.) The present House of Commons make use of the same Expression in their humble Representation prefented to her Majesty on March the 4th last; having mention'd the Reason and Motives which engag'd this Nation in a War against France, and particularly for affifting the States General, who had lost their Barriers, they thus proceed, " As these were " the just and necessary Motives for undertaking this War, so "the End propos'd to be obtain'd by it were equally wise and "honourable (b.) Now Necessity is the most forcible of all Arguments. The Dutch themselves could not possibly be induc'd by a stronger Motive. And in the Opinion of two Parliaments, in both which the Whigs made a very forry Figure, we lay under an absolute Necessity of engaging in this War, and by Consequence were as much oblig'd to carry it on with Vigour as any of the Confederates: For 'tis most certain, that if ever Holland finks under a French Power, it unavoidably

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draws England after it.

2 Anf. I am next to prove, that the States General maintain'd many thousand Soldiers more than we did against the Common Enemy, tho' we lay under the same Necessity of opposing him that they did. To clear up this Assertion, I shall present you with a most Authentick Evidence, 'tis an Estimate of the Forces furnish'd by Her Majesty on the one hand, and the States General on the other, for the Service of Flanders, as laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary St. John: By this Account it appears, that, including 7000 Prussians and Hessians, for whom her Majesty paid only Bread and Forrage, the Queen maintain'd 72197 Men. On the other hand, the States General, including 7000 Prussians upon the same Terms with us, maintain'd 129458 Soldiers (c.) Now if you deduct the lesser Sum out of the greater, there remains 57261: So that the Dutch had in Flanders, this War, Fifty seven thousand two hundred fixty one fighting Men more than the English. I am apt to think, that in Spain and Portugal the Queen might keep in pay some 15 or 16 thousand Men more than the States; but this is far from making the Numbers equal. Besides, the States were at the Charge of all the Powder and Ball confum'd in those

<sup>(</sup>a) Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 1. p. 30. (b) Ibid. p. 147.

<sup>(</sup>a) Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 1. p. 171. (b) Appendix to Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 10. p. 91. (c) Political State, &c. for May, 1712. p. 379, 380.

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those many Sieges that were made by the D. of Marlborough for 8 or 9 Campaigns, which was a most prodigious Expence, not easily to be computed. 'Twas at their Cost that the Fortifications of the Towns thus taken were repair'd, and their Magazines fill'd. To all which I have this Consideration to add, that if you consult any Book of Geography, or any Map of Europe, you will find that the Dominions of her Britannick Majesty are twenty times as large as those of the States General; their seven Provinces are commonly reckon'd no bigger than our four Western Counties. 'Tis true, these Provinces are fuller of Towns and Villages than most Counties in England; but then the City of London is three times as populous as Amsterdam, the greatest City belonging to the States. This is evident by the Bills of Mortality, which in the former amount in the most healthy Years to about 20 thousand, whereas in the latter, they seldom amount to more than between 6 and 7 thousand. Nay, Sir Will. Petty, who was a very ingenious Gentleman, and pretended much Skill in Political Arithmetick, undertakes to make it out, that the People of London are two thirds as many as those in all the Towns and Villages of Holland (a.) I can hardly agree with this Gentleman in his Calculation. But without doubt, the Dutch must unite many of their biggest Cities before they can equal her Majesty's Metropolis in Number of Inhabitants. By this time I hope you may be satisfy'd that you have no Reason to quarrel with the Dutch, as if they withdrew their Shoulders from the Burden, when, the Truth on't is, they actually maintain'd more Soldiers against the Common Enemy than we, tho' the War was as necessary for our safety as for theirs, and tho' their Territories bear no manner of proportion to those of her British Majesty.

3 Ans. This will appear yet more evident, if we consider that their Taxes are incomparably heavier than ours: To prove this Affertion, I will first produce the Testimony of Sir Will. Temple, K. Charles the Second's Ambassador at the Hague, a most accomplish'd Statesman, and one who wrote before the fatal Distinction between Whig and Tory was found out, and then give you a particular Specimen of some of their Impositions. Sir William tells us in general, "That there is an Immensity of " Taxes throughout the whole State (b.) That they are op-" press'd with the most cruel Hardship and Variety of Taxes " that was ever known under any Government. That the Ex-" cise [upon all Commodities] is so great and general, that he

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" hath heard it observ'd at Amsterdam, that when in a Taverna " certain Dish of Fish is eaten with the usual Sauce, above 30 " feveral Excises are paid for what is necessary to that small "Service \*. I must leave it to your sedate Thoughts, whether this be the Description of a People whose Circumstances are more easie than the rest of their Neighbours. For your further fatisfaction on this Head, I shall instance in a few of their many Taxes; the Particulars I present you with are taken out of a Book I have by me, entitled, The present State of the United Provinces. You must understand then, that besides what we call the Land-Tax, which is heavier with them than with us, they pay Excise for every thing they eat, drink, use, or enjoy.

The Impost upon all Corn ground in the Mills in Holland, which every-body pays, without exception, amounts to 5 l. 5 s. ' for every Quarter of Wheat, to half as much for Rye, to 35s. ' for Barley and Oats (†). I suppose that by Quarter, my Author means a Quarter of a Last, which makes about 20 Bushels. This feeming to me a very extraordinary Article, I have consulted on this Head some Gentlemen of Sense and Learning, who have liv'd in Holland, by whom I am affur'd, that 'tis generally computed there, that the Duty on all Bread-Corn is equal to the

prime Cost. To proceed.

The Excise on Beer is as follows: First, the Brewer pays 12 d. a Barrel, private Families pay 20 d. more, and Victuallers or Retailers pay another 20 d. French Wines pay 6 d. a Stoup, other Wines twice as much: Butter pays 6 s. a Barrel, Tobacco 10 d. a pound, Fish 20 d. a Pannier, and Soap 11 s. a Barrel: Every Horse above 3 Years old pays 2 d. a Month; every Horn'd Beast above that age, 3 d. a Month: Every Coach pays 10 s. a Year, and every little Bark 20 d. All Cattle, Sheep or Hogs that are kill'd, pay One Penny in Seven of the Money they are fold for: All Wood made use of for Fuel pays I Penny in 8 of what it cost: Every Master pays 20 d. a Head yearly for each Servant that he has in his Family, male or female: All Ships, Lands, and Houses that are fold by one Man to another, pay to the Government a 40th Penny of what they are fold for: Hangings and Houshold-stuff pay i Penny in 9; and Woollen Cloaths, a 4th part of their Value (a). In one word, the Dutch pay Excise for Salt, Candles, Lead, Lime, Coals, Stones; there's not a Turf or Log of Wood in their Chimneys, not an Herb or Onion in their Gardens, but what pays a Duty (more or less) to the States. My Author affures me, "that a Cow of 9 Years

<sup>(</sup>a) Present State of the Universe, Edit. 2. p. 63. (b) Temple's Observations on the United Provinces, p. 108.

<sup>\*</sup> Observations on the United Provinces, p. 114. † Ibid. p. 227. (a) Present (b) Ibid. p. 239. Stare of the United Provinces, p. 143, to p. 148.

"old, if it be fold for 5 l. will have paid above 6 l. to the States; and, that there is never a Dish comes to Table, but has paid Excise above twenty times (a). These are the Impositions that our Neighbours are subject to in Times of Peace, which in such a War as this, are rais'd to a degree hardly to be believ'd: I have read and heard, from such Men and Authors as deserve Regard, that Land and Houses, at this time, pay 10 or

11 Shillings in the Pound of their intrinsick Value.

You will be apt to ask, it may be, how 'tis possible for People to bear up under such heavy Pressures, such Loads as the English would certainly sink under. To this I answer, 'Tis their extraordinary Industry and Parsimony that enables 'em to support such prodigious Taxes. A Burgher of Amsterdam will dine contentedly on a Red-Herring, when a Citizen of London, of the same Condition, will scorn to sit down at Table without a Surloin of Beef or a couple of Capons before him. Sir William Temple tells us, that "'tis a common Rule amongst them for " every Man to spend less than he has coming in, be that what "it will; and, that if a Man's Expence equals his Revenue, it "discredits a Man among them, as much as any vicious or pro-"digal Extravagance does in other Countries (b); so that Fru-"gality is become Honourable amongst them (c). Another Thing that reconciles them to these excessive Impositions, is that Assurance which they have, that their Money is laid out for the good of the Community. The Salary of a Burgomaster of Amsterdam is but 500 Gilders a Year, which amounts not to 50 l. Sterling (d). Nor was it ever known that they, who have the disposal of Offices in that Republick, took any Money on that Occasion (e). "The prime Ministers of State are oblig'd "to no fort of Expence, more than ordinary modest Citizens " in their Habits, their Attendants, their Tables, or any part of "their Domestique (f). Sir William never saw the two greatest Officers belonging to their State, the Vice-Admiral de Ruiter and the Pensioner de Wit, with above One Servant apiece in their Train, but most usually on foot and alone in the Streets, like common Burghers (g): And this was the general Fashion among all the Magistrates. This makes the People part cheerfully with their Coin, when 'tis not made use of to fill the Coffers or maintain the Équipages of particular Persons. Upon the whole, when you reflect upon the small Extent of this Republick, their maintaining above 57000 Men in Flanders more than we did, with those heavy Taxes which they submit to, I doubt [ 23 ]

ple in the World; that they have made the most prodigious Efforts for the common Liberties of Europe that ever any State of like Dimensions did; and, that they deserve our Praises and Encomiums, rather than our Curses and Execrations.

4 Ans. The next Observation I propos'd to make on your 4th Objection was this, That the Dutch have not drain'd us of our Coin. 'Tis own'd, that a great deal of Gold and Silver has been exported to pay our Armies in Flanders, tho' nothing comparable to the Clamour that hath been rais'd about it; but this could by no means be avoided in carrying on that War, which in the Opinion of this present House of Commons was absolutely necessary. The Case in short was this, we must spare some of our Money, or lose all our Lands. Besides, the Armies were for the most part paid by Bills drawn on Merchants in Amsterdam and other places: And the Dutch purchasing of us many Hundred thousand Pounds-worth of our Manufactures every Year, will bring back again the Coin that has been exported on that occasion. But that the Nation has not been so exhausted as is pretended, is evident to a Demonstration, by those Millions of Money that were these two last Years thrown into the publick Lotteries; 3 Millions 600000 l. were propos'd to be rais'd that way the last Summer, and no sooner were the Books open'd. but the whole Sum was immediately subscrib'd, as a great deal more would have been, had there been but Room. The true Reason why Money is so scarce among ordinary trading People is, that the Demand for our English Manufactures is lessen'd by War and Pestilence abroad; and our Rich Merchants and Monied Menchuse rather to throw their Cash into public Funds than employ it in Trade, or put it into Tradesmens Hands.

5 Obj. Another Prejudice against the Dutch, which the Partisans of France have been very industrious to insuse into Mens Minds, is this, That their Success in Flanders has render'd 'em too potent and imperious: That should they be allow'd the Barrier which they expect, they might maintain 50000 disciplin'd Troops therein, the Neighbourhood of which would be dangerous to the Church and Monarchy of England: That they must by no means be advanc'd higher, nor France reduc'd lower, lest the Balance of Power should be destroy'd.

To remove this Prejudice, I hope to make it appear, that it is grounded upon Misinformation, and is purely owing to the Malice of some, and Ignorance of others. I confess, it were to be wish'd that no standing Forces were kept on foot in Times of Peace, by any Potentate in Europe; this would be the safest

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<sup>(</sup>a) Temple's Observations, &c. p. 143. (b) Ibid. p. 140. (c) Ib. p. 80. (d) P. 80. (e) Ib. p. 81. (f) Ibid, p. 113.

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Expedient for us, but what is not to be expected: And as there is no Spot of Ground in all the World so full of fortified Towns as Flanders, so numerous Garrisons will be constantly kept in these Towns; nor is it in our power to prevent it. The English will not be at the Expence of providing Magazines, and maintaining Soldiers in them, the House of Austria cannot, and therefore of necessity they must be possess'd by the French or Dutch. That which I at present undertake to prove is, That (1.) tho' the Dutch were posses'd of more of those strong Towns than ever yet they demanded, their Power to mischief us would be incomparably less than that of the French King. (2.) That a secure Barrier in Flanders is necessary to the Sasety of England as well as Holland. (3.) That the attempting a Conquest on us is inconsistent with the Constitution of a Dutch Republick, but agreeable with the Genius and Nature of the French Monarchy. And, (4.) That the former can have no Pretence to invade us, when the latter may.

I Ans. I am to prove, That the Power of the Dutch to do us Mischief is incomparably less than that of the French. This will appear if we compare the one with the other, as to the Extent of their Dominions, the Greatness of their Revenue, and the Number of their Forces kept on foot, both in Times of

Peace and War. We will first consider France and Holland, as to the Extent of their Dominions. The Rule which I shall govern my self by in making this Calculation is the Atlas Geographicus, it being the latest Piece of Geography that we have, and a Collection our of the best Authors who have written on that Subject. I will consider the Length and Breadth of each Province in the United Netherlands, and then multiplying one by the other, we may know how many square Miles there are in the whole, and see what proportion this bears to the Kingdom of France. Square Miles.

	Square wines.
Holland is computed 80 Miles long, 40 broad, m	aking(a) 3200
Holland is computed to read (b)	0510
Zealand 30 long, 17 broad, (b)	0750
Vtrecht 30 long, 25 broad, (c) Gelderland and Zutphen 50 long, 48 broad, (d)	2400
Overyssel 60 long, 40 broad, (c)	2400
Overyjjet oo long, 40 broad (f)	1104
Groningen 46 long, 24 broad, (f) West-Friesland 40 long, 25 broad, (*)	1,000
Dutch Brabant 55 long, 31 broad, (†)	1705
Dutch Flanders 31 long, 13 broad, (g)	0403
So that the whole comprehends of square	e Miles, 13472
(a) Atlas Geographicus, vol. 1, p. 866. (b) Vol. 2, p. 89	

(d) P. 900. (e) P. 908. (f) P. 912. (\*) P. 915. (†) P. 920. (g) P. 924.

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These are all the Dominions the States-General have in Europe, except 2 or 3 scattering Towns, which have no Territories belonging to 'em worth regarding. Let us next fee the Dimensions of the Kingdom of France: La Crose reckons it 250 Leagues in length and breadth (a); La Forrest, and others cited by the Atlas Geographicus, make it as much, or more (b); The Present State of France makes a modester Computation, which I shall follow, and reckons its length and breadth to be 200 Leagues, or 600 Miles \*. This Number multiply'd by itself, produces 360000 square Miles. Now if you divide 360000 by 13472, the Quotient is 27; fo that the Kingdom of France is Seven and twenty times bigger than all the Ter-

ritories posses'd by the Dutch.

If it be objected, That France is not in all places 600 Miles broad, the same may be said of each of the United Provinces. Thus I have reckon'd Holland 40 Miles broad, when in many places'tis not above 25; and you can confult no Map, in which the Disproportion between the two States will not appear greater than I have represented it. I confess, were France, like the parched Desarts of Arabia, or the frozen Lakes of Lapland, a wild uncultivated Wilderness, my Argument would conclude very little; but France is a populous Country, full of great Towns and Villages, and a rich and fruitful Soil, containing 36441 Parishes (c), above three times as many as there are in England and Scotland; nor has the greatest City in Holland half so many Inhabitants as Paris. So that you may as well suppose that a Gnat should swallow a Camel, as that the Dutch Republick should devour the French Monarchy.

We will next confider the Revenues of these two States, which are not improperly ftil'd, The Nerves and Sinews of War. Sir Will. Temple informs us, that the Revenue of the seven Provinces amounts commonly to 21 Millions of Gilders, which is something less than 2 Millions Sterling (d). 'Tis true, in the present War they have rais'd near 5 Millions; but this is little, compar'd to what the Grand Monarch collects within his spacious Territories; his Revenues, in 1695, amounted to more than 15 Millions and a half of our Money (e); nor is it likely that they will be diminish'd, now, when (to use the Words of the present House of Commons) he hath Vsurp'd the Spanish Monarchy for his Grandson, (f) the Riches of the West-Indies will flow into his Coffers, more than into any other Prince's.

<sup>(</sup>a) Descript. of France, p. 2. (b) Atlas Geogr. vol. 2, p. 979. \* P. 2. (c) Atlas Geogr. vol. 2, p. 1025. (d) Observations, &c. p. 227. (e) Atlas Geogr. vol. 2, p. 1030. (f) App. to Annals, vol. 10, p. 91.

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I am next to consider the Forces maintain'd by these two States in Times of Peace and War. As for the Dutch, Sir Will. Temple tells us, That in the Year 1670, when they enjoy'd a Universal Peace, their standing Forces were 26200 Men (a). 'Tis true, in their Memorial publish'd last Summer, they reckon that, after the Peace of Reswick, they kept in Pay 44992 Men (b), but then they complain of it as a Hardship, which the Necessity of their Assairs forc'd 'em to submit unto, the K. of Spain being in an ill state of Health, and the Great Lewis waiting an Opportunity to seize that whole Monarchy. I will then take it for granted, that after the Conclusion of a Peace they may keep up 45000 Regular Troops, which is the utmost they ever did. I have already observ'd, that during this War they maintain'd near 130000 Men: But tho' this be a most prodigious Effort for so small a State, yet it bears but a small proportion to what the Grand Monarch is capable of doing.

If we make a Calculation of his Forces, we shall find, that in the last War they were computed to amount to 100000 Horse, and 300000 Foot (c). Nor is there any other Potentate in Europe, if in the whole World, able to bring such an Army, and so well appointed, into the Field. But perhaps you will be ready to imagine, that in Times of Peace this Lion couches in his Den, with his Claws pared, and his Teeth fallen out of his Head. It may not therefore be unsuitable to my present Purpose to examine what Forces he maintains when he has no War lying heavy on his hands; I shall make my Calculation from The present State of France, printed in the Year 1687. When that Kingdom had no Quarrel with any of its Neighbours, his most Christian Majesty had at that time in his pay 102 Regiments of Infantry (d). These Regiments confisted, some of more, and others of fewer Batallions, and every Batallion was compos'd of 15 Companies, and 1 of Grenadiers, in all 16 Companies (e). Now, if we reckon 50 Men in a Company, and 2 Batallions and a half in a Regiment, the whole will amount to 204000 Men. Of these Regiments there were fix Swiss, who had not above 1000 Men a-piece, and 2 of the Guards, for which reason we must deduct 8000, so there remains 196000 Foot. He had moreover at that time in constant Pay 40 Regiments of Cavalry, of which 12 consisted of 12 Companies a-piece, amounting in all, reckoning 50 to a Company, to 7200 Men; the other 28 Regiments confifted of

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eight Companies a-piece (a), making up 11200; in all 18400 Horse. Besides all these, he had 13 Regiments of Dragoons, which, supposing 'em on the same foor with the Cavalry, will amount to 5200. So that in the midst of a profound Peace he had in Pay of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, an Army of 219600 Nen. 'Tis probable that the number of Soldiers in Regiments and Batallions now, may be varied from what 'twas then; but this was the state of Affairs in 87. Nor is the Difference material between one Batallion of 16 Companies, and two of eight a-piece. Upon a Review of the whole matter, I appeal to your own Reason, whether 200000 French, who are our very next Neighbours, may not be more capable of doing us a Mischief than 45000 Dutch-men, remov'd at a greater distance from us: And are not these admirable Politicians, who are for aggrandizing the French, and bringing the Dutch lower,

in order to keep the Balance even?

2 Ans. I am next to mind you, that a strong Barrier for the Dutch in Flanders against France, is necessary for the Safety of England as well as Holland. This may be demonstrated by Reason and Authority, and here I must desire you to look back upon the former Paragraph, and consider what a prodigious Number of Troops that Kingdom maintains in times of Peace. On the other hand, you know very well, what an Aversion both the Parliament and People of Great Britain have to a standing Army, as a thing destructive of their Liberty and Freedom. A small Acquaintance with Affairs must needs convince you, how unable an undisciplin'd Rabble is to withstand a Body of regular Troops. So that our Security lies in being Masters at Sea. This is what we, in Conjunction with the United Provinces may still be. But should the French King be once posses'd of Flanders, he may easily surprize and Conquer Holland: Nor is it possible for that small Republick to withstand Him. Being once posses'd of the Dutch Towns and Harbours, He is by Consequence Master of all the Ships and Naval Stores that are laid up in 'em. And having once un's ted the Fleets of Holland with his own, 'tis a vain thing for us to pretend any longer to the Dominion of the Seas. He may then pour in above an Hundred Thousand Veteran Troops upon us from all Quarters: Nor will it be possible for us, without a Miracle, to withstand 'em. So that in truth we are as much concern'd to hinder the French from over-running Flanders, as he that dwells at one End of a Street is to quench those Flames that are raging at the other. For as Sir William Temple

<sup>(</sup>a) Political State for May, p. 358. (b) Atlas Geograph.vol. 2. p. 1031,132. (c) Prefent State of France, p. 364. (d) P. 366. (e) P. 364.

very well observes, " if France were once Master of Flanders, " the Body of that Empire would be so great, and so entire, so " abounding in People and Riches, that whenever they found " or made an Occasion of invading the united Provinces, they " have no Hopes of preserving themselves by any Opposition "or Diversion (a). And if they be ruin'd one Year, we are undone the next.

This was the Opinion, not only of the Antimonarchical, Republick Whiggs, but of K. Charles the Second's long Parliament, who, on Feb. the 15th, 1676, represented to his Majesty, " that his People were much disquieted with the manifest Dan-" ger arising to these Kingdoms by the Acquisitions of the French "King in the Spanish Netherlands (b). Tho' this had a very harth Sound in the Ears of both King and Courtiers, yet the House of Commons continued harping on the same String, and accordingly on May the 23d they Address'd His Majesty again to the same Purpose, and tho' for this they received a Reprimand, and were commanded to adjourn themselves, yet, no sooner had they leave to sit again, "but they besought the King " to make no Treaty with France, whereby the French King " should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Domini-" on than was left Him by the Pyronean Treaty (c). This, Sir, was the Sense of that Parliament, which turn'd the Non-conformists out of their Livings, and banish'd them sive Miles from Corporations: Which made People swear, that 'twas not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or those Commission'd by him. And therefore I hope you will allow them to be Sound Churchmen and True Loyalists. The Examiner not being able to object Republican Principles to this House of Commons, as he does to others, pretends, in Answer to this Authority, that the French, in their new Plan of Peace, are ready to relinquih all their Acquisitions in the Netherlands, made fince the aforesaid Treaty, except eight or nine Towns. But had not this Author intended to impose upon his Readers, he would have told you, that these eight or nine Towns are some of the noblest Fortifications in the whole World; that they have a large Tract of Ground, with many Scores of great and populous Villages dependant on them. Particularly the French have, fince the Pyrenean Treaty, posses'd themselves of St. Omer, Cambray, Bouchain, Douay, Valenciennes, Conde, Mauberge and Dinant, to which dire and Lisse must be added (d). If you consult [ 29 ]

the Gazetteer, you will find, that five or fix of these are, for Strength and Spaciousness, scarce to be equal'd. They are, in truth the Keys of Flanders, and King Charles's Loyal Parliament (as full of Pensioners as it was) would never have given that Man thanks who should have wrested any of these out of the Hands of their Confederates, to hang 'em at the French

King's Girdle.

The Necessity of a Barrier, or a Chain of strong Towns in the Low-Countries, to hinder the French from surprizing Holland, has been acknowledg'd by Her present Majesty, not only when under the Influence of a Whiggish Ministry, but since they have been quite discarded. Thus she was pleas'd to tell her Parliament this last Session, That she look'd upon her own Interest as inseparable from that of the States-General (a). Must not these Men then be Enemies to Her Majesty's Interest, who are for weakning that with which hers is so inseparably united? Have we any Reason to envy the Dutch the best Security they can obtain, when our own Safety is bound up with theirs? The present House of Commons speak yet more directly to the Point in Hand, when in their Humble Representation presented to Her Majesty this last Summer, and printed by the Speaker's Order, they affirm in direct Terms, "That the Succession and Barrier are two Points of the greatest Importance to both " Nations (b).i.e. to Britain as well as Holland. Now if fuch a Barrier be of the last Consequence, I leave you to judge who are the best Friends to the Queen and Kingdom, they who insist upon it that this Barrier should answer its own Design and End, be Firm and Strong, not easily broken thro', or those Gentlemen who are for infifting upon none at all, or fuch a Weak precarious one as the French K. shall be pleas'd to grant his Neighbours.

I might observe to you, these Declarations of the Queen and her great Council are a Confutation of two parts in three of all the Examiners that have been written. The profess'd Design of that Weekly Libel, is to perswade the World, That the War was engag'd in us out of incer Levity and Wantonness, That the Whiggs, as he would wittily express it, squander'd away Millions against Stone-Walls in Flanders, like Boys at Spanfarthing; and that Dutch Garrisons there will be dangerous to the Church and Monarchy here. On the other Hand, our Parliament affirms, That the War was absolutely necessary, and that the getting these Fortresses out of the Hands of the French, is a Point of the greatest Importance to our own Safety.

<sup>(</sup>a) Temple's Observations, p. 80. (b) Hist. of England, vol. 3, p. 309. (c) Ibid. p. 360. (d) Atlas Geogr. vol. 2, p. 1031, 1032.

<sup>(</sup>b) App. to Annals, vol. 10, 2, 10%. (a) Annals, vol. 10, p. 282.

I hope you will allow the Representatives of the Nation to de-

serve more Regard than a Mercenary Scribler.

I know it has been urg'd, that the whole Empire is concern'd to keep the United Netherlands out of the Hands of France. and why should we be at any Expence for them? I acknowledge this to be the Interest of his Imperial Majesty, and I make no Question, but he will do all that he is able to prevent so great a Mischief to his Family. But then the Emperor may be involv'd against the Turks or Poles, and so not able to help them. The German Princes may be quarrelling one with another; or some of them may be brib'd to take Part with France against their own Country; which was the Case of the two perfidious Electors of Bavaria and Cologn this very War. Besides, if the Temporal Princes should be cautious of aggrandizing that Power which may deprive their Children of their Hereditary Honours and Estates, yet there are in Germany a great many Bishops, who are absolute Sovereigns within their respective Districts; and these having no lawful Issue to inherit their Dominions, will less regard the Liberties of their Country, and may be more easily induc'd to join the French Monarch in so glorious a Design as the Extirpation of Hereticks, when by doing so they may come to be Popes and Cardinals in this World, and (as they imagine) Saints in the next. This was actually the Cale of the Dutch in 1672, when their two next Neighbours, the Bishops of Cologn and Munster, join'd actually with the French in invading their Dominions; and that with success, that their Deliverance from utter Ruin was next to a Miracle. These things consider'd, I hope you will allow me, that we have not been Fighting these nine or ten Years barely for the Durch, but for our own Security as well as theirs.

well as theirs.

3 Anf. The next thing I undertook to prove to you was, that we have no reason to apprehend an Invasion from Holland, because the Constitution of their Government is not fitted for making of large Conquests. "It cannot properly be call'd a Commonwealth, as Sir William Temple observes, but rather a Confesional deracy of Seven Provinces, united together for their mutual "Defence, without any Dependance one upon the other (a). Nay, the great Cities in each Province are so many distinct Republicks; their Magistrates exercise a Sovereign Jurisdiction, levy Money, and give their Consent to making War and Peace. Their Government is fram'd and model'd to defend themselves,

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but not to invade others. Had they a Power to conquer Great Britain, they would never agree amongst themselves, to which of the Seven Independent Provinces we should belong. We can never imagine, that the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, Leyden, &c. would exhaust themselves, and impoverish their Cities to make their General a great Prince; for this can be the only Issue of such an Undertaking. On the other hand, should the French King subdue these Islands, he might send over a Lord-Lieutenant to London, as Her Majesty now does to Dublin. I slatter my self, that the Considerations I have offer'd will convince you, that our only Danger can be from that Quarter.

4 Ans. This will appear more evident, if you consider, that there is no one Person in Holland who pretends a Title to the British Diadem. On the other hand, the present Dauphin, who if he lives a few Years longer, will be King of France, has the Royal Blood of England in his Veins, being Lineally descended from King Charles the Martyr, and may live long enough to be the very first in what our Nonjurors call the Right Line of Succession, and to enjoy that Title to these Kingdoms which (as they fay) Proximity of Blood will give a Man, in defiance of any Acts of Parliament that are or can be made. (Supposing the Pretender an Impostor) Her present Majesty is the only Legitimate Offspring of all K. Charles's Sons; and therefore the next in Blood to him, are the Descendants of his only Daughter the Princess Henrietta Maria. That Lady has one Daughter now living, the present Dutchess of Savoz, whose eldest Daughter was Mother to the Dauphin of France: So that there are only four Persons who are nearer by Blood to the Crown of Great Britain than he is, viz. Her present Majesty, who is not like to be succeeded by any of her own Issue, the Dutchess of Savoy, and her two Sons; so that should these two Princes die in their Minority, or without Lawful Issue, the next K. of France, upon the Death of the Queen and his Grandmother, will be the first of the Royal Family of England descended from K. Charles the Martyr. In these Circumstances he may publish a Manisesto to the World, pretending, that as he is 30 Degrees nearer by Blood to the Crown of England than the Family of Hannover, . fo he has a Divine Right, which no Act of Parliament can supersede. To this End he may cite the famous University of Cambridge, declaring solemnly, in the Year 1611, " That an " English Sovereign comes to be so by a Fundamental Heredi-"tary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no "Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish (a). He may cite a

multitude of Loyal Addresses, presented these two last Years, plainly intimating as if they thought a Title by Descent superiour to any other. And which is worst of all, his Claim may be back'd with 100000 fighting Men. I must therefore leave it to your sedater Thoughts, whether we have not more reason to be apprehensive of that Power which may have such plausible Pretences, and fuch mighty Armies to invade us, than the Dutch, who can have no fuch Claim to make upon us, nor fuch

a Force to put it in execution.

Iknow'tis urg'd, That the Exorbitant Power of France is now reduc'd within its proper Bounds; and I wish I could think my felf into the same Opinion. I will not positively affirm, that the prefent Negociation will leave that Prince as formidable as he was ever left at the Conclusion of any other Peace: But I will crave your Patience, whilft I compare his Gains with his Losses, and then leave you to judge. As to the first, 'tis certain, that for some Hundreds of Years there has been a mighty Struggle between the Monarchies of France and Spain, and a profess'd Antipathy between the two Nations; but fince that, I am inform'd by the present House of Commons, K. Lewis has Usurp'd the Spanish Monarchy for his Grandson \*. And every body knows, if he does not directly govern it, he has a mighty Influence upon it: So that, whereas formerly he had a great Empire to oppose him in his Ambitious Projects, the same is now as ready to aidist him. I hope you must allow this a confiderable Advantage.

Let us next confider what he is like to lose: And here you tell me Dunkirk is to be demolith'd. This, I own, will be much to the Satisfaction of our Merchants, who have been abundantly plagu'd by that Town. However, there is never a Mariner, nor Man of War loft by this. Nor could his great Ships ever come into that Port. Again, you fay, He is to de-Fiver up Placentia and Newfoundland, and were all French Ships excluded from Fishing in these Seas, 'twould be an unspeakable Advantage to these Kingdoms. But 'tis pretended by such as Trade to that Place, that if the French referve to themselves a Liberty of drying Fish in the Creeks and Bays of that Island, and on Cape Briton, which is opposite to it, they may underfell us in most of the Spanish Markets. But to return to Europe: He will be oblig'd to quit two or three little Places to the Duke of Savoy; Landau to the Empire; Tournay, Menin, Tpres, Fort Knock and Furnes to the Dutch; which, except the [ 33 ]

two last, are places of Importance, so that upon balancing Accounts, the Case stands thus: The Grand Monarch is like to lose four or five strong Towns, in exchange for twice as ma-

ny Kingdoms united to his Interest and Family.

6. Obj. The next Objection against our Protestant Allies is, That they are Rivals with us in our Trade, and undermine us in our Commerce; and, that if these Froglanders were once crush'd, the Trade of the World would be our own. Now, that this is a Vulgar Error, I have the Opinion of Sir William Temple, that most accomplish'd Statesman, who thus expresses himself; "Another common Maxim is, That if by any foreign Invali-" on or Servitude, the State, and consequently the Trade of " Holland should be ruin'd, the last would of course fall to our " share in England; which (says he) is no Consequence, for it " would certainly break into feveral pieces, and shift either to " us, to Flanders, to the Hans-Towns, or any other Parts (a). Besides, would their Ruins really enrich us, I do not see how it would be justifiable for us to pick a Quarrel with them upon that account, any more than for one Shopkeeper to cut another's Throat, that he may gain the greater Custom to himself.

But to come to the Matter of Fact; I doubt not but the Dutch, if they could, would fet up our Manufactures in their own Country; so would the French, the Danes, or any other Nation; as we would do the like by them. We are as much Rivals with the Dutch in their Spicery, as they are with us in our Drapery, and could we get Nutmeg-trees to grow in our Plantations, no doubt they would be cultivated with the greatest Care. The Dutch, 'tis true, are an industrious trading People, nor is it possible for them to subfift without driving that Commerce which they do; nor have we any reason to be angry with them for pushing their Traslick as far as they are able. If we look into our own Kingdom, we shall find one Town a Rival with the other, as Bristol with London: Nay, there is never a Preferment in the Church, nor a good Post in the State, but that there are a great many Candidates or Rivals for it; but it by no means follows, that they must cut one-another's Throats upon that occasion. The Question is, Whether the Hollanders have endeavour'd to advance their own Trade, and ruin ours, by Treachery, Violence or Injustice? This is what I have not yet seen prov'd against them, and therefore can see no Reason we have to desire, much less to attempt their Ruin. Besides, I must desire you to consider, that

<sup>\*</sup> Appendix to the Annals of Q. Ann. vol. 10, p. 91.

it is absolutely impossible for them to rob us of the most valuable Branches of our Trade, our Woollen Manufactures, and our Tin. Could they remove the Mountains of Mendip or Cornwal, or could they transport Salisbury Plain, with the Flocks that are fed upon it, we might then be upon our Guard against 'em: But this you will allow to be impossible, as is the making of our Manufactures without our Materials.

I can hardly perswade my self to undervalue your Judgment so far, as to attempt to prove that the Dutch are better Friends to the Trade of Great Britain than the French; the latter have laid fuch heavy Imposts upon all our Woollen Cloths, that it amounts to an absolute Prohibition: They will ease you of your Guineas and Crown-pieces, but not one Piece of Drapery will they take off your hands: Whereas the former bestow above a Million a Year in the Products of our Country. It can therefore admit of no dispute, which of these two are the best Friends to the British Commerce. 'Tis very well known, that our most valuable Trade is that which we carry on with Spain: 'Tis this that brings in Gold and Silver into the Kingdom; this is what the Dutch cannot rob us of, neither can they make any thing to supply the place of our Serges and long-Ells. On the other hand, the French may fend their Linsey-woolsey Stuffs to Cadiz and the West-Indies, and I wish they may not be found to be the Nation most favour'd, engross the Riches of America to themselves, and our Woollen Manufacture may not in time be prohibited by King Philip, as it has been by his Grandfather.

7 Obj. Another thing made use of to render the Dutch odious is, the Cruesties exercis'd by them upon some Englishmen in Amboyna, a little Island in the East-Indies, about ten thousand Miles distant from us. The Fact in short was this, the Dutch Governour of that Fort seiz'd upon five or six English Factors in the Town, consistent their Estates, and put them to a cruel Death. Therefore say our Modern Libellers, the Hollanders are a parcel of barbarous Villains, and deserve no Quarter from us. To this I answer.

I Anf. As far as I can learn, 'tis very uncertain whether these Men are innocent or guilty Persons. The Dutch Governour assirm'd, That they had form'd a Conspiracy, in conjunction, with several Indians, to cut his Throat, massacre his Countrymen, and seize upon his Effects and Garrison for themselves. On the other hand the English say, That this was a Sham-Plot.

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contriv'd for no other Reason, but to extirpate the English and engross the Spices of that Island to themselves. Now which of these is the true Account, will never perhaps be decided till the day of Judgment. But supposing the Objection true, this was transacted near an hundred Years since, and I know no Authority we have to execute Vengeance upon the third and fourth Generation: Nor ought the Actions of a particular Man to be imputed to a whole Nation, unless it can be made evident, that they approved his Conduct.

evident, that they approv'd his Conduct.

2 Ans. I have One Thing more to represent unto you, That some of our own Countrymen have committed far greater Barbarities in the West-Indies than ever the Dutch are suppos'd to have done in the East; and that too in the Memory of the present Generation. You may please to remember, that tho' we had no War with Spain during the Reign of K. Charles II, but a most advantageous Commerce, yet there were a parcel of Fellows in the West-Indies, call'd Bucaniers, who liv'd by Rapine and Plunder, and exercis'd all manner of Cruelties upon such Spaniards as fell into their Hands; whilst the Governours of Jamaica gave Countenance and Protection to these Pirates, who spent their Money in that Island as prosusely as they gain'd it unjustly.

The Adventures of Captain Morgan are very remarkable, who led several Bands of these Desperado's over the Ishmus of Darien, where they surpriz'd Panama, situate in the South-Sea, a City confisting of several Thousand Houses, all which they burnt to the Ground. The Inhumanities exercis'd upon the Inhabitants of that Wealthy Town, are such as surpass Imagination, not to be read without a weeping Eye and a bleeding Heart. No Age, Sex or Condition was spar'd; on the Ladies of the Town they first satiated their Lust, and then their Cruelty. If they met with any, who, as they suspected, had conceal'd their Treasures, they us'd the most exquisite Torments to extort a Confession from them. They cut off their Noses, their Ears. &c. twisted Cords about their Foreheads till their Eyes were ready to fall out of their Skulls. After this execrable manner, says my Author, "did many of these miserable " Prisoners finish their Days; this being the common Sport " and Recreation of these Pirates (a). And Captain Morgan, the Commander of these brutish Cannibals, was rewarded, not with a Halter, but a Knighthood. I presume you would think it very unjust in the Spaniards, should they conclude from this

Instance, that the English only wait for an Opportunity to plunder their Houses, to murther their Persons, and to ravish their Wives and Daughters. And I must leave it to your Candour, whether we have any Reason to object the Cruelties of Amboyna to the Dutch Nation in general, when some of our own Countrymen have been guilty of far greater Outrages at Panama, and against a People that were secure and

never did us any Injury.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavour'd what I can, to remove those causeless Prejudices you have conceiv'd against the Dutch. I am not so vain as to think I can inform my Superiours, nor fo arrogant as to prescribe to them. I have no Reason to suppose that our Governours have any Inclination to quarrel with the Dutch. However, the Wifest and Greatest of Men are sometimes forc'd to comply with a Popular Humour, against their own Sense of Things. Should the Partisans of France so far prevail, as to possess the Common-People with an Opinion that Holland must be crush'd, as an inveterate Enemy to our Church and Monarchy, they may the next Summer chuse Representatives that embrace the same Sentiments with them, and then it may not be in the power of a Wise and Able Ministry. to interpose, and prevent the Ruin of us all. That which I have aim'd at in this Essay, is to disabuse the Common-People; to set Things in a clear Light, to satisfie you and your Country Neighbours, that you are more Oblig'd to the Durch than to the French, for the keeping your Poor from starving, and the Price of your Wool from finking; and, that it can never be your Interest to commence a War with your most sincere and constant Friends, as soon as you have obtain'd a Peace with your intriguing and tricking Enemies.