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A

JUSTIFICATION

OF THE

DUTCH

X

From several late Scandalous Reflections: In which is shewn the Absolute Necessity of Preserving a Strict and Inviolable Friendship betwixt *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*: With the Fatal Consequences that must attend a War with *Holland*.

*Semper ego Auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties* —

— *Quid demum decimo nisi Dedecus Anno?* Juven. Sat.
Vir. Æneid.

*Iustum & tenacem propositi virum
Non Civium Ardor prava jubentium,
Non Vultus instantis Tyranni.
Mente quatit solida.*

Hor:

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Price Six-pence.

REPROBATION
OF
THE
DUTCH

From several late dangerous Reports
which have been published in
London, and in several other
Parts of the Kingdom, that
the Dutch have been guilty
of a most heinous Crime, in
murdering the King of Great
Britain, and his Heir Apparent,
and in setting on Fire the
City of London, and other
Parts of the Kingdom, and
in committing other
atrocious Crimes, which
are not only contrary to
the Laws of God and Man,
but also to the Principles
of Humanity and Justice.

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JUSTIFICATION
OF THE
DUTCH, and the Allies.

OH Unfortunate *Britain!* Un-
happy and Infatuated Nation!
Will nothing warn you to
foresee the Fatal Miseries you are posting
to? Will you headlong violently throw
yourself down a Precipice you may easi-
ly shun? Will no Imminent Danger
persuade you to recal your Reason to
strive to find out the lurking Cause of
this Apoplectick Fit that has seiz'd your
Brain? Or have you wilfully shook
Hands with Thought, and embraced
Madness? Will not the Examples and
Misfortunes of past Ages, proceeding
from the same Cause, open your Under-
standings, and setting Passion, Faction,
and

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and Prejudice aside, make you before it be too late consult your own Safety? Don't you perceive a dismal Black Cloud that hangs over you? And will you not take Care before it utterly overwhelms you to seek Shelter against it? A Wilful, Positive, Headstrong People were never free from toilsome Embarrassment, and Experience, and the Smart of their Punishment, made them only see their Errors.

Serofapiunt Phryges may be properly our Motto, if we be not very Cautious how we quit our Friends to oblige our profess'd Enemies; and to trust a False, Powerful, and Ambitious one, tho' seemingly reconciled, is a plain Indication of Folly: Credulity is the Vice of a soft and easie People, and more applicable to the weak Judgments of the silliest Women, than to be expected in a Brave and Warlike Nation: If I am deceived by my Friend 'tis his Fault, if a Second Time 'tis mine, because I ought not to have depended on his Promises.

It is certainly the Object of some Melancholy Reflections to see how the Press daily vomits out the bitter Humours of the Disaffected of this Nation against the Allies, because they will not come into

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into a Peace, after all their Toils, to oblige our Fancy; and having cast my Eye on some that are writ with more Malice than Truth, I thought, in Gratitude to so good an Ally as the *Dutch*, to say something that may set their Proceedings in a true Light, and vindicate the Honour of the Best of Friends that ever *England* had, from the poisonous Breath of such *Jacobites* among us, as use their utmost Skill and Rhetorick to render them odious to the Publick; not so much that such Scriblers believe what they themselves report, but only to wheedle the World into the good Opinion of the Proceedings of our Nation in respect of Peace on any Terms, and of a Party of People that have calculated every Thing to the Establishing their Fortunes and Power, without any Respect to the miserable Events that might some Ages to come attend their Fatal Politicks.

I am of Opinion Time will discover the true Source of this sudden Change in our Tempers; and whether a true Love for the Welfare, Rights, and Liberties of our Countrey, actuated the Great Men in Trust to push on a Peace
on

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on these Terms, or what other Motive they had; 'tis notorious, that whenever the Monarch of *France* missed to accomplish his Aim by Treachery or Arms, his All-powerful G—d seldom failed him.

G—d and G—g may rise again to tell us strange and bold Truths; and to evidence that this Peace, and all the Surprising Turns of State that since hath happened, and astonished the Christian World, was secure to *France* about the Time, or very soon after the Siege of *Doway*. What confirms my Opinion in this is, that there hath not been one Step made in the Government since the E— of S—d was removed, but what was *verbatim* told by the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Geertruydenberg*; and that the Change they expected in the Ministry, together with the Disgrace of the Duke of M—h, the Dissolution of the then Parliament, the lessening the Publick Credit, with several unaccountable Passages that since hath happened, was the whole and sole Reason why an Honourable, Lasting, Glorious, and General P— was not that Time concluded; 'twas for the recited Reasons, and no Power to oppose, that

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that hindered *France* from Signing a *Chart Blanche* to the Confederates; all which is so fully and clearly set forth in a Letter which was Printed in this Kingdom long before any Change happened in the Government, writ by a Minister of State that was actually present at the said Treaty, to a Friend of his in *England*, that I have taken the Pains, in order to satisfy all indifferent *Englishmen*, to have it Reprinted at the End of this.

'Tis not to be denied that the *Dutch*, in particular, are charged by a Party among us with a great Number of Faults, and such as, were they true, and well grounded upon manifest Demonstration and Proof, would frighten the Christian World in general from ever trafficking with them; but, in particular, would be a good Warrant to *England*, not only to leave them, and break the Alliance, which hath with so much Success continued for so many Years, but also to hate them mortally in their Hearts, and to strive with all the Force they could raise to root them out of the Earth, that their Name may be forgotten, or at least, if remembered, talk'd of with Detestation and Horrour; but if upon a due Examination

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nation we find this to be Malicious Scandal, Abominable Prejudice, and only Whims and Inferences of a Sort of People, who I am confident wish their Fellow-Subjects worse, and don't stick to use them with baser Language, and all for one and the same Reason, which is, because they will not hate the Memory of King *William*, explode and condemn the Revolution, own her M — y and her preceding Sister Usurpers, swear Allegiance to the Pretender, receive a *French* Government, tamely submit to the Papal Jurisdiction, give up the Ancient Rights and Priviledges of *Englishmen*, and *Alamode de France* receive an Arbitrary Power; in a Word, unhinge the best Constituted, and most Free Government on Earth, to oblige their Fancies; I mean, to consent that the Estates that were forfeited in *England* by their Forefathers, for being Traytors to their Countrey, might be restored to the Children that now expect that Favour, and deserve to forfeit their Lives for their Impudence, since few or none have Patrimonies to lose.

Alas!

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Alas! What a dismal Prospect is it to have a Bloody War at Home in View, before One of 21 Years standing with our Neighbours be fully ended? A Hidden and Clandestine Enemy is the Worst and most Dangerous of Foes; and we are not fully appriz'd what great Numbers of such we may have among us, in our great and lesser C —, at our B —, and in our Acquaintance; Popery and Plotting, inseparable Companions, joined to their Sister *Sedition*, hath been Fatal from the Beginning to the *English* Dominions, and will be so to the End, unless we open our Eyes, and prevent by a timely Care the Impending Blow.

There is One Thing as observable as true in the present Posture of Affairs, that is, That all those that are for the quitting our Allies, and, contrary to our Solemn Engagements, to leave them in the Lurch, are a Sort of Men that either have no Estates at all, but what depend immediately on the Reverse of the Established State of these Kingdoms; or if they have, they are so small, or so much incumbered by Extravagancy, or worse Crimes, that they have no Hopes ever of retrieving 'em, but by an absolute Change

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and Metamorphosis of the Religion and Government which hath stood firm against all Underminers for so many Years, tho' often terribly shocked, and that was never so apparently near its Fatal Crisis as by such Men.

The Prospect was not half so amazing and dreadful in the late calamitous Times as it now appears; for then we had our Protestant Neighbours, the Dutch, &c. and a Protestant Prince, to head them, ready to assist us, and our falling Religion and Kingdom; a Prince perfectly Master of the Graces that render a Man Valuable and Great, a Conquering General, a True Friend, and a Merciful Enemy; but now we have the Prospect of a Powerful Popish Prince ready, under a bare Pretence of Hereditary Right, to pop in a Popish King, Bred up in all the Jesuitical Policies of a French Court, taught from his Infancy the Breach of Treaties and Coronation Oaths, and varnished over with Flattery and Falshood, to bring about his Wicked and Infernal Designs upon our Throne; no Protestant Ally, no Protestant Warlike Prince in their Head, to come to our Assistance, if we should break our Faith, leave them

them in the Mire, rejoice at their Misfortunes, and wish for the Increase of them; and it is not to be expected but they will repay us in our own Coin, and turn Sarcastical Satyrs on us in Paint, and who can say we don't deserve it that judges indifferently? I am sure I can't.

It were to be wished, as much as we hate the Dutch, that we would learn some of their Political Wisdom, and not to be such noted Weathercocks, to undo what was 20 Years a Building, upon the foolish Harangue of a Tool of a Party; no, they have better Conduct than to suffer the Clergy to intermeddle in State-Affairs, or to teach their Governours how to rule.

But let us now weigh the Reasons that are given by these Hotspur Politicians, why they are for breaking our Amicable League with that Sober, Industrious People, and leaving them (were they not able to defend themselves) the Sport and Sacrifice of an Inveterate and Enraged Enemy.

Why truly they tell you, That without any other Views, the War was begun upon no other Account whatsoever but the keeping a Ballance of Power in

Europe, and confining the growing Ambition of *France* within such Bounds, that it should not lye in its Power at any Time, when 'twas in its Will, to disturb the Peace and Quiet of his Neighbours, or to enlarge his own Dominions by encroaching on theirs; that pursuant to this the War hath been so fully prosecuted with Vigour, that it has reduc'd *France* to the last Extremity, impoverish'd *England*, and enrich'd the *Dutch*; and that now to keep the above Ballance Even, we must join with *France* to impoverish *Holland*, lest they should grow too great for us too, and endanger our Safety; but with this Restriction, if they don't agree to come into such a Peace as we shall think fit to conclude for them.

2. They say the *Dutch* insist upon too great Terms from *France*; and that what *France* offers is more than they ought to have, deserve, or could require; and that our Queen thinks that what the *French* offer is sufficient; and therefore that her Umpirage in the Matter (were the *Dutch* but Grateful) ought to be conclusive to them.

3. That the vast Sums of *English* Money they have got by the War in *Flanders* from

from the *English* is the Principal Motive to incline them to continue the War, because they might still be getting underhand from us, and yet appear to be still our Friends; and that they have no other View in the War than bringing a Trade into their Countrey; that we are at the great Expence of a War to gain Barrier Towns for them; that they never kept up their Quota's, which Deficiencies always were supplied by us; that this was too great a Charge for *England* to bear, besides the Scandal of being made their Bubbles.

4. They insist upon't, that it is Envy that makes the *Dutch* not come into our Measures of Peace; not that they have too little offered to themselves, but that the *English* have too much by the Treaty of Peace given them; and so by Way of Inference conclude, that the *English* ought to play the Renegade with them, since they are so great Enemies to *England*, tho' underhand, as not willingly to comply with any Measures that seem for their Advantage.

Then to confirm this as a Peice of Ingratitude, they run whole Ages back, search the Roll of Time, to pick out the

worst they can to bespatter them ; and since they can find nothing near Home, fly as far as the *East-Indies* to bring Home Dirt to throw in their Faces. Ungenerous Proceedings! Unparalleled Ingratitude!

These Four Heads seem to me to be the full of the *English* Impeachment against the *Dutch*; and truly I must own, were it Matter of Fact, without having respect to Concomitant Circumstances, that may fix it as a Crime on them without any Colour of Justice, I should join in their Condemnation; but being very well assured that the Allegations are in themselves either totally false, or if in part true, yet so partially represented, I shall still say, we are working our Slavery with all possible Speed and Industry, by falling out with them, breaking the Alliance, and making any other Peace with *France* than such as shall produce reasonable Satisfaction to all the High Allies for the vast Depredations he its King has committed on all his Neighbours in general, and for his unparalleled Massacres and Murders of his Native Protestant Subjects. Give me Leave to add, that that one Reason was and

and is Grounds enough for a perpetual Hatred between all Protestant Princes and him, and to continue a War till the Remnant of those poor Banish'd Christians were re-established in their Countrey, and proper Habitations, or else to be so far upon a Level with him upon the Score of Religion, as to remit him all the Papists in these Kingdoms, which ever did disturb, and ever will, the Peace of these Nations, till they are fully and finally eradicated.

I shall now speak something in Answer to the several Reasons offered by our *French* Friends for our quarrelling with the *Dutch*, and then leave my honest Countreymen, (who must stand or fall by the Events of this celebrated and so much wish'd-for Peace) to judge who are in the Right, those that affect or desire the Continuance of a firm Friendship with the *Dutch*, and our Protestant Allies, and the rest of the Grand Confederacy, in Opposition to *France*; or those that, forgetting all the late Bloody Desolations, Affronts, and Injuries, we have within a short Time received from that King, Fatal to the Peace of *Europe*, can at last receive his Friendship, when 'tis plain

plain he would refuse theirs, were he Able, or in a Condition to withstand them.

As to the First then, let us consider how far the Peace falls short of the intended Designs of the War; and by as much as it wants of them, by so much the Impeachment against the *Dutch* and the rest of the Allies is Erroneous, Unjust, and in itself False.

To demonstrate this I shall appeal to the Queen's Declaration of War with *France*, which was done at the repeated Instances of her Parliament, and on the frequent Addresses of her People in general. Therefore that I might not be thought to pick Paragraphs here and there to serve my own Purpose only, and lest some Malevolent People might not believe but that the Declaration contains something against the *Dutch*, as well as for the Defence of their Proceedings, I shall set it down here in the Words it was Published and Signed by her Majesty.

QUEEN'S Declaration of War against France and Spain, May 4. 1702.

ANNEX.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call us to the Government of these Realms

Realms at a Time when our late Dear Brother, William III. of Glorious Memory, had, in Pursuance to the repeated Advice of the Parliament of this Kingdom, enter'd into Solemn Treaties of Alliance with the Emperor of Germany, the States-General of the United-Provinces, and other Princes and Potentates, for preserving the Liberty and Ballance of Europe, and for reducing the Exorbitant Power of France; which Treaties are grounded upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French King, who had taken, and still keeps, Possession of a great Part of the Spanish Dominions, exercising an Absolute Authority over all that Monarchy, having seized Milan, and the Spanish Low-Countries, by his Armies, and made himself Master of Cadiz, of the Entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the Ports in the Spanish West-Indies, by his Fleets, everywhere designing to Invade the Liberties of Europe, and to obstruct the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce: And it being provided by the Third and Fourth Article of the foremention'd Alliance, That if in the Space of Two Months, which are some time since expired, the Injuries complained of were not

remov'd

remedied, the Parties concerned should mutually assist each other with their whole Strength; and whereas instead of giving the Satisfaction that justly ought to be expected, the French King hath not only proceeded to farther Violence, but has added thereunto a great Affront and Indignity to us, and our Kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has also influenced Spain to concur in the same Affront and Indignity, as well as in other Oppressions. We find ourself obliged, for maintaining the Publick Faith, for vindicating the Honour of our Crown, and to prevent the Mischiefs which all Europe is threatned with, to declare, and we do accordingly declare War against France and Spain; and placing our entire Confidence in the Help of Almighty God, in so Just and Necessary an Undertaking, we will, in Conjunction with our Allies, vigorously prosecute the same by Sea and Land; being assured of the ready Concurrency and Assistance of our Subjects, in a Cause they have so openly and so heartily espoused; and we do hereby Will and Require our Lord High-Admiral of England, our General of our Forces, our Lieutenants

of

of our Counties, Governors of our Forts and Garrisons, and all other Officers and Soldiers under them, by Sea and Land, to do and execute all Acts of Hostility in the Prosecution of this War against France and Spain, or their Subjects; but because there are remaining in our Kingdoms many of the Subjects of France and Spain, we do declare our Royal Intention to be, that all the Subjects of France and Spain, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their Persons and Estates.

'Tis plain from this Declaration that the War was commenced for sundry very pregnant Reasons, besides the bare keeping a Ballance of Power in Europe, as the Recovery of Milan, the Spanish West-Indies, and Low-Countries, the Town of Cadiz, the Entrance into the Mediterranean, and his exercising an Absolute Authority over all the Spanish Monarchy.

It is to be observed, that his not restoring these Places, and making Amends for the Injuries done, was the Occasion of the War, and of the Alliance, to force him to do that by the Sword,

Sword,

Sword, which he would not do by fair Means.

It is further to be taken Notice of, that every one of the Confederates had Provocations given them for this so necessary a War, except the States-General, who we dont find had any of their Countries, Cities, or Towns, seized on, nor no sort of Violence offer'd them, no, not so much as declaring any Person attainted as a Rebel by their Senate, to be their lawful King; what was then the Inducements that led them into the Alliance? Certainly in Friendship, and out of Assistance to *England*, both on Account of the Religion Reformed professed by both; and that they themselves were obliged, in Respect to their dead Prince, to engage heartily in his Peoples Quarrel.

There arises a modest Question here, whether the *Dutch* were obliged to us for our Assistance, or we to them for theirs? The Answer is obvious, that we were affronted, that they were not; and that we wanted Assistance to revenge the Affront offer'd us, but they did not, because they had no Reason to War with *France*, but out of Love,
Value,

Value, and Gratitude to the *English*, that had helped them formerly.

Besides, the Queen plainly says, She was obliged to maintain the Publick Faith; what Publick Faith can Her Majesty mean, but the Obligations of the Grand Alliance? We may also as rationally, and I believe as truly, conclude, that the *Dutch* were as deeply, but not deeper, bound in this Publick Faith, as we were; now let the Gentlemen that hath taken such Pains to defame the *Dutch*, tell me which stands fairest to be eternally stigmatized with Dishonour, (in Respect of my own Country, not to give it a worse Term,) he that breaks his F—h, or he that inviolably keeps it? He that quits his Friends in Sight, nay, in the very Jaws of his Enemy, or he that ventures all to keep his Promise and his Engagements, and make his Word good? I am sure, make the Application, and Malice, and Detraction itself, must declare in Favour of the First, and pronounce them an Honourable and Good Ally; and that the Reverse must of Consequence be said of the last; I protest I blush to think of our Ingratitude, and
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at the same Time am astonished at the Impudence of those who are so barefaced as to tax the *Dutch* with such groundless Imputations.

Unanimity, Concord, and a due Observation of their Oaths and Treaties, conspired to make them the Formidable People they now are. The first Two laid the Foundation, and raised the Superstructure of their Commonwealth; the last made them valuable Friends and Allies to such as they engaged themselves to, and dreadful Enemies to those against whom they bent their Arms; Sedition is not known among them; their Senate, and Ministers of State, cou'd never be prevail'd on by the powerful Gold of the *French* and *Spaniard* to sell their Countrey, or betray their Liberties to any haughty Neighbouring Monarch; if *England* wou'd but imitate them in it, what a Great, what a Glorious Nation wou'd it be? It wou'd be the Center of Power, and the Fountain of Riches and Happiness.

The Queen, in the Declaration of War, says, that the Alliance was founded on the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments

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of the *French* King on his Neighbours; then doth it not as plainly follow, that the same Alliance is to stand good till Reparation and Restitution be made of them. How then can any pretend to break the Alliance till such Restitution and Satisfaction be made as the whole Alliance shall think proper? Whether this Restitution be secured by the Preliminaries of this intended Peace I leave the World to judge; is *Spain* and the *West-Indies* taken from the House of *Bourbon*, or given to the *French* King's Grandson? Whether to prevent His Command there was the Intent and Design of the Alliance, and how far we have performed our Part, I suppose those Gentlemen that are so angry with the honest and sincere *Dutch* will determine.

I am unwilling to expatiate too far on Breach of Faith in Publick or Private Agreements, I should thereby only expose the Nakedness, wavering Temper, and short-sighted Weakness, of my Countreymen; no, I had rather hide their Infirmities, but they take so much Pains to publish their own Dishonour
to

to the amazed and wondering World, that 'tis past hiding; 'tis crying Whore first, as the vulgar Expression hath it, to detract and calumniate so good a Friend as the States-General with breach of Promise, Covetousness, Envy, Malice, and unfair Dealing, but they will not be unrepaid; the Dutch are good Paymasters, they are celebrated for it, and will not die in England's Debt on that Score; our striking at them is lashing ourselves; and like bad Gladiators, while we offer at their Shins, lay ourselves open to have our Brains beat out.

The Carthaginians were noted for never keeping any Truce or League longer than it stood with their Convenience, insomuch that their constant Perfidy became a scandalous Proverb, a By-word, to all their Neighbouring States and Princes; and you could not lay a greater Calumny on any Nation than to tell them they were a People of a Punick Faith; from them France became infected with that foul Distemper, and I would be sorry to say, that England seems, among other ridiculous Fashions, to imitate France; and I could
with

with that the Punishments might not be alike; for Carthage fell a Prey to the Romans, France to the Confederates, and I wish England may not to France: Breach of Trust is detested by all Men; and upon the Exchange of London, he that once prevaricates his Promises, will never find Credit again: And what is of so fatal Consequence to a Private Man, must of Necessity be so to a Kingdom; not that we can conclude Generals from Particulars, but because a Nation which is once branded with that infamous Character of a Punick Faith, let their Condition be never so deplorable, their Miseries never so great, and their Oppressions from an Arbitrary Neighbour never so unjust and groundless, they shall never find a friendly Ally to take their Part, or as much as to pity them.

From what has been said on this Head it is evident, that the Dutch make no false Step in refusing to comply with the Request of E ——— d; but on the contrary, that they prove themselves an Honest, Constant, and True-hearted Nation; True to their own Honour, True to their Friends and Allies, and fix'd in their Resolution to keep their Engagements.
C But

But I had like to have forgot to take Notice of One Particular in the First Article against them, which is, That all these Calumpnies and Odiums are only to be appropriated to them if they refuse to fall into the Measures of *England*, in respect of this intended Peace; by which I observe, that these Men conclude we have an Authority to impose any Conditions on the *Dutch*, which seem Consonant to our Humour, or to chime with our Interest. But what Grounds they have for assuming to themselves such a Power I am perfectly Ignorant. I must on the contrary confess that it seems absurd to me that any one of the Allies should have a Preheminence above the rest, all being Equal in respect of the Alliance, and all alike concern'd in the Common Cause of *Europe*; the *Dutch*, the Emperor, and the rest, have their several Interests in a Peace as well as *England* has, and their proportionable Disadvantages of a War; and it is not Reasonable to expect that either should lose all the Blood and Money hath been spent to oblige a fickle People, that without Grounds is willing to forego their Conquests, and forget the Injuries they have received;

received; this is what there's no Precedent for, that the *Conqueror* should become Suppliant to the *Conquered*, and the *Conquered* Triumph over the *Conqueror*. To conclude therefore this Head, it appears plainly that the War was not begun only upon the Grounds mentioned in the First Articles, which our Time-serving Detractors lay against the *States-General*, and that *England* hath no Prerogative to oblige them to strike in with their Measures, it being plain from the abovementioned Declaration of War, that the War was General, and of Consequence so ought the Peace; so was the Alliance, so must the Satisfaction: Having therefore fully answered so much of their Invidious Imputation, I shall now consider what Weight their Second Article of Impeachment contains.

The Sum of the Article is this, *That the Dutch would have greater Satisfaction than they (as we think) deserve; and that her Majesty is of Opinion that the Common Enemy offers them enough, and they ought to be satisfied with her Determination, and come into the Peace.*

That they (I mean the *Dutch*) would have greater Satisfaction than they deserve

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serve is what I cannot judge of, neither do I think it modest in any Private Man to make an Estimate of the Merits of any Nation; but that they would have a greater Satisfaction than what is their Right, and what their, nay, our, Security obliges them to procure, I peremptorily deny; for the *Dutch*, as hath been said before, came into the Grand Alliance mostly to assist us, and partly to secure themselves from the Imminent Usurpations of *France*: They had all the Reason to believe, that if *France* could carry its Point against the Emperor and *Spaniard*, that they should not long be Free from its Encroachments; they had not forgot how it not long before had invaded their Country, and strove to enslave them, for no Reason, and without any Provocation given by 'em; and since they have been at such vast Expences of Blood and Money for so many Years past, and have by their engaging in the Grand Alliance disobliged the *French* King, who would gladly at that Time have accepted their Assistance and Friendship, it can't be thought unreasonable that they refuse to come into any Measures of a Peace, but such as will secure them from the future

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future Attempts of a troublesome, ambitious and faithless Neighbour; they have not that good Opinion which *England* has of the Duration of *French* Friendship, therefore are very much in the Right not to leave it in his Power to hurt them, whenever the *French* King shall think it convenient to break his Word; and that Peace that hath no other Security for its Continuance but his Promise; they have more Reason to insist on a good Barrier now than they ever had, because they see that those (whom they always depended on, as their fixt and unchangeable Friends and Allies) are now so much fallen in Love with the *French*, that they will not only sacrifice the Interest of the rest of the Allies to insinuate themselves into their Favour, but will leave all that they expect from them on no better Security than the Word of that King; and that they are so charitable, that they really believe he is grown sincere, honest, and faithful in his Dotage; and because they are so, wou'd have the rest of the Confederates think so too; and therefore can't expect their Assistance against the *French*, if they should offer to invade them.

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Nor is their Constancy in this to be blamed by us, for by obtaining a good Barrier for themselves, they gain one for us; wonderous Generosity! Unparallel'd Friendship! They are not, it seems, so angry with their Friends, tho' ill used by them, but they are willing to do them Good against their Wills.

By this it appears how much they are concerned for the common Good of Mankind; for by the Barrier they demand, they secure the *English*, and themselves, and the Emperor, and the Petty Princes under him, from the common Enemy; this is a convincing Proof that what they aim at is no private Interest of their own, but purely to attain the ultimate End for which the Grand Alliance was enter'd into, and the general War proclaimed.

Neither can Her Majesties or Her Council's Opinion in this, according to the Rules of Self-preservation, be obligatory on them; they are the Persons principally and immediately concerned in the Validity of their Barrier, as the first that must suffer in case the *French* King should think it convenient to break his Word, and the Peace, which at this
Time

Time seems to us sufficient and lasting; they must be allowed to understand better than we can do at this Distance, what Towns are most proper for their being effectually safe from any Incurfions whatsoever; and they have learnt by Experience, tho' the *English* will not be convinced by it, that to deal with all Men as Knaves and Villains, is the only secure Way of being indisputably safe from the Designs of all such as may by Circumvention deceive them. And it is the surest Piece of Policy not to leave it in the Power of an Enemy to do us Hurt, and to break his Promise, when Evil Council, or his own Inclinations, may accidentally persuade him to forfeit his Honour, and the good Opinion you have conceived of him.

It also is a forceable and cogent Argument with me, (and I believe will be so with all considering Men,) that the *Dutch* insist upon, and require no more than what they ought to have, and what the *French* King thought they deserved, or what at least he was sure he could not keep from them, or else he never wou'd have agreed to their full Demands in the last Congress for a Peace

at *Geertruydenbergh*; and how their Pretensions then by all approved, came to grow less, or his Power of denying them, only by his dividing the Alliance, I could never yet discover, nor never could I yet meet with any one that could inform me; but this appears plainly, that the King of *France* is in worse Circumstances now to insist on Terms, than at that Time he was, and the Allies in a far better Condition to demand better, had not some late Divisions crept in to prevent them.

Now as to the Third Article I see little or no Force in it, it being answer'd by the Concomitant Circumstances that attend each Particular of it; as to the first Part of it, that they have got vast Sums of *English* Money by the War, and that is an Inducement to them to carry it on, this carries its Answer along with it, it being accidental that the War was seated in their Countrey, and the Money spent amongst them, must of Necessity have been spent in any other Place, as *England, Ireland, or Scotland*, had the Seat of War been in either of those Places, than that this cou'd be an Inducement

ment to them to continue the War, is all trifling and perfect; because 'tis plain, that the most dead Trade in Peace is of more Profit than all the best Advantages which can be had by Expences of an Army in a Countrey the Theatre of War; besides all that ever heard of *Dutch* must allow, that Peace and Trade makes them Great, and is the only Harvest they expect. Next, that we are at great Expences to take Towns to make a Barrier for them; this is false in itself, for the *Dutch* are at the Charges of taking all the Towns which have been given them as a Barrier. And again, if we had taken those Towns for Barriers for them at our own Expences, 'tis for our own Safety; and we may be glad to have such an Ally between us and *France*; so that had they been actually our Towns, we cou'd not do better than to entrust them in their Hands for our own Security, because the Yearly Revenues we must send to keep up the Garrisons of those Towns wou'd be as burdensome as the carrying on the War. As to the last Part of this Second Article of Impeachment, that they never kept up their *Quota*, but we were forced to be at the Charges to supply their Deficiencies, there

there will appear nothing at all in it; for I don't find that ever the *Dutch* were obliged by the Articles of the Grand-Alliance to keep up any certain Number of Men or Ships, but it was left to themselves to send a Supply of as many as they well could; these Words, *as many as they well cou'd*, being Words of so great a Latitude, and giving them so great a Liberty, clearly shews they never failed in their *Quota*, but behaved themselves like good Allies, and well inclined to the Common Cause; because the Numbers of Men and Shipping which they every Year sent to the War were far greater than what *England* sent, considering the smallness of their Country, and vast Extent of the *English* Dominions; so that if *England* was at any Charge to supply Deficiencies, it was to supply Her own; so much for the Third Article.

As to the Fourth Article, it hath so little in it, only what's *Billingsgate*, and beneath the Character of any Man of Sense to take Notice of, that I shall only in general say to it, that Embarrasments, Blood and War, are not such diverting Sports to any the most inveterate Nation, that it wou'd embrace them

them to hinder the Welfare of any Confederate Kingdom, especially since none of their Liberties or Properties were given away by it; and I never heard that Malice or Envy ever yet run so high, as to prejudice themselves to hurt another only, without the farther Prospect of Revenge or Gain being joined to it.

'Tis plain the *Dutch* hath neither of these in view; Revenge they can have none, because we till now never did them a Prejudice; nor could they expect Gain, because a War continues to them; and it may be a New one from their Old Friends commencing. So that upon the whole Matter, nothing induces them to their present Method of Proceeding but their own Safety, and preserving their Publick Faith inviolable, and the securing the *French* King from doing more Mischief to them, and his other Neighbours, in the Confederacy; and the making him restore by Foul Means, what he hath robbed the World off by Violence.

I shall only add some Considerations that will demonstrate that those Gentlemen that speak so opprobriously of the

the *Dutch*, and the rest of the Allies, do it without any Warrant or Precedent from the Queen or Government; and of Consequence it can be nothing but the Reports, and malicious Scandals, of Popish Jacobites that lurk up and down the Kingdom; and as it plainly appears that we have no Grounds to expect any Peace but a general one, Her Majesty having given such frequent Assurances of it from the Throne; so I can't believe that ever any of the Allies aimed at any Thing but a general Peace, and general Satisfaction to each of them, for all the Injuries done to them by the King of *France*; and that the Allies are so far from opposing a Glorious and Lasting Peace, that they are carrying on the War with the utmost Vigour to establish one.

None of them appear'd refractory at any Treaty yet; neither do they, or any of them, at this Time, if they can have the same Terms given them which the *French* King offer'd Three Years ago, when he was in a better Condition to capitulate for himself than he is now.

As to the Emperor's Part in Particular, he can't be blamed to stand off from

from concluding a Peace, whereby he loses the finest Monarchy in the World, and which was judged his Right by ourselves, who now wou'd fain oblige him to give up his Pretensions thereto. Did the Queen furnish him with Men and Money to establish him there? And can we in Conscience take it from him, and give it to another? It appears to me that we lose abundance of Treasure to oblige some; for can we expect that the Emperor will repay us the Expences of the *Spanish* War if we take *Spain* from him? 'Tis a Folly unbecoming the *English* Nation.

Then as to Obloquies thrown on the *Dutch*, Her Majesty is so far from encouraging any such Thing, that in all Her Speeches She mentions the Interest of the States-General to be inseparable from Her own; but to avoid a long Detail of the several Paragraphs in all Her Speeches, Messages, and Letters, wherein She has Occasion to mention them, from the Year 1700, to the Year 1712, I shall only add a Letter of Her Majesties to them, writ soon after King *William's* Death, which will in some Measure illustrate the Truth of what I've said

said here in their Vindication; the Letter runs thus.

QUEEN's Letter to the States of Holland upon the King's Death, March 10. 1702.

High and Mighty Lords, our very good Friends, Allies and Confederates.

I T is not without a sensible Grief that we find ourselves obliged to Notify to you the afflicting News of the Death of the most High, and most Mighty Prince, William the Third, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, our Dearest Brother, of Glorious Memory; on Monday last he was attacked with a Fever, which increased so much the Days following, that notwithstanding all possible Remedies, he died on Sunday about Eight a Clock in the Morning. 'Tis certainly a very great Loss to all Europe, and particularly to your State, the Interest of which he always maintained with so much Valour, Prudence, Zeal and Conduct; and since it hath pleased God that we should succeed him upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, we shall likewise succeed him in his Inclinations, to entertain a constant Union and Friendship with

with your Lordships, and to maintain all the Alliances which hath been made with your State by our said Most Dear Brother, and our Predecessors; and also to concur with you in all such Measures as shall be necessary to preserve the common Liberty of Europe, and to reduce the Power of France within due Bounds. This is what we would pray you to rest assured of; and that we shall always look on the Interest of England, and that of your State, to be inseparable, as being united by such Ties that cannot be broke without the greatest Prejudice to both Nations. So we conclude, praying God, High and Mighty Lords, our very good Friends, Allies and Confederates, to take you into his Holy and Worthy Care.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 10th Day of March, 1702, and of our Reign the First.

Your very Good Friend,

ANNE R.

And underneath,

James Vernon.

I can't believe that any one that reads the foregoing Letter but will conclude with Her Majesty, Sir *William Temple*, and me, that the Interest of *England*, and that of the States-General, are inseparable; and that they can't well subsist without the Assistance and joint Friendship of each other. And then let them tell me what Grounds have they for all this Reproach and Calumny which they throw on the *Dutch*, or I would tell them, were it at this Time proper, and Time would permit.

I wish this may be any Way conducive to rescue our Nation from the Ruin they so eagerly pursue; or that at least it may put them upon reflecting whether we, or the *Dutch*, and the Allies, are in the Wrong; and to help them a little forward, I shall recommend to their Perusal the following Letter, which has proved a true Prophecy; and when they find how long the present Posture of Affairs was framed before the Projectors dared to own it, I hope they will conclude with me, that the *Dutch* and the Allies are more our Friends than we are to ourselves; and the present ruling Parties study more their own private

vate Interests, than that of their Country, having nothing at Heart but the enlarging their Possessions, encreasing their Honours, and filling their Coffers. Let such Villany be a Reason to all Honest Lovers of their Country, to wish with me, and that Old Snarl *Juvenal*, that their sudden Rise may produce no other Effects but *ut altior esset Casus*.

A Letter from Monsieur Pett—m to
Monsieur B—ys.

Faithfully Translated from the French Original.

S I R,

I Have been once more at Geertruydenbergh, and us'd my best Endeavours to prevail with the Ministers of France to explain themselves upon the Security their Master was willing to give for evacuating the Spanish Monarchy, and to shew them the absolute Necessity they were under, after so many affected Delays, to speak very plain, in order to bring the Negotiations to a speedy Issue.

But I found that gaining of Time was their Chief Point, and every Pretence of Delay contributed, in their Opinions, to the Interest of their Master.

This indeed surpriz'd me very much, and seem'd so contrary to all good Policy, that I could not forbear arguing this Matter with them; and endeavour'd to demonstrate from their own low Circumstances,

stances, and the more happy Condition of the Allies, that the deferring of the Peace must, in all Human Probability, tend to the Disadvantage of France.

And this I thought could be no difficult Task to convince them of, by showing that the Affairs of the Allies were still in the same, or comparatively speaking, in a more flourishing Condition, than at the Time of settling the Preliminaries: That their Arms were everywhere Victorious: That they had the same Generals, vested with the same Power, Interest and Authority: That they were now penetrating into the very Heart of France; Douay was taken: That whatever Place they should next think fit to set down before must fall of course; and it was most evident that nothing in Flanders could withstand the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Savoy: Which made all the World wonder why the King of France would not make a Peace, when he could no longer make War.

I farther urg'd the Unanimity of all the Allies, and the little hopes that were to be conceiv'd of gaining any Advantage, by dividing them among themselves.

I represented to them that England was not only able, but still determin'd, to carry on the War, till they could obtain a lasting and honourable Peace, as the only Means to preserve their present Government and Constitution, and to defeat the Hopes of the Pretender: That the same Parliament was still in Being that had given Twelve Millions to carry on the War, the most effectual and early Supplies that had ever been given: That the same Ministers were still at the Helm who had conducted their Affairs thro' this long and expensive War, and preserv'd the Publick Credit beyond Example. And that notwithstanding the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland, the Q—— had publicly

lickly declar'd and promis'd She would make no farther Alterations in Her Ministry.

Here they interrupted me, and said, Indeed if all that I had said was true, the Measures that France was taking would seem very unaccountable; but they could not believe me so ignorant of what was doing in England, as not to think that France had good Reason to change her Stile, and expect a Peace upon far better Terms than could be hop'd for, or even thought of last Year: And they believ'd I would be of the same Opinion, when I saw the English General disgrac'd, or so mortify'd, that he could no longer serve, the Ministry discarded, and the Parliament dissolv'd.

They observ'd that I was very much startled at these Notions, and entertain'd them as utter Impossibilities; upon which they told me in short, That these Measures were already concert'd betwixt France and her Friends in England.

I was still more surpriz'd, and begg'd a farther Explanation; upon which, with the usual Freedom and Confidence that they have always treated me, they said, It was true indeed that Q—— A—— had declar'd, She would make no further Changes in Her Ministry, She was sensible how acceptable Her present Ministers were to all Her People; but bid me observe the Artifice of Her new Advisers. This Declaration was confin'd to Ministry, and therefore the Letter of Her Promise was not broke if She did not turn out any one of Her Cabinet-Council, or that might properly be call'd a Minister of State. There was a Latitude left to remove all the Chief Officers that do not come strictly under that Denomination, which would soon be done by picking out of the Offices of the Chief Consequence, all that are known to be in the true Interest of their Country, and to be the best Friends, and most faithful to the Chief Ministers, without any Regard to their having

having serv'd Ill or Well: And when these are all remov'd, and others of a quite different Interest and Principle put in their Room, in whom the Ministers cannot at all confide, the Ministers may, if they please, still continue in their Posts, Q— A— has promis'd not to turn them out.

They desir'd me further to observe, that there was no Engagement not to Dissolve the Parliament, which was now labour'd Night and Day, and very great hopes given of its being accomplish'd, or at least that no Instances should be able to obtain a Declaration to the contrary: And if the States-General, foreseeing of what Fatal Consequence a Dissolution of the Parliament must be to the whole Alliance, should represent their Apprehensions upon this Head, tho' in a most submissive Manner, they will be told, They meddle with Things that they have nothing to do with; and there are those who have now Access to Q— A—, who will satisfie Her tis a Treatment that She ought to resent.

Upon this Foot they press'd it very Home to me, that whether the Parliament be Dissolv'd or not, the King of France must find his Account in it either Way: If it be dissolv'd, he will immediately have the Satisfaction to see all those Great Men oblig'd to quit their Employments, who have been the Chief Instruments of reducing his Power; and if they will quit, who can help it? There is no Breach of Promise in that Case neither. He knows very well, that those who must succeed them gave all the Obstruction they possibly could to the Publick Affairs thro' the whole Course of King William's Reign; that they were against entering into this War; that they were ready to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain; and have in no Instance of their Lives given him Reason to think they repent of their good Wishes to him.

If this Parliament be dissolv'd, it must be with the Prospect of having a New Parliament of quite another Complexion: And what, say they, can France wish for more? And for this the People of England are prepar'd by Dr. Sacheverel. And here they could not forbear expressing their Satisfaction at the general Infatuation of the Common People, that so inconsiderable a Man could do their Cause so much Service; and that a Criminal, convicted of the highest Crimes and Misdemeanours, should be suffer'd in a Countrey that pretends to any Government, to ride in Triumph thro' the Kingdom, to draw in the deluded People to consent to their own Destruction.

But then admitting that the Eyes of the People should be open'd before a new Election, and that a Parliament should be chosen contrary to their Expectations, the French Ministers were far from thinking that France would not have been a sufficient Gainer by the Dissolution of the Parliament: For the common Methods of summoning and choosing a Parliament, and their necessary Rules and Forms upon first Meeting, before they can come to do any Business, will take up so much Time, that they did not at all Question but the Publick Credit would have suffer'd so much, before the Sense of a New Parliament could be known, that the Mischief to England would be irreparable.

The very Thought of destroying the Publick Credit so transported them, that they enter'd immediately upon the Advantages that France must surely reap, even altho' the Parliament should not at least be dissolv'd; and so did but slightly mention the hopes they had of the great Confusion that must necessarily attend a new Election, when the People are so heated, and the opposite Parties so fir'd and enrag'd one against another. But here they had their Fears, and were apprehensive, that the Hereditary

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ditary Right being so publickly avow'd, and so little discourag'd, some of their well-meaning Friends might declare too soon, before the Principal Actors in England had brought Matters to bear, or the King of France was in a Condition to back the Pretender with a sufficient Force, to assert his Hereditary Right.

But what they chiefly insisted upon, and with the greatest Satisfaction, was the Scheme that was laid for destroying the Publick Credit in England; which would make it utterly impossible for the Allies to carry on the War any longer. They boasted of certain Assurances that were given to France, either to dissolve the Parliament, or to order it so, that all People should expect a Dissolution, which they flatter themselves will have the same Effect. The very Report, they were confident, well manag'd and improv'd by their Friends to the best Advantage, will so far affect the Publick Credit, that they expect every Day to hear the Stocks and Funds are very considerably fall'n, and that Bank Stock will soon be above Twenty per Cent. worse than at the beginning of the Year; which may probably end in a Ruin upon the Bank, but will certainly oblige the Bank to make such Provisions against all Events, that they will be no longer able to supply the Necessities of the Government; And if the faithful Endeavours of their Friends do not fail, they are not without Hopes to see the Army before the End of this Campaign want their Subsistence.

They instanc'd in a great many more Particulars, and from the whole concluded, that if Marechal Villars could spin out this Campaign without hazarding a Battle, and oblige the Allies to spend this Summer in Three or Four Sieges, the Advantages that France would reap from the Measures concerted in England, would Overballance the Loss of Three or Four of their most considerable Towns.

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They fell after this into the Cant of their Clergy; "That God, who disposeth the Hearts of the Kings, is doubtless preparing some Secret Remedies, or some unforeseen Events; and that by dividing the Nations who will have War, he will declare for their Master's Arms, and the Just Cause he defends.

By all therefore, Sir, that I can gather from their Discourse, the French Ministers seem to have new Instructions, and will talk to you in quite another Language: "That France is not reduc'd so low, as to declare what Security his most Christian Majesty will give for the Evacuation of Spain and the Spanish Indies, before they had heard the utmost Demands of the Allies.

There dropt another Thing from them, which still more surpriz'd me, that there would come Instructions from England to their Plenipotentiaries, to make Use of any Expedient rather than suffer the French Ministers to leave Geertruydenbergh; and depending upon this, they will tell you, "That if the Allies desire they should go Home without entering into any further Negotiation, they were ready to be gone as soon as a Day should be prescribed them.

In the mean while they are drawing up a Manifesto, wherein they will lay the whole Blame of breaking the Peace upon the English Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States; and they talk with Confidence, that their Friends in England are ready to Back and Support all that they shall think fit to Publish; and to persuade the People rather to believe what France shall say, than depend upon the Honour, Integrity, and great Abilities, of their own Ministers.

I have now, Sir, very fully explain'd to you the Chief Dependance of France at this Critical Juncture, and must submit it to your Discretion to make

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make the best Use you can of it, for the Good of your own Country, without exposing the Author of your Intelligence to the Resentment of the French Ministers, which you know will render me for ever incapable of doing the like Service for the future.

I shall not pretend to give my Advice; the States-General are a wise People, and very watchful of their own Interest; but if they shall see the Expectations of France answer'd in most Particulars, and those Measures taken in England upon which France builds all her Hopes, who can wonder if the States-General should think it high Time to look after themselves?

But surely France must be mistaken; there cannot be a Set of Men in England, who, if they had the Power, would run the risque of sacrificing their Country to their own Ambition. The People of England are in daily Expectation, by a safe and honourable Peace, to reap the Fruits of so much Blood spilt, and the many Millions that have been expended. And if they shall see all at once, their best Allies ill treated and disgusted, the Parliament dissolv'd, a happy and successful Ministry disgrac'd, to make Room for what no Body is yet willing to Name, the Publick Credit, from a most flourishing Condition, reduc'd to the lowest Ebb, the Properties of many Thousand Persons concern'd in the Publick Funds, who have ventur'd their All for the Support of the Government, abated at least one Fifth of their present Value, the moral Certainty of an advantageous, lasting, and honourable Peace, quite vanish'd, and the Nation labouring under the Burden of a War, which they are no longer able to support, the Spirit of the English Nation will awake, and pursue with Vengeance the Authors of such Bold, Desperate, and Destructive Counsels.

I am, &c.

F I N I S.