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Dutch Barrier
OUR's:

The INTEREST

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ENGLAND and HOLLAND Inseparable.

With REFLECTIONS on the Insolent Treatment the Emperor and States-General have met with from the

Author of the Conduct, and his Brethren.

To which is added,

An ENQUIRY into the Causes of the Clamour against the Dutch, particularly with Reference to the FISHERY.

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

LONDON:

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THE

Dutch Barrier

OUR's, &c.

F I was of the same Make as the Honest Gentleman whom I lately took in hand, I might give my self the Airs of a Conqueror, and from the Success of my Book in so short a Time, conclude, the Publick Voice is for once on my Side; and we shall no more be perfecuted with the Scandal and Falsities of that abandon'd Writer. The Town feems to have had enough of him: They have at last found him out. And, since a Great Man of his own Party was fo Generous as to own, He is answer'd with a Witness; to use the very Words that were told me; so tis to be hop'd the Rest are as weary of him as he, and as well fatisfy'd, that no Cause can ever be the better for such an Advocate, who has nothing in the World to recommend him, but his Conscience which is fuited

fuited to any Drudgery, and a Forehead to carry him thro' with it. I should have given my self no more Trouble with him, but that the Dispatch which was made in my Remarks, occasion'd the Omitting some Things, as well as the many Errors of the Press, most of which are amended in the Second Edition: Yet the Haste has been such ever since, that the Reader must still be desir'd not to lay those Faults to the Writer, which were not his. And 'tis hop'd, the Whole is now so Correct, that there will be very little Occasion of Favour in that Point.

What I have fince most reflected upon, has been the Barrier-Treaty it self. I have not feen any of the Proceedings in Parliament relating to it. I have only heard that some Parts of it have given Offence; and that Votes have pass'd against the Management of it, and the Manager: Therefore those Heads are forbidden me to touch upon; and I shall confine my self to the Barrier in General, which I do not find any body is against, that have not declar'd for France. And the Good Demands of the Allies, with that Just and Safe Clause, to Stand by Each Other in them, give us Reason to expect either an Honourable Peace, or the Continuance of the War. If the latter should happen, it will be no Crime to delight in it; fince those that love their Work best, commonly succeed best in it. And if to prolong it be found necessary; what a Terrible Reproof will it be to the Invectives of the Author of the Conduct; and other Libellers, against those that were either for a Peace on the Foot of our Obligations State.

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tions to our Allies, or for a War till we could keep our Words with them. Be it as it will, we may reasonably expect that the Good Understanding which happily appears among the Ministers of the Confederates Abroad, will have a good Effect at Home, and procure Justice to be done on those who have so basely and insolently abus'd them all in their Libels. When our Allies are useful to us, it will be thought convenient to give 'em Fair Words, and perhaps to call those to account, who have foolishly fancy'd there was Merit in Be-lying and Infulting them: Especially the Emperor and the Dutch; of whom I shall say something particularly on that Head in the following

Pages. The Original of this Barrier Grievance is as old as the First War. The Friends to France cry'd out then, as they do now, What are we Fighting for? Shall we get any thing by Carrying on the War in Flanders? Will not the Durch have all the Benefit of it? Let us keep to our Fleet. Our Wooden Walls will secure us against all the World; and let the French and Dutch fight it out among themselves. These are the Arguments made use of ev'n now, after Twenty Years War and Ten Years Victory; and the Country Gentlemen, with the Landed Interest and Church Interest give into this Delusion. Those that were for Fitting out Fleets, and having our Admiral fail round our Island, like King Edgar, to keep off any one from looking upon us without our Leave, confess that there was some small Necessity upon us, after we had turn'd out King James, that we fhould A 2

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should Quarrel with France; because She would have Quarrell'd with Us, unless we had taken our Old King again. So that, tis plain, we must either have a War with Lewis XIV. or no King William: This they thought fit to acknowledge, when every body had Popery and Slavery in their Heads, and would have given Half what they had, to have had it out of them, They allow now we were forc'd to enter upon the War, but pursu'd it wrong. We should have immur'd our selves with our Fleet, bid Defiance to the French King, have made much of our felves; and as no body car'd for Us, so We car'd for no body. But how long should we have been so snug, and so safe, when France had over-run Flanders and Holland, which had, without Us, been the Work but of a Campaign or Two? When he had his own Fleet, and the Dutch, whom he would have Compell'd to have joyn'd him, what cou'd our Naval Strength have done against that United Power, when, more than once, both the English and Dutch Fleets have not been a Match for that of France, till a Whigg Admiral by a glorious Victory ruin'd It, and Six or Seven Years after was rewarded with an Impeachment? It being the misfortune of our Heroes that they fight against a People of whom abundance of us are very fond, and destroy a Power that too many depend upon for Protection, which makes them always in danger of disgrace with some Men, and the more they deserve the greater is that Danger. It is well known with what Rapidity the French King conquer'd the Nether,

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lands, and the United Provinces, in the Second Dutch War; That his Armies threatned to besiege Treves, Luxemburgh, Charlemont, Ipres, Dixmuyde, Newport, and Oftend, at one and the same time. And my Lord Danby tells the Prince of Orange in one of his Letters, 'Tis believ'd he has Men enough to take most of these Places at the same Time. What then wou'd our Parliament have given for this detefted Barrier? King Charles was Himself so frighted, that he rais'd 10000 Men immediately, and fent 4 or 5000 of them away before Matters were concerted for their Reception; but the Governor of the Netherlands was afraid to trust him, and wou'd not receive 'em into Newport and Oftend till he had confulted the Prince of Orange about it, and was fatisfy'd they were Friends. What wou'd the People of England have given for this Barrier, when Lewis the XIV was within a Days march of Amsterdam? And they were afraid their own Turn wou'd be next as surely it had been; nor wou'd it have taken up so much time to mafter a Country where there was not one ftrong Town; as one, where there was a Hundred, tho' that cou'd not for Four Months resist the Fury of his Arms? Wou'd our Floating Castles have defended us against a Monarch, Master of all the Ports of Europe from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean? Might not he pour Armies in upon us in all Quarters in the North, East, South, and West, and all his own Dominions? Had We a Navy as Numerous as Edgar's who sail'd about with 1300 Cock-boats in his Train, coud we hoop in our Island with them? Nothing else wou'd do

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our business; for he might come at us from the Isles of Orcades to those of Scilly; & whenever he did, We were gone, and London must have follow'd the Fate of Utrecht, & have sent him her Keys. Shou'd we then have disputed paying Toll on the Scheld, to have had a Hundred strong Towns between the French King and the Sea? Shou'd we have been afraid to trust the States' with them, or to have scorn'd to have Leagu'd with those Provinces merely because they are Dutch; as the Remarker ingeniously expresses it, Shou'd we enter into a Treaty with Seven Dutch Provinces. If they had been French it had been another thing, but Dutch will not go down, And yet there is nothing plainer, than that if we fave our Liberty and our All, it must be by that very Barrier which he would have damn'd, if it were in his Power, to lay us open again to a French Conquest? All wise Men will think a Man mad, or at best impertinent, to go about to prove that we shou'd have a Barrier in Flanders, and not trust entirely to our Navy: It was for this Queen Elizabeth fought; and all Her Ministers, which I dare say were as Politick as any now a-days, were fully appriz'd of the necessity of Leaguing with the Dutch to keep the Enemy from our Own Doors But supposing this necessity to be less now than it was then; if there was any need of keeping out King James, and War, the consequence of it; was it for us to stand upon our own Legs, in hopes of being last devour'd; or to demand the affistance of Friends? And is it reasonable to think, the Dutch and our other Allies would have enter d into a Confederacy [7]

federacy with us, taking on themselves all the Brunt of the War abroad, and permitting us to fet idle behind our Walls of Oak? It wou'd have been a very merry League if we cou'd have brought the Dutch to it. Do you maintain 100000 Men, and 70 Men of War to keep the French K. from Us as long as you can on your fide, and We'll keep him off on Ours with our Navy Royal. 'Tis very likely the Confederates wou'd have been at all the Expence of Blood and Treasure to oppose France by Land, and leave us the more cheap and easy Task to defend our selves by Sea; which perhaps we might have been able to do, till the French K. had had no Enemy on the Continent, that is, at most for a Year or two. As to those who flatter themselves the Dutch wou'd be the first whom the French would have in their Eye to conquer, and that because they outtrade us in the East-Indies and in the Fishery; because, in short, they are so sawcy as to be more Frugal and Industrious than we; 'tis no matter what becomes of them, I shall recommend them to a Conversation between Sir William Temple and the Famous Pensioner Monsieur Fagel on the Subject of the Negligence of our Court, to procure them by Arms or Treaty a good Barrier. The Ministry was then as High as High cou'd be, and Fanaticism in a languishing Condition; Our Author's State-Principles were Triumphant, and the Scene, I doubt not, looks the fairest to him of any in our History since the Restoration. Yet by the Conference between Sir William and the Pensioner we may learn, that France had never Holland so much in her

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View as England; and that whenever the Dutch are enslav'd by her, their Bonds will be much easier than ours, if our Sins shou'd bring such a heavy Judgment upon us. I shall borrow the Discourse entire from Sir William Temple's Memoirs, P. 217. & seq. "He said he told me freely their Strength and their Weakness, and wou'd be glad to know what I thought they could do upon all these Circumstances, and in this Distress of their State by fo long a War. I return'd his Compliment, but excus'd my felf from giving my Opinion to a Person so well able to take Measures that were the fittest for the States Conduct, or his own; but desir'd to know what he reckon'd would become of Flanders, after the Dutch had made a Seperate Peace; because the Fate of that Country was that wherein the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd as well as they. He answer'd, it would be lost in one Summer or two, but more probably in one. That he believ'd Cambray, Mons, Valenciennes and Namur, might be lost in one Summer. That after their Loss, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting Antwerp and Oftend, for which perhaps they might take some Measures with France, as I knew the French had offer'd Monsieur De Wit upon their first Invasion in 1667. I ask'd how he reckon'd this State was to live with France after the Loss of Flanders? And if he thought it could be otherwise than at Discretion? He defir'd me to believe, that if they could hope to have Flanders by the War, they would not think of a Separate Peace; but if he must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their Country, and dishonour the Prince; That after Flander, was lost, they must live so with France as would make them find it their Inperest rather to preserve their State, than to destroy it; That it was not to be chosen, but to be swallow'd like a desperace Remedy; That he had hop'd for some Resource from better Conduct in the Spanish Affairs, or that some great Impression of the German Armies upon that lide of France might have brought the Peace to some reasonable Terms ; That for his own Part he had ever bes liev'd that England it felf would cry halt at one Step or other that France was making; and that if we would be content to fee half Flanders lost, yet we would not all, nor Sicily neither, for the Interest of our Trade in the Mediterranean; That King Charles had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he should think fit for Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbours, as well as Himself. That all Men knew France was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms his Majesty refoly'd on, or to venture a War with England in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies. That the least show of it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the Peace; that they had long represented all this in England by Monfieur Van Beuningen, and offer'd his Majesty to be the Arbiter of it, and to fall into the Terms he should preseribe, scribe, but not a Word in Answer; and all receiv d with such a Coldness as never was, tho other People thought we had Reason to be a little more concern'd. That this put him more upon thinking a Seperate Peace necessary than all the rest. That he confest, Cuneta prius tentanda, All Means were first to be tried, till he found at last twas Immedicabile Vuinus, an Incurable Wound. That for their living with France after Flanders was loft, he knew well enough what I meant by asking. But after that, the Arms of France would be more upon Italy and Germany, or perhaps upon Us than Them; That it could not be the Interest of France to destroy or conquer this State, but to preserve it in a Dependance upon that Crown; That they could make better Use of the Dutch Fleets than of a few poor Fisher-Towns that they should be reduc'd to, if any Violations were made either upon their Liberties or Religion; That the King of France had feen their Country, and knew it, and understood ir so, and said upon all Occasions, That be had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects." What Use wou'd France have for the Dutch Fleets d'ye think? Had he rather have Us too for his Friends than his Subjects? Ought we not to look about us as well as the Hollanders? Whom if they had no Barrier, when Lewis the XIV. has conquer'd, tis only to compel their Friendship, and oblige them to help him to conquer us and others, whom he will not use so kindly. Are not we then concern'd in this Barrier as well as Holland? Is it only to cover Seven

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Dutch Provinces, and, as the Remarker fays, to have conquer'd for them a larger Dominion than their own. By the way, tis We do every thing; the Confederates have everywhere 200000 Men in Arms in the Common Cause, and the Dutch twice as many as our selves; yet its We do All. A great deal, its true, we have done, and more than Armies, we help'd them to a General who conquer'd for them, whereever he came and turn'd the Fate of the War to their Side, which had, till then, follow'd the French: However, it would be more modest in us to allow the other Allies fome share in Our Victories: For, I doubt not, in Holland, Prussia, and even in Portugal, tho, God knows, with little Reason there, every Nation values it felf on our Conquests; and takes it to have something of French Vanity, that we should assume all the Honour to Our selves. The Dutch, who are 100 Millions in Debt, who have 150000 Men in their Pay, and 100 Ships at Sea, for the Line for Convoys and Cruifers, do, I doubt not, think they have as much reason in Proportion, to fay We have done this and We have done that: but 'tis fo natural for our Author to Boast and Bragg, that he would if he cou'd, fix the Character of Impudence on our Nation as well as Himself; a Nation that till he appear'd in the World had distinguish'd it self by Sincerity, Humanity, and every sociable Virtue, and had not fince the Conquest produc'd a Man of fo Lewd and Incorrigible a Character.

There never was, and never can be, a just Objection to the Barrier, but that by the B 2 Treaty

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Treaty which secures it, there are some Difficulties put upon us in Trade: If lo, I love my Country too well to fall out with the Remarker on that Score, tho' whatever he lays is far from being intended for the Interest of England; he writes for France, the Pretender, and against the Protestant Succession. Let the Dutch redress all Grievances: if that Guaranty remains tis still a scandalous Treaty with Him: He will still have as much to say against it as ever; 'twill be knocking at every Door for help, and begging Assistance of every Petty State to keep our Queen on the Throne; where I pray God long to continue Her with Glory, in spice of all the Artifices of this Writer and his Faction. We are so necessary to the Hollanders, they would be mad if they did not do any thing to engage our Good-Will & Affistance; and cou'd it be imagin'd if any reasonable Scruples arose against that Treaty on account of Commerce, that they wou'd not remove them when apply'd to regularly. With what submission do they write to Her Majesty in their Letter of the 19th of February on this Subject? and how well have their High Mightinesses answer'd the wicked Charge of this Libeller. They tell Her Majesty, They look upon the Barrier-Treaty not only as the Foundation of their own Safety, for securing which they enter a into the present War, and have carried it on for so many Years, but likewise a firm support of the good Understanding and Union between Her Majesty and their State, which they so carneftly and sincerely desire to see continued ; so that they could never doubt in any manner that they should not at all times enjoy the effect of the [aid Treaty. That bowever,

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bowever, baving not long since been inform'd, that in England some were of opinion, that the Said Treaty in some Articles might be prejudicial to Her Majefty's Subjects, they commission'd Mr. Buys their Envoy Extraordinary, to enquire what those Points were that might be thought Grievances. and authorized him to treat about them with Her Majesty's Ministers, and to remove if possible the Difficulties. The Reason they give for expecting that matter wou'd be foon adjusted, is remarkable; Which they were put in hopes would not be very hard to do, when once they shou'd have confented to concurr with Her Majesty, as they did, to procure a Congress for the Negotiation of a General Peace, They proceed: Their High Mightineffes think, they have shewn all the readiness to comply with any just Expedient that cou'd reasonably be expected from them. For having learn'd the principal Exceptions taken to the Said Treaty were, that it might prove prejudicial to the Commerce of Her Majesty's Subjects in the Spanish Netherlands; and that some had entertain'd an ill-grounded and erroneous Opinion, that the States might design to take advantage by it to make themselves Masters of the Said Spanish Netherlands, their High Mightinesses did declare positively, and by this Letter do voluntarily repeat it, that it never was their Intention, nor ever will be, to make use of the said Treaty, or of their Garrisons, in the fortify'd Places of the Country, to prejudice in any manner the Commerce of Her Majesty's Subjects; but that their Opinion is, that whatever relates to Navigation and Commerce, ought to be setled on an entire Equality. with the Reader wou'd give himself the trouble to compare this with the Conduct, and the Remarks; with the Dutch Usurping the Sovevereignty [14]

vereignty, and Stripping King Charles of hi Dominions; with their impoling New Introffs on the English Merchant Goods, and taking off the Old Ones on their own. Where are all the dreadful Visions of a Formidable Enemy. and a Ruin'd Trade in the Nerberlands? They go on ; That so Her Majesty's Subject's may but be Charg'd with Higher Duties of Importation br Exportation than others, to the end Commerce may he carried on there by both Nations on an equal Poor Is this to Engross the whole Trade Remarks, P. of those Towns exclusive of all of 11, 12. ibid. ther Nations? Is this to use the English worse than the Spaniards us'd them? Yet this, lays that ingenious Remarker is the Fact. Our Good Friends and Allies bave that us out from Trading to the Barrier. We once again conquer'd for them. Is this Giving up our Trade by Treaties; or Clogging it with Dinies? The States further tell Her Majely. P. 21. Their High Mightineffes did declare, and do declare again by this Letter. That they never bad a Thought, nor have now, of making them-Selves Masters of the Spanish Netherlands. in Whole or in Part: contenting themselves to have Garrisons in the Places mention'd in the 6th Article, with the Restrictions specify d in the 11th Article. They have not the least Thought of making ule of the Privilege Stipulated in the 7th Article, to put Troops into other Places, but only in Case of the last and most apparent Necessity. Is this Giving the Dutcha Larger Dominion than their own? Is this P. 5, 8, 9: Iters of all the Richest Parts of Flandens? Is this Leaving Nothing to the Sovereign? Is this to make them Absolute Sove reigns

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reigns of all Flanders, and the Revenues, in the utmost Extent: This to go on, and again to Conquer for them as long as they please? To make the Ten Provinces a P. 16. Prey to the Belgick Lyon, to put em into a Condition to firike Terror into Us, and invade Us with 50000 Old Soldiers from that Sountry We have once more Conquer'd for them, To determine those Provin-P.21. ces as a Property to themselves? These being the Sum of all his Bold Affertions, which are particularly answer'd in my Remarks. and here with Authority by the States Solemn Declaration. In which they fay, They hope to have the Happiness to remove all the Suspicions which may wrong fully have been conceived against them; and that they have Firm Confidence in Her Majefty's (o Renown'd Equity, that She will not do any Thing in Prejudice of the faid Treaty, nor permit any to be done to it : But rather that She will be pleased to lee that they may have the entire Effect of it, and take off all Uneasiness they may be in about it; which they most earnestly desire of Her Majesty, that if there be some Articles of the Said Treaty; that without Affecting the Essentials of it, may be thought to want Explanation; Her Majesty shall find them willing and ready to Treat thereupon, and with all the Facility and Condescension that can reasonably be required of them, 12 it hour doing Prejudice to the Rights they have acquir'd not only by the faid Treaty, but by other Preceding Ones; and in what. ever shall not be of the last Importance for the Security and Preservation of the State. They conclude with Entreating Her Majesty to continue towards them that very Precious Friendship and Good Will, with which She has bitherto honoured them.

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By the Conversation between Sir William Temple and Pensioner Fagel, we see how necellary it is for Us to be well guarded with Alliances and Barriers against the French; and that the Dutch themselves are not in so great Peril as we, whom the French would conquer to make Slaves of, and reduce them to their Obedience only to oblige em to be Friends with them. One thing I cou'd not help obferving in the Discourse of Mr. Fagel's, that K.Charles II. wou'd never be content to see Sicily lost for the sake of our Streights Trade. How far Mr. Fagel's Judgment may be esteem'd in these Matters, I know not, because he was a Dutchman. But considering he had the Charaeter of one of the greatest Ministers of his Age, and that the Dutch are rather blam'd for being too knowing in Trade, than for their Ignorance in it, I dare to oppose his Authority against the Reviews. That Writer having in a Pamphlet he calls the Felonious Treaty rully'd as delicately as he always has done, those who think Sicily worth keeping. I think those Politicians in Trade, fays he, who will have our Levant Trade depend on the Fate of Sicily, are in the very same Absurdity. I had thoughts of considering that Pamphlet further; but the chief Argument there's in it is involv'd in so many Words, that I cou'd not bring my felf to take the Trouble upon me of clearing the way to it; and besides, I saw it was not likely to do the mischief he intended; and therefore it wou'd be as impertinent to answer, as it was to write it, which will ever desend me from any Dispute with that Author. Whom indeed I shou'd not have remember'd in this (17)

Place, but to observe with what satisfaction in his own Sufficiency he lays down a thing for absurd, which one of the greatest Politicians that Europe ever bred, thought of the last Importance to us. And if I cou'd have had Patience to have examin'd his Liberality in giving away the other Parts of the Emperor's Dominions, it wou'd have been as much to his Credit. But I believe, as this is the first, so it will be the last Time I shall have any thing to say to that Writer, who never shines so brighly as in his Essays in favour of the African Company of London, and the Keelmen of Newcastle.

It is a general Cry, What have we been Fighting for? What are we to have after all? We have conquer'd 30 or 40 Towns for the Dutch; what for our felves? We are only to have Dunkirk demolish'd, and Newfoundland. Now if we can be so true to our Interest, as to oblige the French to give us the latter entirely, and not with a ridiculous Reservation of Placentia, and a Right to the Fishery, as before; that is, giving us what we have already: I say, if we can secure that Trade to our felves by this Treaty, which, 'tis not to be doubted but we may: That very Article alone will, in 10 Years time, be worth to us more than the whole Charge of the War, and be better than the Mines of Potofi. There may be four Millions a Year got by the Newfoundland Trade, and that with so many other Advantages, as the Invcrease of Seamen and Shipping, the Confumption of our Provisions, &c. that we shall have no reason to envy the Emperor

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those Mines, from whence he can't setch a

Ton of Silver without Us.

There's no doubt but the rest of the Confederates, who are not so much in haste for a Peace as We, will be glad enough of insisting on any Advantage for Us, were it only to continue the War, which in a Year or Two, wou'd probably reduce the French King to such streights as wou'd shorten the Treaty of Peace, and force him to be glad of it on Our own Terifis.

It would have no weight with those Gentiemen that will not allow we got any thing by the Revolution, to tell them we have been fighting for Out Queen, Our Religion, Our Liberties: All That it feems lignifies nothing with them, They don't find we are likely to have 40 Towns upon our Hands on the Continent, nor vocco Men to maintain for their Defence. They fancy the Dutch will pocket abundance of Money by their Barrier, as the Conduct tells them the French King did, tho the whole Revenues of the Conquests never came to above 400000 Pounds a Year, and that with the utmost Hardships on the Country; and the King was in Two Years Time at 150000 Pounds Charge to

b of L-3's Fortifie so little a Place as Conde the Conjections made to the Bar-fier-Treaty! I have not read them, and therefore can be no Judge of their Force! but Common Fame, and the Reason of the Thing

affure me, the Difficulties that that Treaty has met with, are on Account of particular Stipulations relating to Commerce, which I

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have nothing to do with. The Barrier is not the less necessary, because 'tis attended in the Treaty with some Inconveniences, which the States say they are ready to remove. Her Majesty has said enough to convince all Her good Subjects, that Our Interests, and those of the Dutch are inseparable; and if We have any jealousy of the Inequality of that Treaty; Is there no other way of setting Matters Right but by this Author and his Brethrens Libels, which have so scandalously revised them? Shall we not insist upon a good Barrier for the Dutch, says Part 1. P.33-the Author of the Defence, or rather, shall we oblige them to quit that they have

rather, shall we oblige them to quit that they have Possession of, because some Men are not pleased with them, and therefore take a great deal of pains to make them out of humour with the helf Alles we ever had, or can have; and who, instead of being false to Us, have this War outdone Themselves, and shewn the most Concern for the Interest of England? But supposing all that this Writer says of them were true, shall we expose our selves to Danger for the Pleasure of Exposing them? Shall not we insist on a good Barrier, because we are told they don't deserve of us All we have done towards it? Shall we lay our selves open to all the Consequences of an Insecure Peace, and in compliance to the old, inveterate, perpetual, sworn Enemy of our Religion and Country, sacrifice our selves, as well as our Allies, &c? For tho our Honour might be disengaged, our Interest is not; the Safety of England and Holland especie ally, are inseparably intermoven, and neither can stand long without the other. The Remarker brags of his Publick Voice; what he means by it, who can tell? But the sentiments of (20)

this Gentleman are confirm'd by the very last Speech from the Throne; and Her Majesty, who is always the same, gives a much higher Sanction to his Opinion, by declaring it to be Her own, than any inferior or alterable Judgment. Shall we, who have fpent fo many Millions in Conjunction with the Dutch, and so much Blood, have less Care for their Security than our Common Enemy? The French King, at the Treaty of Nimeguen, affur'd the States, That whether Spain agreed to it, or not, be would always provide such a Barrier for them in Flanders as they thought necessary for their safety. And when we had the most corrupt Administration, and the most corrupt Representative that we read of in the last Century; yet the Necessity of securing Our selves by a good Barrier in Flanders was acknowledg'd by all, even by these who Traffickt with France for her Pistoles; infomuch that they could never be brought to abandon the Netherlands to Her. In the Year 1676, the House of Commons tell His Majesty in their Address, That his People were much disquieted with the manifest Danger arising to these Kingdoms by the Growth and Power of the French King, by his Acquistions in the Spanish Netherlands; in the Preservation whereof, they humbly conceive the Interest of his Majesty, and the Safety of his People, are highly concern'd; and therefore befeech the King to take it into his Care, and strengthen himself with stricter Alliances. To which the King answer'd, That he was of their Opinion, and that be will use all means for the Preservation of Flanders. The same Year was made anot her Address, in which they defire his Majesty,

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that he would be pleased to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League with the States-General of the United Provinces, and make such other Alliances with other Confederates as his Majesty shou'd think fit, against the Growth and Power of the French King, for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. And tho' their Addresses had not the intended effect, yet his Majesty, after the Dutch had been forc'd by his negligence of them to accept of a dishonourable Peace, was fo allarm'd, that he was for obliging them to enter into a New War immediately, because, as Mr. Hide says, in his Memorial to the States, no Security was given for the evacuating the Towns in Flanders, nor for providing a sufficient Barrier. When, after the Conclusion of the Peace, His Majesty met a New Parliament. He thought to have engag'd them to a complacency to the Court, by valuing himfelf on his Treaties with Spain and Holland, saying, They were the best Measures that cou'd be taken for the safety of England. The very Doubt of the necessity of the Barrier, is so Extravagant that it makes a Defence of it almost ridiculous. Yet such is the Hardships put upon us by the Remarker and his Brethren; They oblige us to prove, that the Revolution was founded on Resistance: That the House of Hanover cannot have an Hereditary Right: That Victory is better than a Rout: That Credit is not Ruinous, that Trade is beneficial to the Publick; and that we cannot be safe in England unless the Dutch have a good Barrier. For as was shewn in the Remarks, The Emperor cannot keep it; France must not; We will not; and who then shou'd have the Possession of it but the Dutch?

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Had these Scriblers any Respect for Her Majesty's Sentiments and Declarations, wou'd they raise such a Clamour against a Treaty which the British Plenipotentiaries have so lately confirm'd, as it is a Barrier only? For what are the Specifick Demands of the States-General? Do not they require, That the French King shall renounce for Himself and his Allies, all Claim to the Spanish Netherlands, and deliver to them Luxemburgh, Namur, Charleroy, and Newport, with all their Appurtenances, &c. That they shall keep Menin, Liste, Doway, The Country of Loeu, The Bourg of Gorgue, Tournay, the Tournaisis, Aire, Terouane, Lillers, St. Venant, Bethune, &c. with all their Appurtenances; as also, Furnes, Furnambacht, Fort Knock, Loo, Dixmuyde, Bailleul, Warneton, Comines, Warwick, Poperingen, Cafsel, Valenciennes, Conde and Maubeuge, The Whole with all their Dependencies: And to Garrison Huy, Liege, and Bon, till that matter is otherwise adjusted between them and the Empire. Now there being a Clause in Her Majesties, and each of the Allies Demands, for Supporting the Demands of each, Great-Britain consequently is engag'd to support this Demand of the Dutch, which extends their Barrier beyond the particular Treaty that has been so cruelly us'd by the Remarker and other Libellers of the same Stamp; which proves even to demonstration, that they have taken offence chiefly at that odious Guaranty, provided for the Security of our Religion, and Liberties, fince, as to what he fays, about Conquering more Country for them than they had before, This Barrier

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wou'd still be greater; and the Present Administration having so solemnly engaged to have it supported; what he has said on that Head is more a Libel on the present M—s

than on their Predecessors.

In his Remarks, he insults the States for not bringing Dunkirk into the Barrier-Treaty; and regrets, as has been observ'd elsewhere, that we cannot exchange it for Tournay, and Lifle, because we are oblig'd to keep them by that Treaty. Let us see how these hated Allies of Ours, the Dutch, behave themselves in this Point; and whether they have not provided much better for Us than the Author of the Conduct, and his Friends wou'd do. We will turn therefore to the VIII. Article of their Demands. His most Christian Majesty shall cause all the Fortifications of the Town of Dunkirk, of the Fort, of the Port, of the Risbanks, and whatever may belong to them, without any Exception, to be demolish'd, as also the said Port to be fill'd up, the Whole at his own Expence, and without any Equivalent, &c. nor shall the said Fortifications ever be Re-built, nor the Port made Navigable again directly nor indirectly. If any one remembers with what violence he fell upon the Dutch for omitting this Article in the Barrier-Treaty, and finds it so forcibly urg'd in theseDemands, what Punishment wou'd he think too grieyous for a Person that has so insolently and unjustly treated such faithful and powerful Confederates? In his Conduct he labour'd hard to have us give up Spain to France, as some others his Brethren had done. In that Libel he gave us Five Reasons for it, and that in fuch a Tone too that we began to be afraid of

the end of it. But to what are all his fine Reasons come, Reasons founded on Treachery, Injustice and Folly? To what is the pretended Partition of Spain come, and the abandoning the Emperor's Rights, for fear of prolonging the War? Is it not to the utmost confusion, in the Just and Generous Declaration of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiries, and those of the States, that by Satisfaction to the Emperor, they mean Spain and the Indies. And this not in a Formal Way but a fingle folemn Demand, which we hope will be supported to the end of the Treaty; and then may France and Her Friends rejoyce in the Success of their Advocates; and those who were so fond of the Preliminaries and the Conduct which applauded them, may fee of what French Impudence is capable, and how great Penetration the Author of that Libel is endow'd with. Her Majesty's Ministers, and those of the States, have explain'd an Equitable and Reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperor to be the whole Spanish Monarchy, which that honest Writer said was a new Incident, never intended by the Grand Alliance, but the Intriegues of a Faction. He having had the Infolence to give that odious Name to all the Powers and Ministers concern'd and included in the Grand Alliance, and not excepting Her Majesty and that happy Administration which began the War, the their Zeal for the Church and Monarchy was as conspicuous as that for the Common Cause.

'Tis worth taking notice with what Caution this Libeller's Party began to attack the Confederacy. When the Examiner set up first,

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he took care to remove any Causes of Offence which might have been giv'n the Dutch about their Memorial. He cajoles them with representing how much the Tories in England have been their Friends, and what great Enemies they have always had in the Whigs. He makes the War in 52 and 65 to have been begun by Men of the same Principles, tho' the First was made by the Rump, and the Second by King Charles, who hang'd them. Things were not ripe enough for an Invective, and their Affection to France must not appear too foon. Therefore the Letter-Writer freely owns, to restore the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, was one of the wise Motives of the War. Whoever wrote that Letter and this Libel, 'tis certain their Genius and Morals are so much of a Piece, that if they did not come from the same Pen, they came from the same Party; and what was wise and bonourable with them a Twelvemonth ago, is now unjust and extravagant. 'Tis with great Satisfaction I find these Writers are not in the Secret of Affairs, that thus write at Random, argue by Guess, and confirm all by Fiction and Falsity. Wou'd they elfe have pleaded so strenuously. for the House of Bourbon, and inveigh'd so bitterly against that of Austria, had they known Her Majesty had the Interests of the latter fo much at heart, and was still resolv'd to be a Mother to the Emperor, and support his Interest by the Treaty as well as She had done by her Leagues and her Arms? It is in our Memory whose were the Counsels that put the Imperial Court on declaring the Archduke King of Spain, and that others were more [26]

more earnest to have it done than either that Prince or his Father; and would it have been equitable or reasonable to have oblig'd his Imperial Majesty to renounce a Title which we oblig'd him to assume? But these Scriblers, in all they do, shew the little Care they have for the Honour of their Queen and Country, which, 'tis plain, they wou'd have facrific'd, had it been in their Power, to their Friendship to France. And they hop'd the Clamour they shou'd raise, wou'd make us forget both our Old Alliances and Allies, in favour of the New One, they took such pains to recommend to us. They did not value the Two Addresses of the Lords, They fell upon Them as well as our Treaties. But now that Her Majesty has by Her Plenipotentiaries Abroad justify'd all that has been argu'd by Her Loyal Subjects at Home, for the Emperor's Rights to Spain, and the Indies, with what Face can the Faction pretend again to direct Her Councils? and in a manner that seem'd to have the Stamp of the highest Authority, tho' at last it ends, as I hope all their Devices will, in Disappointment and Shame; and that there will be a Time when all these Invaders of our Treaties, these Sticklers for the Dishonour of our Nation, will know what it is to endeavour by Calumny and Falshood to dissolve a Confederacy, on which our own Liberties, and the Liberties of Europe depend; there being nothing so fatal to a Government engag'd in a Confederate War as to create Jealousies and Distrust amongst its Allies. Pliny in his Panegyrick values as much as any of the Bleffings of Trajan's Reign, [27]

That he had restor'd the Credit of the Romans with their Allies: 'tis in that Paragraph which begins thus; Princes have never wanted those, who with a Grave and Supercilious Countenance have pretended to advance the Treasure. What then do those deserve, who by Slander and Misrepresentation endeavour, as the Author of the Conduct and Remarks have done, to lessen our Credit with our Confederates, and make em diffident of our Willingness or Ability to keep our Words with them? Who represent us as ruin'd by the War, and so hasty to get out of it, that we no longer confider for what Reafons we got into it : and yet fome of that Writer's Brethren are forward enough to engage us in a New and Destructive One, against those, in whose Preservation we are more concern'd, and with whom we cannot fight but we had as good fall out with Ourselves. One of these Pamphleteer's Harangues run against the Dutch in these handsome Terms. I wish we don't find the Effect of that ungrateful Nation? Is their insatiable Thirst after Money abated? Are their Principles and Maxims of State altered? Have not they suck'd the strengthning Nourishment of Seventeen Millions a Year out of our Breasts? The Reader will not expect that any Answer shou'd be given to a Writerwho knows no better, than that the Dutch get Three or Four Millions a Year by Us, more than the Rents of all our Lands, and Houses: in short, more than the whole Income of the Kingdom, that does not rife from Trade, Money, Labour, and Art. I do not therefore repeat what he fays, as fetting the least weight upon it, but only to shew what the Party drive

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at, and how civilly Her Majesty's best Allies are treated by the Remarker, and his Fellows. One of them goes on thus; Yet have they ever been raising and upholding Factions in our Nation, and ready to destroy us. How cringing, how supple, how humble, were they to Queen Elizabeth, and bow daring, bow rude, bow arrogant to ber Successors? Had they not the Impudence lately to present a Memorial against Her Majesty's, disposing of Her own Servants? Were not the late Civil Wars (et on foot and supported by these good Friends? Were not their Rabbies of Discord sent over to blow the Coals between the King and Parliament? Did not they underhand send a great Sum of Money to Oliver, to take upon him the Protectorship? Have they not from those Times establish'd Factories of Sedition in this Nation? Did not these good Friends as they began the First Scene of that Dismal Tragedy which was acted upon the best of Kings, seem willing to see the Last Act out? Did not They, contrary to all Laws of God and Man, form a Design to deliver up his Son to his cruellest Enemies? And were they not, after the Restoration, always either stirring up Rebellion, Libelling, or making War with him? Is this Language to be given to an Ally, with whom we have been united these Twenty Years against the Common Enemy. Is this the usage Her Majesty's best and greatest Friends are to meet with from mercenary and profligate Scriblers? Shall the Faction dare to affront their High Mightinesses in this scandalous manner, and be harden'd in it by Impunity? With what greediness is this Scandal devour'd by them, and the most notorious Lies swallow'd for History and Truth? I think it very foolish to pretend [29]

to vindicate the States General against the Calumnies, and Inventions of an Obscure Libeller. But as the whole Party are perpetually entertaining us with the same, so I cannot but observe with what Assurance they assert as true what is so easily detected, & prov'd false; doing in this as in every Thing else, affert boldly, and fear neither Conviction nor Punishment, The States are thus further treated in the Libel I took the rest from. They were contriving the Same Gameto King Charles, which they afterwards play'd off with so much success against his Royal Brother. It wou'd have been much, if the Faction had forgot or forgiven the Revolution, the Ruin of them and their Principles, and the True Cause of their Spite to the States. I am afraid, says this Writer, their sending over the P. of O. was not purely for the Preservation of our Church and Liberties. Here is his Late Majesty's Glorious Enterprize to deliver us from Popery and Slavery, reflected on, as doing a Dutch Errand, and being sent in obedience to their Orders, for their own Interests, and not for Ours. Have they, continues he, such a tender Regard for our Liturgy and Religion, and have so little or none at home? Can one think that they, who for the sake of Trade can Deny and Abjure Jesus Christ in Japan, wou'd turn Apostles in Holland out of Zeal to the Gospel? I hinted before that this Libel is no farther worth taking notice of, than to shew the Spirit of the Party, and their hatred to the Dutch, purely for their helping us at the Revolution, and being by the Barrier-Treaty oblig'd to help us if we need it for the Protestant Succession. It comes from some vile Pen, some Hackney Scribler, hir'd by the Faction [30]

Faction to Villify and Infult the States, and instigate us, if that were possible, to break all our Engagements with them for the sake of New Ones with France. 'Tis granted by all Moralists, that to upbraid People with Obligations cancels them at once; if so, the Dutch may plead our usage of them in that matter, in discharge of the mighty Debt we laid on them in Queen Elizabeth's Reign : for they have heard of it often enough, and with the most severe Reproaches: Whereas no Body doubts, but that Queen Elizabeth consulted Her own Interest more than theirs when She took them into Her Protection; which appears by the Sentiments of Her Ministers: and Sir Walter Rawleigh's in particular, whose Sayings on that Occasion I have seen in several Treatises, as that, after my Duty to my own Sovereign, fays he, and Love to my own Country, I bonour the Hollanders most; nor can I doubt their Gratitude or their Wisdom with respect to England. And in another Place, I shall never think him a Lover of this Land, or of the King, who shall per-Swade his Majesty from embracing the Amity of the States of the United Provinces; for His Majesty is no less safe by them; than they invincible by him. If England was then as safe by the States as they strong by England, is not their Barrier Oursmuch more at this time, when the Power the House of Bourbon, by the Acquisition of Spain and the Indies, is much more Formidable, than that of Austria was in Sir Walter Rawleigh's Days. What are we to think of those who would not only perswade Her Majesty, if they were permitted to approach Her, from embracing the Amity of the States, but to

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break off all Friendship with them, the' confirm'd by the most solemn Leagues General and Particular? Does not Sir Walter determine em justly to be Enemies to their Country? and the foremost of them will be the Author of the Conduct, under whose Auspices, the little Curs that have fince fall'n upon their High Mightinesses have their Being and Merit. We, fays one of them, bred them up to a Free State, Enlarged their Dominions, made them the most flourishing Common-wealth in Christendom; We rais'd them to that high Pitch, and those great Titles they take upon them in the Indies. The States-General of the United Provinces, of Batavia, Amboyna, Tewan, Commanders of all the Seas, Moderators of all Affairs, &c. He proceeds, The First Part of their Title is owing to Rebellion; The Second to Treachery and Murder; the Third to Pride and Arrogancy. Wou'd any one think this was faid of the most Powerful Republick in the World, and next to Her Majesty the Chief of the Confederacy, for the Support of its Liberty. But this and much more, too infamous to be repeated, and not to be read without horror, have pass'd under the Pens of the Advocates of France, who however are crying aloud against the License of the Press, and will perhaps exclaim against mine for daring to expose 'em. I have not patience to mention any more of this detestable Ribaldry. And as the Faction feem to have no better Arguments for their very wretched Cause, so I shall spare my self the Shame and Trouble of returning it: Only, I cannot omit reflecting on the unfair Treatment the Dutch meet with from these Men, who condemn

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them Unheard, and what is more barbarous, bring Things to remembrance for which they have expiated with their Blood: We having begun Three terrible Wars with that Nation for Old Claims in the Indies, and some Disputes between Merchants, which we would always have decided by Arms. We have forgot the Generous Affistance they gave us at the Spanish Invasion. We have forgot the Tyranny of the Earl of Leicester, and his Military Government, which had like to have ruin'd their State in its Infancy. We blame the Dutch for taking possession of Places we abandon'd, as the Cape in particular, and forget how we drove them out of those they were possess'd of, as New-York. We have forgot their fending an Embassy to Engage the Parliament to make Peace with King Charles the First, which they told them concern'd all Protestants, and particularly themselves; And that the Two Houses were so well satisfy'd of their good Intentions to the King, that they would give em no Answer. We have forgot their doing more for his Son K. Charles the Second in his Exile, than all the rest of the States in Europe; insomuch that that Prince faid to them when he left Holland, He should never forget it; and afterwards, That he believ'd his own Impatient Subjects cou'd not receive him with more Affection. This He himself forgot in 4 or 5 Years. As we have done since, our Attempt to surprize their Turky Fleet in Time of Peace; our Burnings and Ravages at the Isle of Vlie; and many other such notable Exploits, which the Dutch, as ill bred as they are faid to be, have never been founmannerly

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mannerly as to upbraid us with, or so ill-natur'd as to remember. Do not we imagine that the States might have a Reckoning for us, if they wou'd retrospect; and that if it was possible for em' to have such Libellers, as the Remarker and his Brethren, in their Dominions, they might not find Matter enough to retort upon us? But is this reasonable, or indeed tolerable, when we are united by so many new and strong Ties? And shou'd we foment Divisions between us in a Time of a Joint War, which wou'd be Madness to encourage in Time of Peace? Is it not therefore very plain, that all those who are Enemies to Holland, are Enemies to England; and that whatever we do for their Safety, we do for our own? This Controversy might be extended to any length, and explain'd by Instances and Authorities; but I cannot suppose that there are many among us so stupid, as not to perceive that the Enemies to Holland are Friends to France; and sure after 150 Millions Expence to rid our selves of them, we shall never be in danger of giving again into their destru-Rive Politicks. I shall conclude what I have to fay on this Head with part of Mr. Powle's, Speaker of the House of Commons, Speech to King William, when he presented him the Bill for Paying the States-General. Wherein the Reader may see, that we were not so full of our own Obligations to them, as not to think of theirs to us.: So that we hope there can be no Objection to what he says, unless it be, because 'twas in a Revolution-Parliament. The Commons in this present Parliament assembled, taking into Consideration the

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great Affistance that was given by the States of the United Provinces to Your Majesty, in Your Glorious Design of Restoring these Kingdoms to their Ancient Rights and Liberties, and how for that End they entrusted their Army and Fleet to Your Majesty's Disposal, at a Time when they had War declar'd, and an Invasion threatned from the French King meerly to divert them. They do here humbly present Your Majesty with a Bill, &c. It is little more than an Age since the Illustrious Prince of Orange, Your Majesty's Great Grandfather, whose Name will ever be famous for his Love to his Country, did, by the Assistance of the English, redeem those Provinces from the like Oppressions. Which shervs how Inseparable the Interest of those Two Nations are. And since it was the Policy of those that laboured our Destruction to divide Us, it ought to be the Endeavour of all True Lovers of their Country to keep us firmly United in order to our Preservation. Which being the Opinion of one of the best Parliaments this Nation was ever blest with; 'tis very grating to a good Britain to find there's any Occasion to shew now, that our Interests and our Barriers are mutual.

I wou'd not however be thought to love our Neighbours so well, but that I still love Our selves better; and of all the Clamours that the French Partisans raise against them, the most Popular is certainly that of their Fishery on our Coasts. Her Majesty has doubtless the Dominion of the British Seas, and their having paid us Tribute for Fishing, at once 20000 l. to King Charles the First, is an Acknowledgment of that Sovereignty. Notwithstanding which, and the vast Profit that arises to them by the Fishery, I must needs

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own I cannot blame them. If we have better Opportunities to Fish, and will not make use of them, I don't see why we shou'd be so churlish as neither to Fish our selves, nor let any Body else Fish. If Their Industry is greater than Ours, whose Fault is that. Do they pretend to exclude us from Fishing in our Seas? Are not we only angry that they get what we will not be at the Pains to share with them? 'Tis true, that boafted Industry of theirs is not fo much a Virtue as a Necessity. They could not live without that Fishery; We can, and grow Rich too by other means, tho' perhaps that would be the best. We have a great Land-Interest superior, we see, to the Trade; and those that are concern'd that Way, are more follicitous about the Product of the Soil, Minerals and Manufactures, than what is got out of the Sea. The Dutch have not Ground enough to subfift a Twentieth Part of their People out of the Growth of it. Whereas it is not question'd but England, if it wanted nothing for Strength and Magnificence, could subsist a far greater Number than it does. I have seen a Calculation of the Number of Souls in the Province of Holland only, amounting to 2500000, who are maintain'd in the following manner; which will give the Reader an Idea how necessary it is for the Dutch to be Industrious.

450000 Employ'd in and about the Fishery Abroad.

100000 In the Home-Fishery.
100000 In Husbandry and Labour.
250000 In the Manufactures belonging to

Shipping.

E 2 400000

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400000 In the other Manufactures, and the Trade in them. 200000 In Navigation and Commerce.

600000 In Provisions, Cloaths, Furniture, Building.

200000 Gentlemen, Men in Places, Lawyers, Landlords, Soldiers and Beggars.

So that almost half of the Inhabitants of that Province depend entirely on the Sea and Shipping, and the other half cou'd not sublift without them. 'Tis observable that the Dutchman in his Calculation ranges the Beggars with that Interest, which with us is the most honourable and valuable, as Matchiavel do's in his Decades of Livy. But they were Men of Republican Principles, the latter not having divested himself quite of those of the Country in which he was born, tho' then under a Tyranny. What we ought to do in the Fishery, or what to oblige the Dutch to; whether we shou'd not have Ostend, or some other Port in Flanders, is not my Business now to examine; and I don't see what relation it can have to the Grand Alliance, or the Barrier-Treaty, which is our present Subject. Only I cannot but think it very unreasonable to quarrel with a Nation for taking our Leavings, and enriching themselves with what we scorn to meddle with.

As to what concerns the Empercr: Some of the best Epithets the Conduct, and the rest of that Stamp, bestow on him, is Impotent and Ungrateful; tho' if his Ingratitude proceeds from his Impotency, 'tis a little hard to lay it to his Charge, One of them affirms (37)

plainly Philip has the best Title: that the Money borrow'd on the Taxes in Silesia are not paid to this Day: That he has not maintain'd 20000 Men in the whole War: That He has dealt dishonourably by Her Majesty in not coming fooner into the Treaty: And in short that He is not for their Peace. The Success of Prince Eugene's Negotiations; and the March of a Brave Army from Germany to Flanders, prove the Baseness of the Charge against his Imperial Majesty; and I hope the Designs of his Enemies here will be baffled, as those of his Enemies abroad have hitherto been; having in this, and every Thing else, nothing in view but Her Majesty's Glory and the Publick Good.

The Faction have at last discover'd themfelves, and Give broad Hints that they are for a Separate Peace. They begin to fift us in that Point, and fee how it will go down. Tho' the present Examiner has no one Qualification of his Predecessor, but Lying & Impudence, yet they make use of him as a Tool, to prepare the Way for some more able Pen, to offer what no one else wou'd dare to mention. But as the Proceedings at Utrecht have already damn'd all their Late Schemes of Partition, &c. so we may rest satisfy'd, that this Scheme which is the worst, will end in that Destruction to themselves which they intend

Others.

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unity the burdeless of the char nonewit on the Taxes in Silfmane negralit dulative : That he has not mainfailed tail ett Mulia Walow Van in ni ni Mecosk son ni ve se such pyd yldnuone filasinel ti ball : yreal least chairceast greater Modern Logis nos Rochisia Pones. - That Recognitions Roser's Liebainions; and Es March of a Plance Army Irom Germiny to Minday prove the Laborett of the Charles And the Inspectal Ministry and I house the The Bad of Kin Caniles has will be balled, in there at his Encestational trave hicherto been; having in this fant every Thing etc. Follogies in view Buriller Meischy's Glory and the Publish Good.

The La Rida Reye at last discovered them to the a conformation of the action of the ac