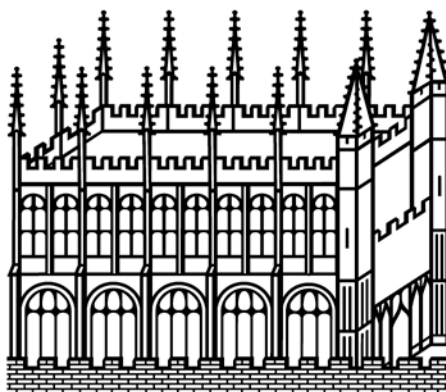




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JONATHAN SWIFT

THE CONDUCT
OF THE ALLIES
AND OF THE
LATE MINISTRY
IN BEGINNING &
CARRYING ON THE
PRESENT WAR



• FOURTH

1711

EDITION •

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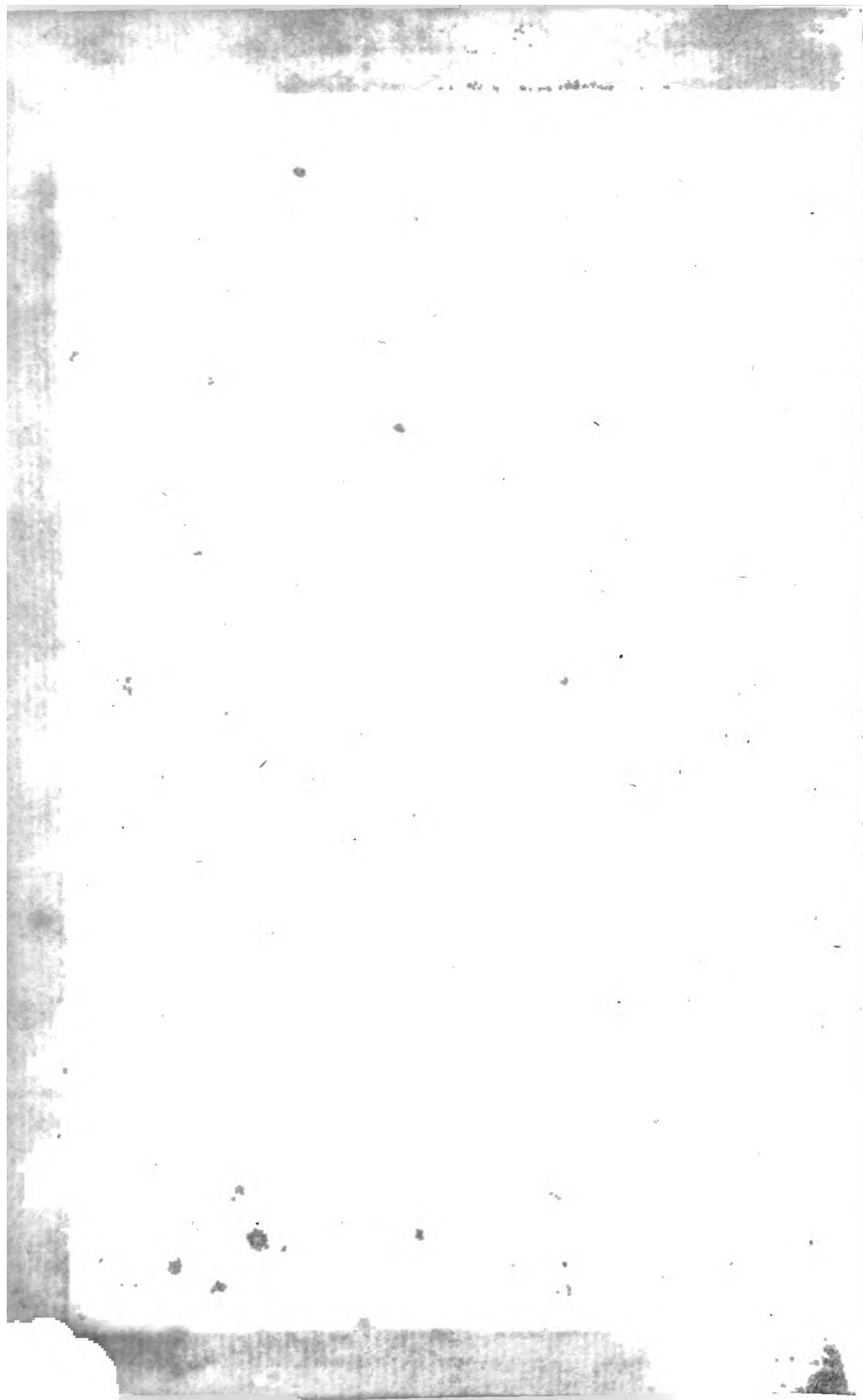
*Presented by Professor H. J. Davis
August 1963*

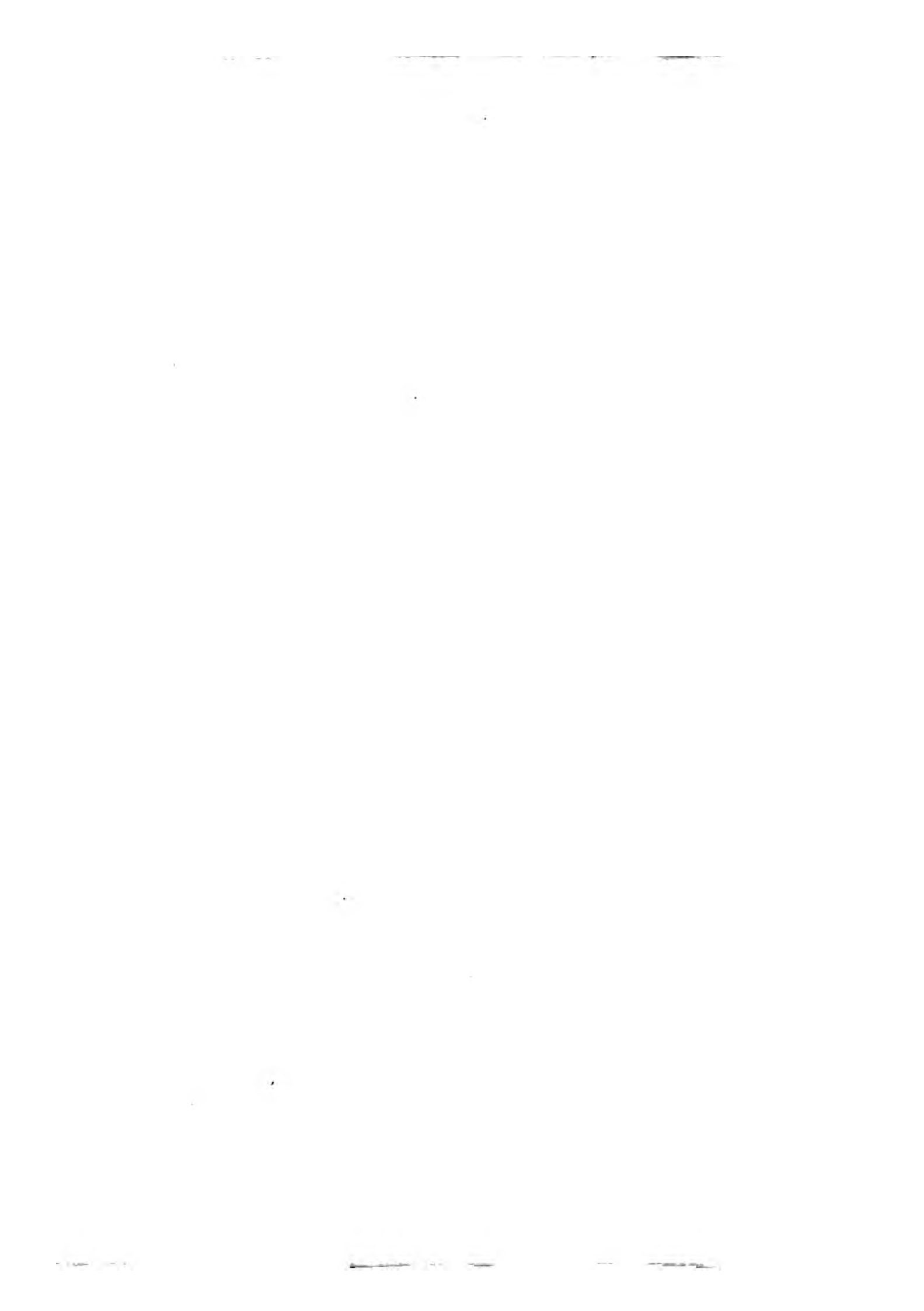
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THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES,
AND OF THE
Late Ministry,
IN
Beginning and Carrying on
THE
Present War.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: partem duris Hispania bellis:
Pars jacet Hesperia: totoq; exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit. Terris fuisse cruorem
Quid juvat Arctoïs, Rhodano, Rhenoq; subactis?
Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
———Vidrix Provincia plorat.*

The Fourth Edition, Corrected.

L O N D O N,
Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711.

[illegible]

THE PREFACE

I Cannot sufficiently admire the Industry of a sort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly professing a separate Interest from the Bulk of the Landed Men, who yet are able to raise, at this Juncture, so great a Clamour against a Peace, without offering one single Reason; but what we find in their Ballads. I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reasonable Person, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish Terms) can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is; unless he be a Gainer by it; or hopes it may occasion some new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the Kingdom's Condition, and by what Means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first Cases, where Interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last; I think it highly necessary, that the Publick should be freely and impartially told what Circumstances

The P R E F A C E.

they are in, after what Manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many Years with the Disposal of their Blood and Treasure, and what the Consequences of this Management are like to be upon themselves and their Posterity.

Those who, either by Writing or Discourse, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the Late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders and their Troops, in summing up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high Articles were insisted on by our Ministers and those of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least Satisfaction to the just Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are, That a greater Load has been laid on Us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest Impositions have been submitted to for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Designs of a Faction, to both which a Peace would have put an End; And that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, We complain of being deluded by a Mock Treaty; in which those who Negotiated, took care to make such Demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every Article as if they were in earnest.

These

THE PREFACE.

These are some of the Points I design to Treat of in the following Discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this time, for the Kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those Facts I mention; at least not in any Circumstance so material, as to weaken the Consequences I draw from them.

After Ten Years War, with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever hapned in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed suspecting, we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our Victories, and might therefore desire to know where the Difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present Condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Consequences may be upon the present and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point which some People do so much insist on, be really ruinous in it self, or equally so with the Continuance of the War.

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES, &c.

THE Motives that may engage a wise Prince or State in a War, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown Power of some ambitious Neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from Them; to revenge some Injury They have received; (which all Political Casuists allow); to assist some Ally in a just Quarrel; or lastly, to defend Themselves when They are invaded. In all these Cases, the Writers upon Politicks admit a War to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris & focis*; where no Expence or Endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently, our utmost Force to be exerted; and the Dispute is soon determined, either in Safety or utter Destruction. But in the other four, I believe,

it will be found, that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the Strength and Substance of their Country by Anticipations and Loans, which, in a few Years, must put them in a worse Condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those Evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the War: Because this would be to run into real infallible Ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable Speculation.

And, as a War should be undertaken upon a just and prudent Motive, so it is still more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to consider the Condition he is in, when he enters on it: Whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich by a long Peace and free Trade, not overpressed with many burthensom Taxes; No violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at Home, and lessen his Reputation Abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his Case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the World's Quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with Honour and Safety.

Supposing the War to have commenced upon a just Motive; the next Thing to be considered, is, When a Prince ought in Prudence to receive the Overtures of a Peace: Which I take to be, either when the Enemy is ready to yield
the

the Point originally contended for, or when that Point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, though with Probability of gaining that Point at last, would put such a Prince and his People in a worse Condition than the present Loss of it. All which Considerations are of much greater Force, where a War is managed by an Alliance of many Confederates, which in the variety of Interests, among the several Parties, is liable to so many unforeseen Accidents.

In a Confederate War it ought to be considered, which Party has the deepest share in the Quarrel: For though each may have their particular Reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the Burthen, in proportion to their Strength. For Example: Two Princes may be Competitors for a Kingdom, and it will be your Interest to take the Part of Him, who will probably allow you good Conditions of Trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that Prince whose Cause you espouse, though never so vigorously, is the Principal in that War, and You, properly speaking, are but a Second. Or a Commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, which, in time, may produce very bad Consequences upon your Trade and Liberty: 'Tis therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them Assistance, and help them to win a strong secure Frontier ;

ter; but, as They must in course be the first and greatest Sufferers, so, in Justice, they ought to bear the greatest Weight. If a House be on fire, it behoves all in the Neighbourhood to run with Buckets to quench it; but the Owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible that those at next Door may escape, by a Shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the Weather, or some other favourable Accident.

But, if an Ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill Fortune of the War, be so generous, as to contribute more than the Principal Party, and even more in proportion to his Abilities, he ought at least to have his Share in what is conquered from the Enemy: Or, if his Romantick Disposition transports him so far, as to expect little or nothing of this, he might however hope, that the Principals would make it up in Dignity and Respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his Domestic Affairs, prescribing what Servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable Demands, and at every turn threatening to break the Alliance, if he will not comply.

From these Reflections upon War in general, I descend to consider those Wars, wherein *England* hath been engaged since the Conquest. In the Civil-Wars of the *Barons*, as well as those between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, great Destruction was made of the Nobility and Gentry, new Families raised, and old ones
extin-

extinguished, but the Money spent on both was employed and circulated at Home; no Publick Debts contracted; and a very few Years of Peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural Rebellion against King *Charles I.* the Usurpers maintained great Armies in constant Pay, had almost continual War with *Spain* or *Holland*, but managing it by their Fleets, they encreased very much the Riches of the Kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our Foreign Wars were generally against *Scotland* or *France*; the first being upon our own Continent, carried no Money out of the Kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first Wars with *France*, we possessed great Dominions in that Country, where we preserved some Footing till the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and though some of our latter Princes made very chargeable Expeditions thither, a Subsidy, and two or three Fifteenths, cleared all the Debt. Beside, our Victories were then of some Use as well as Glory; for we were so prudent to Fight, and so happy to Conquer, only for our selves.

The *Dutch* Wars, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* though begun and carried on under a very corrupt Administration, and much to the Dishonour of the Crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his Parliament, when he most needed their Assistance; but neither left any Debt upon the Nation, nor carried any Money out of it. At

At the *Revolution*, a general War broke out in *Europe*, wherein many Princes joined in an Alliance against *France*, to check the ambitious Designs of that Monarch; and here the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, and *England* were Principals. About this time the Custom first began among us of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Interest: It was pretended, That the War could not possibly last above one or two Campaigns; and that the Debts contracted might be easily paid in a few Years, by a gentle Tax, without burthening the Subject. But the true Reason for embracing this Expedient, was the Security of a new Prince, not firmly settled on the Throne: People were tempted to lend, by great Premiums and large Interest, and it concerned them nearly to preserve that Government, which they trusted with their Money. The Person said to have been Author of so detestable a Project, is still living, and lives to see some of its fatal Consequences, whereof his Grand-Children will not see an end. And this pernicious Counsel closed very well with the Posture of Affairs at that time: For, a Set of Upstarts, who had little or no part in the *Revolution*, but valued themselves by their Noise and pretended Zeal when the Work was over, were got into Credit at Court, by the Merit of becoming Undertakers and Projectors of Loans and Funds: These, finding that the Gentlemen of Estates were not willing to come into their Measures, fell upon those new Schemes of raising Mony,

in order to create a Money'd-Interest, that might in time vie with the Landed, and of which they hoped to be at the Head.

The Ground of the first War, for ten Years after the *Revolution*, as to the Part we had in it, was, to make *France* acknowledge the late King, and to recover *Hudson's-Bay*. But during that whole War, the Sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest Part of Six Millions Annually employed to enlarge the Frontier of the *Dutch*. For the King was a General, but not an Admiral; and although King of *England*, was a Native of *Holland*.

After ten Years Fighting to little purpose; after the Loss of above an hundred thousand Men, and a Debt remaining of twenty Millions, we at length hearkned to the Terms of a Peace, which was concluded with great Advantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after by the famous Treaty of *Partition*; by which, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Lorain*, were to be added to the *French* Dominions; or if that Crown should think fit to set aside the Treaty, upon the *Spaniards* refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several Parties at the very time of transacting it; then the *French* would have Pretensions to the whole Monarchy. And so it proved in the Event; for, the late King of *Spain* reckoning it an Indignity to have his Territories cantoned out into Parcels, by other Princes, during his own Life, and without his Consent, rather chose to bequeath the Monarchy

chy entire to a younger Son of *France*: And this Prince was acknowledged for King of *Spain* both by Us and *Holland*.

It must be granted, that the Counsels of entering into the present War were violently opposed by the *Church-Party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou*; and particularly, 'tis affirmed that the Earl of G——n, who was then in the Church-Interest, told the King in *November*, 1701, That since his Majesty was determined to engage in a War so contrary to his private Opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his Employment; though he happened afterwards to change his Mind, when he was to be Lord High Treasurer, and have of the sole Management of Affairs at home; while those abroad were to be in the hands One, whose Advantage, by all sorts of Ties, he was engaged to promote.

The Declarations of War against *France* and *Spain*, made by Us and *Holland*, are dated within a few Days of each other. In that published by the *States*, they say very truly, That *they are nearest, and most exposed to the Fire*; that *they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain*; that *their Declaration is the Effect of an urgent and pressing Necessity*; with other Expressions to the same purpose. They desire the Assistance of all Kings and Princes, &c. The grounds of their Quarrel with *France*, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately

mediately than any other Prince or State; such as, the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the Treaty of Ryfwick; the loading the Dutch Inhabitants settled in France, with excessive Duties, contrary to the said Treaty; the Violation of the Partition-Treaty, by the French accepting the King of Spain's Will, and threatening the States, if they would not comply; the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French Troops, and turning out the Dutch, who by Permission of the late King of Spain were in Garrison there; by which means that Republick was deprived of her Barrier, contrary to the Treaty of Partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the Archduke. They alledged, that the French King governed Flanders as his own, though under the Name of his Grandson, and sent great Numbers of Troops thither to fright them: That he had seized the City and Citadel of Liege, had possessed himself of several Places in the Archbishoprick of Cologne, and maintained Troops in the Country of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his Resident to give in a Memorial, wherein he threatned the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the Contents of that Memorial.

The Queen's Declaration of War is grounded upon the Grand Alliance, as This was upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French King; whereof the Instances produced are, His keeping in Possession a great Part of the Spanish Dominions, seizing Milan
and

and the Spanish Low-Countries, making himself Master of Cadiz, &c. And instead of giving Satisfaction in these Points, his putting an Indignity and Affront on Her Majesty and Kingdoms, by Declaring the Pretended Prince of Wales K. of England, &c. which last was the only personal Quarrel we had in the War; and even This was positively denied by France, That King being then willing to Acknowledge Her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears, by both Declarations, that *England* ought no more to have been a Principal in this War, than *Prussia*, or any other Power, who came afterwards into that Alliance. *Holland* was first in the Danger, the *French* Troops being at that time just at the Gates of *Nimeguen*. But the Complaints made in our Declaration, do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every Prince in *Europe*.

For, among the several Parties who came first or last into this Confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill Success of this War, than We. The *Dutch* took up Arms to defend themselves from immediate Ruin; and by a successful War, they proposed to have a larger Extent of Country, and a better Frontier against *France*. The *Emperor* hoped to recover the Monarchy of *Spain*, or some part of it, for his younger Son, chiefly at the Expence of Us and *Holland*. The King of *Portugal* had received Intelligence, that *Philip* designed to re-
new

new the old Pretensions of *Spain* upon that Kingdom, which is furrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the Sea, and could therefore only be defended by *Maritime Powers*. This, with the advantageous Terms offered by King *Charles*, as well as by Us, prevailed with that Prince to enter into the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy's* Temptations and Fears were yet greater : The main Charge of the War on that side, was to be supplied by *England*, and the Profit to redound to him. In case *Milan* should be Conquered, it was stipulated that his Royal Highness should have the Dutchy of *Montferrat*, belonging to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Provinces of *Alexandria*, and *Valentia*, and *Lomellino*, with other Lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, together with the *Vigevanasco*, or in lieu of it, an Equivalent out of the Province of *Novara*, adjoining to his own State ; beside whatever else could be taken from *France* on that side by the Confederate Forces. Then, he was in terrible Apprehensions of being furrounded by *France*, who had so many Troops in the *Milanese*, and might have easily swallowed up his whole Dutchy.

The rest of the Allies came in purely for Subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable Sums into their own Coffers, and refused to send their Contingent to the Emperor, alledging their Troops were already hired by *England* and *Holland*.

Some time after the D. of *Anjou's* succeeding to the Monarchy of *Spain*, in breach of the Partition Treaty, the Question here in *England*
B
was,

was, Whether the Peace should be continued, or a new War begun. Those who were for the former, alledged the Debts and Difficulties we laboured under; that both We and the *Dutch* had already Acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* to the House of *Austria*, and their Aversion for that of *Bourbon*, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that We rightly thought it a piece of Insolence, as well as Injustice, in the *French*, to offer putting a King upon Us; and the *Spaniards* would conceive, we had as little Reason to force one upon Them; That it was true, the Nature and Genius of those two People differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a King of *French* Blood, as one of *Austrian*; but, if we should engage in a War for Dethroning the D. of *Anjou*, we should certainly effect what, by the Progress and Operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean an Union of Interest and Affections between the two Nations; For the *Spaniards* must of necessity call in *French* Troops to their Assistance: This would introduce *French* Counsellors into King *Philip's* Court; and this, by degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two Nations: That, to assist King *Charles* by *English* or *Dutch* Forces, would render him odious to his new Subjects, who have nothing in so great an Abomination, as those whom they hold for *Hereticks*: That, the *French* would by
this

this means became Masters of the Treasures in the *Spanish West-Indies*: That, in the last War, when *Spain*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria* were in our Alliance, and by a modest Computation brought Sixty thousand Men into the Field against the Common Enemy; when *Flanders*, the Seat of War, was on our side, and his Majesty, a Prince of great Valour and Conduct, at the Head of the whole Confederate Army; yet we had no Reason to boast of our Success: How then should we be able to oppose *France* with those Powers against us, which would carry Sixty thousand Men from us to the Enemy, and so make us, upon the Balance, weaker by One hundred and twenty thousand Men, at the beginning of this War, than of that in the Year 1688?

On the other side, those whose Opinion, or some private Motives, inclined them to give their Advice for entering into a new War, alledged how dangerous it would be for *England*, that *Philip* should be King of *Spain*; that we could have no Security for our Trade, while that Kingdom was subject to a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family; nor any hopes of preserving the Balance of *Europe*, because the Grandfather would, in effect, be King, while his Grandson had but the Title, and thereby have a better Opportunity than ever of pursuing his Design for Universal Monarchy: These and the like Arguments prevailed; and so, without offering at any other Remedy, without taking time to consider the Consequences, or

to reflect on our own Condition, we hastily engaged in a War which hath cost us sixty Millions; and after repeated, as well as unexpected Success in Arms, hath put us and our Posterity in a worse Condition, not only than any of our Allies, but even our conquered Enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the Conduct of this whole War, with reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examin; where I presume it will appear, by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its domestick Enemies; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice and Ingratitude by its foreign Friends.

This will be manifest by proving the Three following Points.

First, That against all manner of Prudence or common Reason, we engaged in this War as Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our Vigour in pursuing that Part of the War which could least answer the End we proposed by beginning of it; and made no Efforts at all where we could have most weakned the Common Enemy, and at the same time enriched our Selves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our Allies to break every Article in those Treaties and Agree-

Agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the Burthen upon us.

Upon the first of these Points, That we ought to have entered into this War only as Auxiliaries. Let any Man reflect upon our Condition at that time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive and unsuccessful War that ever *England* had been engaged in; sinking under heavy Debts, of a Nature and Degree never heard of by Us or Our Ancestors; the Bulk of the Gentry and People heartily tired of the War, and glad of a Peace, though it brought no other Advantage but it self: No sudden Prospect of lessening our Taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our Debts, as to raise Armies: A sort of artificial Wealth of Funds and Stocks in the Hands of those who for Ten Years before had been plundering the Publick; Many Corruptions in every Branch of our Government, that needed Reformation. Under these Difficulties, from which Twenty Years Peace, and the wisest Management, could hardly recover us, we declare War against *France*, fortified by the Accession and Alliance of those Powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former War, had been Parties in our Confederacy. It is very obvious what a Change must be made in the Balance, by such Weights taken out of Our Scale and put into Theirs; since it was manifest by Ten Years Experience, that *France* without those Additions of Strength, was able to maintain it self against us. So that Human Probability

ran with mighty odds on the other side ; and in that case, nothing under the most extreme Necessity should force any State to engage in a War. We had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain* ; neither does the Queen's Declaration of War take notice of the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession to that Monarchy, as a Subject of Quarrel ; but the *French* King's governing it as if it were his own ; his seizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, and the *Spanish Low Countries*, with the Indignity of Proclaiming the *Pretender*. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last : And this, although indeed a great Affront, might have easily been redressed without a War ; for the *French* Court declared they did not acknowledge the *Pretender*, but only gave him the Title of *King*, which was allowed to *Augustus* by his Enemy of *Sueden*, who had driven him out of *Poland*, and forced him to acknowledge *Stanislaus*.

'Tis true indeed, the Danger of the *Dutch*, by so ill a Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, might affect us very much in the Consequences of it ; and the Loss of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, if it should be governed by *French* Influence, and *French* Politicks, might, in time, be very pernicious to our Trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our Neighbour ; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves : For by an old Treaty with *Holland*, we were bound to assist that Republick with

Ten thousand Men, whenever they were attacked by the *French* ; whose Troops, upon the King of *Spain's* Death, taking Possession of *Flanders*, in right of *Philip*, and securing the *Dutch* Garrisons 'till they would acknowledge Him, the *States-General*, by Memorials from their Envoy here, demanded only the Ten thousand Men, we were obliged to give them by virtue of that Treaty. And I make no doubt but *Holland* would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that Assistance alone, to defend their Frontiers : Or, if they had been forced to a Peace, the *Spaniards*, who abhor dismembring their Monarchy, would never have suffered the *French* to possess themselves of *Flanders*. At that time they had none of those Endearments to each other which this War hath created ; and whatever Hatred and Jealousie were natural between the two Nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for Us to proceed further, although We had been in a better Condition. But our Politicians at that time had other Views, and a new War must be undertaken, upon the Advice of those, who with their Partisans and Adherents, were to be the sole Gainers by it. A Grand Alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, *England*, and the *States-General* ; by which, if the Injuries complained of from *France* were not remedied in two Months, the Parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole Strength*.

Thus We became Principal in a War, in Conjunction with two Allies, whose share in the Quarrel was, beyond all Proportion, greater than Ours. However, I can see no Reason from the Words of the Grand Alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious Expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole Strength of the Nation*, as understood in that Treaty, to be the utmost that a Prince can raise Annually from his Subjects; if he be forced to Mortgage and Borrow, whether at Home or Abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own Strength*, or that of the Nation, but the entire Substance of particular Persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual Income of his Kingdom, he takes upon Security, and can only pay the Interest; and by this Method one Part of the Nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a Possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the Payment of our Debts contracted in the former War, to have continued our Land and Malt Tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: These, with some Additions, would have made up such a Sum, as, with prudent Management, might, I suppose, have maintained an Hundred thousand Men by Sea and Land; a reasonable Quota in all conscience for that Ally, who apprehended least Danger, and expected
least

least Advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the Confederates, when the War begun, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joyning with us upon such a Foot, and expect that we should every Year go between three and four Millions in Debt (which hath been our Case) because the *French* could hardly have contrived any Offers of a Peace so ruinous to us as such a War. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive what kind of Spirit could possess their Ancestors, who after ten Years Suffering, by the unexampled Politicks of a Nation, maintaining a War by annually Pawning it self; and during a short Peace, while they were looking back with Horrour on the heavy Load of Debts they had contracted; universally condemning those pernicious Counsels which had occasioned them; racking their Invention for some Remedies or Expedients to mend their shattered Condition: That these very People, without giving themselves time to breath, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive War, for the same, or perhaps a greater Period of Time, and without any apparent Necessity. It is obvious in a private Fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same Expences, must every Year mortgage a greater Quantity of Land than he did before; and as the Debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his Inability to pay it. By the same Proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten Years War, as we did by the former;

mer; and if it were possible to continue it five Years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a Burthen as the whole Twenty. This Computation, so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention, Posterity will think that those who first advised the War, had either not the Sense or the Honesty to consider.

And as we have wasted our Strength and vital Substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to Ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the War, and often to effect others which after a Peace we may severely repent. This is the second Article I proposed to examine.

WE have now for Ten Years together turned the whole Force and Expence of the War, where the Enemy was best able to hold us at a Bay; where we could propose no manner of Advantage to our selves; where it was highly impolitick to enlarge our Conquests; utterly neglecting that Part which would have saved and gained us many Millions, which the perpetual Maxims of our Government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the Enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy Peace, or enabled us to go on with the War.

Those who are fond of continuing the War cry up our constant Success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human Probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious Campaigns are passed,
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and now at last, like the sick Man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good Symptoms. Did the Advisers of this War suppose it would continue Ten Years, without expecting the Successes we have had; and yet at the same time determine, that *France* must be reduced, and *Spain* subdued, by employing our whole Strength upon *Flanders*? Did they believe the last War left us in a Condition to furnish such vast Supplies for so long a Period, without involving Us and our Posterity in unextricable Debts? If after such Miraculous *Doings*, we are not yet in a Condition of bringing *France* to our Terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, though we should proceed without any Reverse of Fortune; What could we look for in the ordinary course of Things, but a *Flanders* War of at least Twenty Years longer? Do they indeed think a Town taken for the *Dutch*, is a sufficient Recompence to us for six Millions of Money? which is of so little Consequence to the determining the War, that the *French* may yet hold out a dozen Years more, and afford a Town every Campaign at the same Price.

I say not this, by any means, to detract from the Army or its Leaders. Getting into the Enemy's Lines, passing Rivers, and taking Towns, may be Actions attended with many glorious Circumstances: But when all this brings no real solid Advantage to us, when it hath no other End than to enlarge the Territories of the *Dutch*, and encrease the Fame
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and Wealth of our *General*, I conclude, however it comes about, that Things are not as they should be; and that surely our Forces and Money might be better employed, both towards reducing our Enemy, and working out some Benefit to our selves. But the Case is still much harder, We are destroying many thousand Lives, exhausting all our Substance, not for our own Interest, which would be but common Prudence; not for a Thing indifferent, which would be sufficient Folly, but perhaps to our own Destruction, which is perfect Madness. We may live to feel the Effects of our Valour more sensibly than all the Consequences we imagine from the Dominions of *Spain* in the Duke of *Anjou*. We have Conquered a noble Territory for the *States*, that will maintain sufficient Troops to Defend it self, feed many hundred thousand Inhabitants, where all Encouragement will be given to introduce and improve Manufactures, which was the only Advantage they wanted; and which, added to their Skill, Industry and Parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every Market of the World.

Our Supply of Forty thousand Men, according to the first Stipulation, added to the Quota's of the Emperor and *Holland*, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an Army of near Two hundred thousand, exclusive of Garrisons; enough to withstand all the Power that *France* could bring against it; and we might have employed the
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rest much better, both for the common Cause and our own Advantage.

The War in *Spain* must be imputed to the Credulity of our Ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial Court, that the *Spaniards* were so violently affected to the House of *Austria*, as upon the first Appearance there, with a few Troops under the Archduke, the whole Kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried, and found the Emperor to have deceived either Us or Himself: Yet there we drove on the War at a prodigious Disadvantage, with great Expence; And by a most corrupt Management, the only General, who by a Course of Conduct and Fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into Possession of the Kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the Envy of his Rivals, disappointed by the Caprices of a young unexperienced Prince, under the Guidance of a rapacious *German* Ministry, and at last called home in Discontent: By which our Armies, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, were made a Sacrifice to Avarice, Ill-conduct, or Treachery.

In common Prudence, we should either have pushed that War with the utmost Vigor, in so fortunate a Juncture, especially since the gaining that Kingdom was the great Point for which we pretended to continue the War, or at least when we had *found* or *made* that Design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a Management of it; but have kept our Troops on the Defensive in *Catalonia*,

talonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the Common Enemy, and advantaging Ourselves.

And what a noble Field of Honour and Profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our Strength, which, against all the Maxims of *British* Policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected? I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the Style of *Maritime Powers*, by which our Allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the *Dutch*, did never put us in mind of the Sea; and while some Politicians were shewing us the way to *Spain* by *Flanders*, others by *Savoy* or *Naples*, that the *West-Indies* should never come into their Hands. With half the Charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original Quota of Forty thousand Men in *Flanders*, and at the same time, by our Fleets and Naval Forces, have so distressed the *Spaniards* in the North and South Seas of *America*, as to prevent any Returns of Money from thence, except in our own Bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a Maritime Power: This, with any common-degree of Success, would soon have compelled *France* to the Necessities of a Peace, and *Spain* to acknowledge the Archduke. But while We, for Ten Years, have been squandering away our Money upon the Continent, *France* hath been wisely engrossing all the Trade of *Peru*, going directly with their Ships to *Lima*, and other Ports, and there receiving
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Ingot's of Gold and Silver for *French* Goods of little Value; which, beside the mighty Advantage to their Nation at present, may divert the Channel of that Trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast Sums at *Cadiz*, for our Goods sent thence to the *Spanish West-Indies*. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least Attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private Men at *Bristol*, who inflamed by a true Spirit of Courage and Industry, did, about three Years ago, with a few Vessels, fitted out at their own Charge, make a most successful Voyage into those Parts, tooke one of the *Aquapulco* Ships, very narrowly mist of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied Wealth; to shew us what might have been done with the like Management, by a publick Undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great Returns of Mony to *France* and *Spain*, though we could not have taken it our selves. And if it be true, as the Advocates for War would have it, that the *French* are now so impoverished; in what Condition must they have been, if that Issue of Wealth had been stopped?

But great Events often turn upon very small Circumstances. It was the Kingdom's Misfortune, that the Sea was not the Duke of *Marlborough's* Element, otherwise the whole Force of the War would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the Advantage of his Country, which would then have gone
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hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, That if we alone had made such an Attempt as this, *Holland* would have been Jealous; or if we had done it in Conjunction with *Holland*, the House of *Austria* would have been discontented. This hath been the Style of late Years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our Allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any Imagination, that while we are Confederates in a War, with those who are to have the whole Profit, and who leave a double share of the Burthen upon Us, we dare not think of any Design, though against the Common Enemy, where there is the least Prospect of doing Good to our own Country, for fear of giving Umbrage and Offence to our Allies; while we are ruining our selves to Conquer Provinces and Kingdoms for Them. I therefore confess with Shame, that this Objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the Design of Mr. *Hill's* Expedition remained a Secret, it was suspected in *Holland* and *Germany* to be intended against *Peru*; whereupon the *Dutch* made every where their Publick Complaints, and the Ministers at *Vienna* talked of it as *an Insolence in the Qu—* to attempt such an Undertaking; which, however it has failed, partly by the Accidents of a Storm, and partly by the Stubbornness or Treachery of some in that Colony, for whose Relief, and at whose Entreaty it was in some measure designed, is no Objection

tion at all to an Enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair Probability of Success.

It was something singular that the *States* should express their Uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some Attempt in the *Spanish West-Indies*; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is Conquered there, by Us or Them, shall belong to the Conqueror: Which is the only Article that I can call to mind, in all our Treaties or Stipulations, with any view of Interest to this Kingdom; and for that very Reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a Reflection, examine the whole Management of the present War by Sea and Land with all our Alliances, Treaties, Stipulations and Conventions, and consider, whether the whole does not look as if some particular Care and Industry had been used, to prevent any Benefit or Advantage that might possibly accrue to *Britain*.

This kind of Treatment from our two Principal Allies, hath taught the same Dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty Prince, whom we half maintain by Subsidies and Pensions, who is not ready, upon every Occasion, to threaten Us, that He will recal His Troops (though they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with Him in any Demand, however so unreasonable.

UPON the Third Head I shall produce some Instances, to shew how tamely we have
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suffered

suffered each of our Allies to infringe every Article in those Treaties and Stipulations by which they were bound, and to lay the Load upon Us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large Subject, I shall take leave to offer a few Remarks on certain Articles in three of our Treaties; which may let us perceive, how much those Ministers valued or understood the true Interest, Safety, or Honour of their Country.

We have made two Alliances with *Portugal*, an Offensive and Defensive: The first is to remain in force only during the present War; the second to be Perpetual. In the Offensive Alliance, the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland* are Parties with *Portugal*; in the Defensive only We and the *States*.

Upon the first Article of the Offensive Alliance it is to be observed, that although the Grand Alliance, as I have already said, allows *England* and *Holland* to possess for their own, whatever each of them shall Conquer in the *Spanish West-Indies*; yet here we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the Arch-Duke shall possess the Dominions of *Spain* in as full a manner as their late King *Charles*. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very Article in favour of *Portugal*, by subsequent Stipulations; where we agree, that King *Charles* shall deliver up *Estremadura*, *Vigo*, and some other Places to the *Portuguese*, as soon as we can Conquer them from the Enemy. They
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who were guilty of so much Folly and Contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from Corruption or Stupidity.

By two other Articles (beside the Honour of being Convoys and Guards in ordinary to the *Portuguese* Ships and Coasts) we are to guess the Enemies Thoughts, and to take the King of *Portugal's* Word, whenever he has a Fancy that he shall be invaded: We also are to furnish him with a Strength superior to what the Enemy intends to invade any of his Dominions with, let that be what it will: And, 'till we know what the Enemy's Forces are, His *Portuguese* Majesty is sole Judge what Strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an Invasion; and may send our Fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his Errands, to some of the furthest Parts of the World, or keep them attending upon his own Coasts till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These Fleets must likewise be subject, in all things, not only to the King, but to his Viceroys, Admirals and Governours, in any of his foreign Dominions, when he is in a Humour to apprehend an Invasion; which, I believe, is an Indignity that was never offered before, except to a Conquered Nation.

In the Defensive Alliance with that Crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only *England* and *Holland* are Parties with them, the same Care, in almost the same Words, is taken for our Fleet to attend their Coasts and foreign Dominions, and to be under the same

Obedience. We and the *States* are likewise to furnish them with twelve Thousand Men at our own Charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the *Portuguese* Generals.

In the Offensive Alliance we took no care of having the Assistance of *Portugal*, whenever we should be invaded: But in this, it seems, we were wiser; for that King is obliged to make War on *France* or *Spain*, whenever we or *Holland* are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same Forces, both by Sea and Land, as if he were invaded himself: And this must needs be a very prudent and safe Course for a Maritime Power to take upon a sudden Invasion; by which, instead of making use of our Fleets and Armies for our own Defence, we must send them abroad for the Defence of *Portugal*.

By the Thirteenth Article we are told, what this Assistance is which the *Portuguese* are to give us, and upon what Conditions. They are to furnish Ten Men of War; and when *England* or *Holland* shall be invaded by *France* and *Spain* together, or by *Spain* alone; in either of these Cases, those Ten *Portuguese* Men of War are to serve only upon their own Coasts; where, no doubt, they will be of mighty Use to their Allies, and Terror to the Enemy.

How the *Dutch* were drawn to have a Part in either of these two Alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor, I suppose,
ever

ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the Load upon us.

Let any Man read these two Treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine, that the King of *Portugal* and his Ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their Allies to Sign; the whole Spirit and Tenor of them, quite thro', running only upon this single Point, What We and *Holland* are to do for *Portugal*, without any mention of an Equivalent, except those Ten Ships, which at the time when we have greatest need of their Assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own Coasts.

The Barrier-Treaty between *Great Britain* and *Holland*, was concluded at the *Hague* on the 29th of *October*, in the Year 1709. In this Treaty, neither Her Majesty, nor Her Kingdoms, have any Interest or Concern, farther than what is mentioned in the Second and the Twentieth Articles: By the former, the States are to assist the Queen in Defending the Act of Succession; and by the other, not to Treat of a Peace 'till *France* acknowledges the Queen and the Succession of *Hanover*, and promises to remove the *Pretender* out of his Dominions.

As to the first of these, It is certainly for the Safety and Interest of the *States-General*, that the Protestant Succession should be preserved in *England*; because such a Popish Prince as we apprehend, would infallibly join with *France* in the Ruin of that Republick. And the *Dutch* are as much bound to support

our Succession, as they are tied to any Part of a Treaty of League Offensive and Defensive, against a Common Enemy, without any separate Benefit upon that Consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable Possession of Her Kingdoms, and of the Hearts of Her People; among whom, hardly one in five hundred are in the *Pretender's* Interest. And whether the Assistance of the *Dutch*, to preserve a Right so well established, be an Equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant Articles in the rest of the Treaty, let the World judge. What an Impression of our Settlement must it give Abroad, to see our Ministers offering such Conditions to the *Dutch*, to prevail on them to be Guarantees of our Acts of Parliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point of Policy or good Sense, that a Foreign Power should be called in to confirm our Succession by way of Guarantee; but only to acknowledge it. Otherwise we put it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession, without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee; however our Posterity may hereafter, by the Tyranny and Oppression of any succeeding Princes, be reduced to the fatal Necessity of breaking in upon the excellent and happy Settlement now in force.

As to the other Article, it is a natural Consequence that must attend any Treaty of Peace we can make with *France*; being only the Acknowledgment of Her Majesty as Queen of Her own Dominions, and the Right of Succession

cession by our own Laws, which no Foreign Power hath any Pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty Advantages from the *States*, the rest of the Treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the Grand Alliance, which was the Foundation of the present War, the *Spanish Low-Countries* were to be recovered and delivered to the King of *Spain*: But by this Treaty, that Prince is to possess nothing in *Flanders* during the War: And after a Peace, the *States* are to have the Military Command of about twenty Towns with their Dependances, and four hundred thousand Crowns a Year from the King of *Spain* to maintain their Garrisons. By which means they will have the Command of all *Flanders*, from *Newport* on the Sea to *Namar* on the *Maese*, and be entirely Masters of the *Pais de Waas*, the richest part of those Provinces. Further, they have liberty to Garrison any Place they shall think fit in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, whenever there is an Appearance of War; and consequently to put Garrisons into *Ostend*, or where else they please, upon a Rupture with *England*.

By this Treaty likewise, the *Dutch* will, in effect, be entire Masters of all the *Low-Countries*, may impose Duties, Restrictions in Commerce, and Prohibitions at their Pleasure; and in that fertile Country may set up all sorts of Manufactures, particularly the Wool-
len, by inviting the disobliged Manufacturers

in *Ireland*, and the *French* Refugees, who are scattered all over *Germany*. And as this Manufacture encreases abroad, the Cloathing People of *England* will be necessitated, for want of Employment, to follow ; and in few Years, by help of the low Interest of Mony in *Holland*, *Flanders* may recover that beneficial Trade which we got from them : The Landed Men of *England* will then be forced to re-establish the Staples of Wool abroad ; and the *Dutch*, instead of being only the Carriers, will become the original Possessors of those Commodities, with which the greatest Part of the Trade of the World is now carried on. And as they increase their Trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their Strength at Sea, and that ours must lessen in Proportion.

All the Ports in *Flanders* are to be subject to the like Duties the *Dutch* shall lay upon the *Scheld*, which is to be closed on the side of the *States* : Thus all other Nations are, in effect, shut out from Trading with *Flanders*. Yet in the very same Article it is said, That the *States* shall be favoured in all the *Spanish Dominions* as much as *Great Britain*, or as the People most favoured. We have Conquered *Flanders* for them, and are in a worse Condition, as to our Trade there, than before the War began. We have been the great Support of the King of *Spain*, to whom the *Dutch* have hardly contributed any thing at all ; and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his *Dominions*. Of all this the Queen is under the

the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee, and that they shall possess their Barrier, and their four hundred thousand Crowns a Year, even before a Peace.

It is to be observed, That this Treaty was only Signed by one of our Plenipotentiaries : And I have been told, That the other was heard to say, He would rather lose his Right-hand, than set it to such a Treaty. Had he spoke those Words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the Water, considering the Credit he then had at Court, he might have saved much of his Country's Honour, and got as much to himself : Therefore, if the Report be true, I am inclined to think He only SAID it. I have been likewise told, That some very necessary Circumstances were wanting in the Entrance upon this Treaty ; but the Ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Safety of their Country, than not ratify what one of their Favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our Allies have observed those Treaties they made with Us, and the several Stipulations and Agreements pursuant to them.

By the Grand Alliance between the Empire, *England* and *Holland*, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by Sea and Land. By a Convention subsequent to this Treaty, the Proportions which the several Parties should contribute towards the War, were adjusted in the following manner. The Emperor

peror was obliged to furnish ninety Thousand Men against *France*, either in *Italy*, or upon the *Rhine* : *Holland* to bring sixty Thousand into the Field in *Flanders*, exclusive of Garrisons ; and we forty Thousand. In Winter, 1702. which was the next Year, the Duke of *Marlborough* proposed the raising of Ten Thousand Men more, by way of Augmentation, and to carry on the War with greater Vigour ; to which the Parliament agreed, and the *Dutch* were to raise the same Number. This was upon a *Par*, directly contrary to the former Stipulation, whereby our Part was to be a Third less than theirs ; and therefore it was granted, with a Condition, that *Holland* should break off all Trade and Commerce with *France*. But this Condition was never executed, the *Dutch* only amusing us with a specious Declaration till our Session of Parliament was ended ; and the following Year it was taken off, by concert between our General and the *States*, without any Reason assigned for the Satisfaction of the Kingdom. The next and some ensuing Campaigns, further additional Forces were allowed by Parliament for the War in *Flanders* ; and in every new Supply, the *Dutch* gradually lessened their Proportions ; though the Parliament addressed the Queen that the *States* might be desired to observe them according to Agreement ; which had no other Effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their Troops Nominal Corps, as they did by keep-
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ing up the Numbers of Regiments, but sinking a fifth Part of the Men and Mony. So that now things are just inverted, and in all new Levies we contribute a third more than the *Dutch*, who at first were obliged to the same Proportion more than us.

Besides, the more Towns we Conquer for the *States*, the worse Condition we are in towards reducing the Common Enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the War. For they make no Scruple of employing the Troops of their Quota, towards Garrisoning every Town as fast as it is taken, directly contrary to the Agreement between us, by which all Garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by several Steps, to such a Height, that there are at present in the Field, not so many Forces under the Duke of M—'s Command in *Flanders*, as *Britain* alone maintains for that Service, nor have been for some Years past. The Troops we maintain in *Flanders*, (as appears by the Votes of the House of Commons for the Year, 1709.) are Forty thousand the original Quota; Ten thousand the first Augmentation; three thousand *Palatines*; four thousand six hundred thirty nine *Saxons*; *Bothmer's* Regiment of eight hundred Men; and a further Augmentation taken that Year into the Service of about two thousand; making in the whole upwards of sixty thousand; And it is well known, that the Battles of *Hochstet* and *Ramelles* were fought with not above Fifty thousand Men on a side.

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The Duke of *Marlborough* having entered the Enemies Lines, and taking *Bouchain*, formed the Design of keeping so great a Number of Troops, and particularly of Cavalry, in *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, and the Country between, as should be able to harass all the Neighbouring Provinces of *France*, during the Winter, prevent the Enemy from erecting their Magazines, and by consequence, from Subsisting their Forces next Spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their Army another Year, without going back behind the *Soame* to do it. In order to effect this Project, it was necessary to be at an Expence extraordinary of Forage for the Troops, of building Stables, finding Fire and Candle for the Soldiers, with other incident Charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish Her Share of the first Article, that of the Forage, which only belonged to Her. But the *States* insisting, that Her Majesty should likewise come into a Proportion of the other Articles, which in Justice belonged totally to them : She agreed even to that, rather than a Design of this Importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the *Dutch* refused their Consent, 'till the time was past for putting it in Execution, even in the Opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain Article in the Treaties of Contributions, submitted to by such of the *French* Dominions as pay them to the *States*, was the principal Cause of defeating this Project ; since one great Advantage to have been gained by it, was, as be-

before is mentioned, to have hindred the Enemy from erecting their Magazines: and one Article in those Treaties of Contributions is, that the Product of those Countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the Question was reduced to this short Issue, Whether the *Dutch* should lose this poultry Benefit, or the Common Cause an Advantage of such mighty Importance?

The Sea being the Element where we might most probably carry on the War with any Advantage to our selves, it was agreed that we should bear five Eighths of the Charge in that Service, and the *Dutch* the other three: And by the Grand Alliance, whatever we or *Holland* should Conquer in the *Spanish West-Indies*, was to accrue to the Conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *Maritime Ally* of ours, would have made up in their Fleet, what they fell short in their Army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their Quota either of Ships or Men; or if some few of their Fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated to look to their Merchants and protect their Trade. And we may remember very well when these *Guarantees of our Succession*, after having not one Ship for many Months together in the *Mediterranean*, sent that part of their Quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the Rumour of an Invasion. And last Year, when Sir *James Wisbart*

Wilbart was dispatched into *Holland* to expostulate with the *States*, and to desire they would make good their Agreements, in so important a part of the Service; he met with such a Reception as ill became a Republick to give, that lies under so many great Obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve, who are content to take.

It hath likewise been no small Inconvenience to us, that the *Dutch* are always slow in paying their Subsidies, by which means the weight and pressure of the Payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the Blame, if Her Majesty be not very exact; nor will even this always content our Allies. For in *July* 1711, the King of *Spain* was paid all his Subsidies to the first of *January* next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of Money; and his Secretary threatned, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King C—s had not at that time, one third of the Troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither Paid nor Cloathed.

I shall add one Example more, to show how this Prince has treated the Q—n, to whom he owes such infinite Obligations. Her Majesty borrowed Two hundred thousand Pounds from the *Genoese*, and sent it to *Barcelona*, for the Payment of the *Spanish* Army: This Money was to be re-coined into the current Species of *Catalonia*, which by the Allay is lower in Value 25 *l. per Cent.* The Q—n expected, as she had

had Reason, to have the Benefit of this Re-coinage, offering to apply it All to the Use of the War ; but K---g C---s, instead of consenting to this, made a Grant of the Coinage to one of his Courtiers ; which put a stop to the Work : And when it was represented, that the Army would Starve by this Delay, his Majesty only replied, *Let them Starve!* and would not recal his Grant.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another Passage concerning Subsidies, to shew what Opinion Foreigners have of our Easiness, and how much they reckon themselves Masters of our Mony, whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by Agreement to pay Two hundred thousand Crowns a Year to the *Prussian* Troops, the *States* One hundred thousand, and the Emperor only Thirty thousand, for Recruiting, which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince *Eugene* happening to pass by *Berlin*, the Ministers of that Court applied themselves to him for Redress in this Particular ; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that in Consideration of this Deficiency, *Britain* and the *States* should encrease their Subsidies to Seventy thousand Crowns more between them, and that the Emperor should be punctual for the time to come : This was done by that Prince, without any Orders or Power whatsoever. The *Dutch* very reasonably refused consenting to it ; but the *Prussian* Minister here, making his Applications at our Court, prevailed on us to agree to our
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Proportion, before we could hear what Resolution would be taken in *Holland*. It is therefore to be hoped, that his *Prussian* Majesty, at the end of this War, will not have the same grievous Cause of Complaint, which he had at the Close of the last; that his Military-Chest was emptier by Twenty thousand Crowns, than at the time that War began.

The Emperor, as we have already said, was by Stipulation to furnish Ninety thousand Men against the Common Enemy, as having no Fleets to maintain, and in Right of his Family being most concerned in the Success of the War. However, this Agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the Beginning of the War to this Day, neither of the two last Emperors had ever Twenty thousand Men, on their own Account, in the Common Cause, excepting once in *Italy*; when the Imperial Court exerted it self in a Point they have much more at heart than that of gaining *Spain* or the *Indies* to their Family. When they had succeeded in their Attempts on the side of *Italy*, and observed our blind Zeal for pushing on the War at all Adventures, they soon found out the most effectual Expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large Presents to one *single Person*, than to pay an Army, and turn to as good Account. They thought they could not put their Affairs into better Hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their Battles.

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Besides, it appeared by several Instances, how little the Emperor regarded his Allies, or the Cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the Empire it self was secure. 'Tis known enough, that he might several Times have made a Peace with his discontented Subjects in *Hungary*, upon Terms not at all unbecoming either his Dignity or Interest: But he rather chose to sacrifice the whole Alliance to his private Passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable People, who had but too much Provocation to take up Arms to free themselves from the Oppressions under which they were groaning: Yet this must serve as an Excuse for breaking his Agreement, and diverting so great a Body of Troops, which might have been employed against *France*.

Another Instance of the Emperor's Indifference, or rather Dislike to the Common Cause of the Allies, is the Business of *Toulon*. This Design was indeed discovered here at home, by a Person whom every body knows to be the Creature of a certain *Great Man*, at least as much noted for his Skill in Gaming as in Politicks, upon the base mercenary End of getting Money by Wagers; which was then so common a Practice, that I remember a Gentleman in Employment, who having the Curiosity to enquire how Wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found some People, deep in the Secret, to have been concerned in that kind of Traffick, as appeared by Præmiums named for Towns, which

no body but those behind the Curtain could suspect. However, although this Project had gotten wind by so scandalous a Proceeding, yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very Juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand Men to seize *Naples*, as an Enterprize that was more his private and immediate Interest. But it was manifest that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see *Toulon* in Possession of the Allies; for even with these Discouragements the Attempt might have yet succeeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own Judgment, but to some Politick Reasons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the Enemy, as soon as our Army arrived; but when the Marechal de *Theffe's* Troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the Place, in the Condition we were at that time, was a Farce and a Jest. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our Hands, the Maritime Power of *France* would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater Instance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded Us or Our Quarrel, after all we had done to save his Imperial Crown, and to assert the Title of his Brother to the Monarchy of *Spain*, may be brought from the Proceedings of that Court not many Months ago. It was judged, that a War carried on upon the side of *Italy*, would cause a great Diversion of
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the *French* Forces, wound them in a very tender Part, and facilitate the Progress of our Arms in *Spain*, as well as *Flanders*. It was proposed to the Duke of *Savoy* to make this Diversion; and not only a Diversion during the Summer, but the Winter too, by taking Quarters on this side of the Hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this Work, two Points were to be settled. First, It was necessary to end the Dispute between the Imperial Court, and his Royal Highness; which had no other Foundation, than the Emperor's refusing to make good some Articles of that Treaty, on the Faith of which the Duke engaged in the present War, and for the Execution whereof *Britain* and *Holland* became Guarantees, at the Request of the late Emperor *Leopold*. To remove this Difficulty, the Earl of *Peterborow* was dispatched to *Vienna*, got over some part of those Disputes, to the Satisfaction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated, at the time the Emperor *Joseph* died. Upon which great Event, the Duke of *Savoy* took the Resolution of putting himself immediately at the Head of the Army, though the whole Matter was not finished, since the Common Cause required his Assistance; and that until a new Emperor were Elected, it was impossible to make good the Treaty to Him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the Imperial Court with

eight Thousand Men, before the end of the Campaign. Mr. *Whitworth* was sent to *Vienna* to make this Proposal, and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty Thousand Pounds for the March of those eight Thousand Men, if he found it was want of Ability, and not Inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the Ministers of that Court did not so much as give him an Opportunity to tempt them with any particular Sums; but cut off all his Hopes at once, by alleging the Impossibility of complying with the Queen's Demands, upon any Consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old Excuse of the War in *Hungary*, which was then brought to an end: They had nothing to offer but some general Speculative Reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much Delay, and many trifling Pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an Assistance; to the Ruin of a Project that would have more terrified *France*, and caused a greater Diversion of their Forces, than a much more numerous Army in any other Part. Thus, for want of eight Thousand Men, for whose Winter Campaign the Queen was willing to give forty Thousand Pounds; and for want of executing the Design I lately mentioned, of hindring the Enemy from erecting Magazines, towards which Her Majesty was ready, not only to bear Her own Proportion, but

but a Share of that which the *States* were obliged to, our Hopes of taking Winter-Quarters in the North and South Parts of *France* are eluded, and the War left in that Method, which is like to continue it longest. Can there an Example be given in the whole Course of this War, where we have treated the pettiest Prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our Assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate Apprehensions of being invaded?

When *Portugal* came, as a Confederate, into the Grand Alliance, it was stipulated, That the Empire, *England* and *Holland*, should each maintain Four thousand Men of their own Troops in that Kingdom, and pay between them a Million of Pattacoons to the King of *Portugal*, for the Support of Twenty eight thousand *Portuguese*; which number of Forty thousand, was to be the Confederate Army against *Spain* on the *Portugal* side. This Treaty was ratified by all the Three Powers. But in a short time after, the Emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the Agreement, and so left the Two thirds upon Us; who very generously undertook that Burthen, and at the same time Two Thirds of the Subsidies for Maintenance of the *Portuguese* Troops. But neither is this the worst Part of the Story: For, although the *Dutch* did indeed send their own parti-

cular Quota of Four thousand Men to *Portugal*, (which however they would not agree to, but upon Condition, that the other Two thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them: For in the Year 1706. the *Portuguese*, *British* and *Dutch* Forces, having marched with the E. of G——y into *Castile*, and by the noble Conduct of that General, being forced to retire into *Valencia*. it was found necessary to raise a new Army on the *Portugal* side; where the Queen hath, at several times, encreased Her Establishment to Ten thousand five hundred Men, and the *Dutch* never re-placed one single Man, nor paid one Penny of their Subsidies to *Portugal* in six Years.

The *Spanish* Army on the side of *Catalonia* is, or ought to be, about Fifty thousand Men (exclusive of *Portugal*): And here the War hath been carried on almost entirely at our Cost. For this whole Army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven Battalions and fourteen Squadrons of *Dutch* and *Palatines*; and even Fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our Pay; besides the Sums given to King *Charles* for Subsidies and the Maintenance of his Court. Neither are our Troops at *Gibraltar* included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the Charge of Transporting the Forces first sent from *Genoa* to *Barcelona*; and of all the Imperial Recruits from time to time: And have likewise paid vast Sums as Levy-Mony, for every individual Man and Horse

Horse so furnished to Recruit, tho' the Horses were scarce worth the Price of Transportation. But this hath been almost the constant Misfortune of our Fleet, during the present War ; instead of being employed on some Enterprize for the Good of the Nation, or even for the Protection of our Trade, to be wholly taken up in Transporting Soldiers.

We have actually Conquered all *Bavaria*, *Ulm*, *Ausburg*, *Landau*, and a great part of *Alsace*, for the Emperor : And by the Troops we have furnished, the Armies we have paid, and the Diversions we have given to the Enemies Forces, have chiefly contributed to the Conquests of *Milan*, *Mantua* and *Mirandola*, and to the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Modena*. The last Emperor drained the Wealth of those Countries into his own Coffers, without encreasing his Troops against *France* by such mighty Acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable Requests we have made.

Of the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, we have consented, by the Barrier-Treaty, that all those which were not in Possession of *Spain*, upon the Death of the late Catholick King, shall be part of the *States* Dominions, and that they shall have the Military Power in the most considerable of the rest ; which is, in effect, to be the absolute Sovereigns of the whole. And the *Hollanders* have already made such good use of their Time, that, in Conjunction with our G——, the Oppressions of *Flanders* are much greater than ever.

And this Treatment, which we have received from our two principal Allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other Princes in the Confederacy, with whom we have any Dealings. For Instance, Seven *Portugueze* Regiments after the Battle of *Almanza*, went off, with the rest of that broken Army, to *Catalonia*; the King of *Portugal* said, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his Country; the Queen consented therefore to do it Herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their Place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his Subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord G———, for almost four Years, without any Deduction upon Account of those Seven Regiments; directly contrary to the Seventh Article of our Offensive Alliance with that Crown, where it is agreed, that a Deduction shall be made out of those Subsidies, in Proportion to the number of Men wanting in that Complement, which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the Reasons for this Proceeding, it seems they are above the Understanding of the present Lord Treasurer; who not entring into those Refinements, of paying the *publick* Money upon *private* Considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This Disappointment, I suppose, hath put the Court of *Lisbon* upon other Expedients of raising the Price of Forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number

of Troops; or be at double Expence in maintaining them; and this at a time when their own Product, as well as the Import of Corn, was never greater; And of demanding a Duty upon the Soldiers Cloaths we carry over for those Troops, which have been their sole Defence against an inveterate Enemy; and whose Example might have infused Courage, as well as taught them Discipline, if their Spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our Forces every Year, in the same Proportion as those, for whom we Fight, diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire Troops from several Princes of the Empire, whose Ministers and Residents here, have perpetually importuned the Court with unreasonable Demands, under which our late Ministers thought fit to be Passive. For those Demands were always backed with a Threat to recall their Soldiers, which was a Thing not to be heard of, because it might *Discontent the Dutch*. In the meantime those Princes never sent their Contingent to the Emperor, as by the Laws of the Empire they are obliged to do, but gave for their Excuse, that we had already hired all they could spare.

BUT if all this be true: If, according to what I have affirmed, we began this War contrary to Reason: If, as the other Party themselves, upon all Occasions, acknowledge, the Success we have had was more than we
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could reasonably expect: If, after all our Success, we have not made that use of it, which in Reason we ought to have done: If we have made weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies, suffered them tamely to break every Article, even in those Bargains to our Disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant when We were gaining Towns, Provinces and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Prospect of Interest to our selves: If we have consumed all our Strength in attacking the Enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expressed it) *to engage with France, was to take a Bull by the Horns*; and left wholly unattempted, that part of the War, which could only enable us to continue or to end it. If all this, I say, be our Case, it is a very obvious Question to ask, by what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of Europe? Sure it cannot be owing to to the Stupidity arising from the coldness of our Climate, since those among our Allies, who have given us most Reason to complain, are as far removed from the Sun as our selves.

If in laying open the real Causes of our present Misery, I am forced to speak with some Freedom, I think it will require no Apology; Reputation is the smallest Sacrifice Those can make us, who have been the
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Instruments of our Ruin ; because it is That, for which in all Probability they have the least Value. So that in exposing the Actions of such Persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an Injury. But as it will be some Satisfaction to the People, to know by whom they have been so long abused ; so it may be of great use to Us and our Posterity, not to trust the Safety of their Country in the Hands of those, who act by such Principles, and from such Motives.

I have already observed, that when the Counsels of this War were debated in the late King's Time, my Lord G——— was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his Employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that Prince's Death, although the Grounds of our Quarrel with *France* had received no manner of Addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his Sentiments ; for the Scene was quite changed ; his Lordship, and the Family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an Alliance, were in the highest Credit possible with the Q——n : The Treasurer's Staff was ready for his Lordship, the Duke was to Command the Army, and the Dutches, by her Employments, and the Favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's Person ; by which the whole Power, at Home and Abroad, would be devolved upon that Family. This was a Prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the Truth, it could not
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be easily withstood by any who have so keen an Appetite for Wealth or Ambition. By an Agreement subsequent to the Grand Alliance, we were to assist the *Dutch* with Forty thousand Men, all to be Commanded by the D. of M. So that whether this War were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true Spring or Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family, and in short, a War of the *General* and the *Ministry*, and not of the *Prince* or *People*; since those very Persons were against it when they knew the Power, and consequently the Profit, would be in other Hands.

With these Measures fell in all that Sett of People, who are called the *Monied Men*; such as had raised vast Sums by Trading with Stocks and Funds, and Lending upon great Interest and Præmiums; whose perpetual Harvest is War, and whose beneficial way of Traffick must very much decline by a Peace.

In that whole Chain of Encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced, and under those several gross Impositions from other *Powers*, if any one should ask, why our G——l continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unmeasurable Love of Wealth, which his best Friends allow to be his predominant Passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is Personal upon this Subject. I shall say nothing of those great Presents made

made by several Princes, which the Soldiers used to call Winter Foraging, and said it was better than that of the Summer; of Two and an half *per Cent.* substracted out of all the Subsidies we pay in those Parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable Sum; and lastly, of the grand Perquisites in a long successful War, which are so amicably adjusted between Him and the States.

But when the War was thus begun, there soon fell in other Incidents here at home, which made the Continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief Advisers. The *Whigs* were at that time out of all Credit or Consideration: The reigning Favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory Principle*, at least, as high as our Constitution could bear; and most others in great Employments, were wholly in the Church-Interest. These last, among whom several were Persons of the greatest Merit, Quality, and Consequence, were not able to endure the many Instances of Pride, Insolence, Avarice and Ambition, which those Favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be the sole Dispensers of the Royal Favour. However, their Opposition was to no Purpose; they wrestled with too great a Power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in Possession finding they could never be quiet in their Usurpations, while others had any Credit, who were at least upon an equal

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Foot of Merit, began to make Overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any Terms of Accomodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much Application. The great Traders in Money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them. The Army, the Court, and the Treasury, continued under the old *Despotick* Administration: The *Whigs* were received into Employment, left to manage the Parliament, cry down the Landed Interest, and worry the Church. Mean time, our Allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial Structure had no true Foundation in the Hearts of the People, resolved to make their best use of it, as long as it should last. And the General's Credit being raised to a great height at home, by our Success in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* began their gradual Impositions; lessening their Quota's, breaking their Stipulations, Garrisoning the Towns we took for them, without supplying their Troops; with many other Infringements: All which we were forced to submit to, because the General was *made easie*; because the Monied Men at home were fond of the War; because the *Whigs* were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of Power, which was built upon a supposed Necessity of employing particular Persons, would go off in a Peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor,

peror, and other Princes, followed the Example of the *Dutch*, and succeeded as well, for the same Reasons.

I have here imputed the Continuance of the War to the mutual Indulgence between our General and Allies, wherein they both so well found their Accounts; to the Fears of the *Money-changers*, lest their *Tables* should be *overthrown*; to the Designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the Loss of their Credit and Employments in a Peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate Engrossments of Power and Favour, by no other Tenure, than their own Presumption upon the Necessity of Affairs. The Truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what Unanimity and Concert these several Parties acted towards that great End.

When the Vote passed in the House of Lords, against any Peace without *Spain* being restored to the *Austrian* Family, the Earl of *W——n* told the House, That it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover *Spain*; but however, there were *certain Reasons*, why such a Vote should be made at that time; which Reasons wanted no Explanation: For the General and the Ministry having refused to accept very Advantageous Offers of a Peace, after the Battle of *Ramellies*, were forced to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to skreen them from the Consequences of that Mis-

Miscarriage. And accordingly upon the first succeeding Opportunity, which was that of the Prince of *Denmark's* Death, the Chief Leaders of the Party were brought into several great Employments.

So when the Queen was no longer able to bear the Tyranny and Insolence of those ungrateful Servants, who as they *waxed the Fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great Allies abroad, and our Stock-jobbers at home, took immediate Alarm; applied the nearest way to the Throne, by Memorials and Messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change Her Secretary or Treasurer; who for the true Reasons that these officious Intermedlers demanded their Continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least Degree of Trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the Interest of their Native Country, to those Princes, who in their Turns, were to do what they could to support Them in Power at home.

Thus it plainly appears, that there was a Conspiracy on all sides to go on with those Measures, which must perpetuate the War; and a Conspiracy founded upon the Interest and Ambition of each Party; which begat so firm a Union, that instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think, how it came to be broken. The Prudence, Courage, and Firmness of Her Majesty in all the Steps of that great Change, would, if the
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Particulars were truly related, make a very shining Part in Her Story: Nor is Her Judgment less to be admired, which directed Her in the Choice of perhaps the only Persons who had Skill, Credit, and Resolution enough to be Her Instruments in overthrowing so many Difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the Merit of this, by telling us, that the Rudeness, the Tyranny, the Oppression, the Ingratitude of the late Favourites towards their Mistress, were no longer to be born. They produce Instances to shew, how Her M—y was pursued through all Her Retreats, particularly at *Windsor*; where, after the Enemy had possessed themselves of every Inch of Ground, they at last attacked and stormed the Castle, forcing the Q—n to fly to an adjoining Cottage, pursuant to the Advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to dwell in a corner of the Housetop, than with a brawling Woman in a wide House.* They would have it, that such continued ill Usage was enough to enflame the meekest Spirit: They blame the Favourites in point of Policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an end of Her Patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another Opinion, and think their Proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest Spirits, as a continual Chain of Oppressions: One Injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third.

By these Steps, the old *Masters of the Palace* in *France* became *Masters of the Kingdom*; and by these Steps, a *G—l* during *Pleasure*, might have grown into a *General for Life*, and a *G—l for Life* into a *King*. So that I still insist upon it as a Wonder, how Her *M—y*, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate Her self.

HAVING thus mentioned the real Causes, though disguised under specious Pretences, which have so long continued the War; I must beg leave to reason a little, with those Persons who are against any Peace, but what they call a *Good One*; and explain themselves, that no Peace can be *good*, without an entire Restoration of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this Part of the Subject, will have little Influence on those, whose particular Ends or Designs of any sort, lead them to wish the Continuance of the War. I mean the General and our Allies abroad; the Knot of late Favourites at home; the Body of such, as Traffick in Stocks; and lastly, that Set of Factious Politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon *Clipping* our Constitution in Church and State. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whig* or *Tory*, whose private Interest is best answered by the Welfare of their Country. And if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till
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King *Charles* is quietly settled in the Monarchy of *Spain*, I believe there are several Points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

For, First, It is to be observed, that this Resolution against any Peace without *Spain*, is a new Incident, grafted upon the Original Quarrel, by the Intrigues of a Faction among us, who prevailed to give it the Sanction of a Vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those, whose Interest lay in perpetuating the War. And, as this Proceeding was against the Practice of all Princes and States, whose Intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common Prudence, as well as Justice. I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to controul Events, which are only in the Hands of God. Ours and the *States* Complaint against *France* and *Spain*, are deduced in each of our Declarations of War, and our Pretensions specified in the *Eighth Article* of the Grand Alliance; but there is not in any of these, the least mention of demanding *Spain* for the House of *Austria*; or of refusing any Peace without that Condition. Having already made an Extract from both Declarations of War, I shall here give a Translation of the Eighth Article in the Grand Alliance, which will put this Matter out of Dispute.

The Eighth ARTICLE of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the War is once undertaken, none of the Parties shall have the Liberty to enter upon a Treaty of Peace with the Enemy, but jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor is Peace to be made, without having first obtained a just and reasonable Satisfaction for his Cesarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular Security to the Lords the States-General, of their Dominions, Provinces, Titles, Navigation, and Commerce, and a sufficient Provision, that the Kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the Government of the same Person, or that the same Man may never be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in Possession of the Spanish West-Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of Navigation, for conveniency of Trade, under any Pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the Subjects of Great Britain and Holland, may have full Power to use and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunities and Liberties of Commerce, by Land and Sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the Places and Countries, which the late King of Spain, at the time of his Death, was in Possession of, as well
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in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the Subjects of both, or each Nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any Right, obtained before the Death of the said King of Spain, either by Treaties, Conventions, Custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here, we see the Demands intended to be insisted on by the Allies upon any Treaty of Peace, are, a just and reasonable Satisfaction for the Emperor and King of *Great Britain*, a Security to the *States-General* for their Dominions, &c. and a sufficient Provision, that *France* and *Spain* be never united under the same Man, as King of both Kingdoms. The rest relates to the Liberty of Trade and Commerce for Us and the *Dutch*; but not a Syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of *Anjou*.

But to know how this new Language of *No Peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the Partition Treaty, which begot the Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*: For this naturally led the *Spaniards* to receive a Prince supported by a great Power, whose Interest, as well as Affection, engaged them to preserve that Monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another Family, who must expect Assistance from a Number of Confede-

rates, whose principal Members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous Treaty parcelled out the Monarchy of *Spain*.

Thus the Duke of *Anjou* got into the full Possession of all the Kingdoms and States belonging to that Monarchy, as well in the old World, as the new. And whatever the House of *Austria* pretended from their Memorials to Us and the *States*, it was at that time but too apparent, that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* were on the Duke's side.

However, a War was resolved, and in order to carry it on with greater Vigor, a Grand Alliance formed, wherein the Ends proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God in the Course of this War, to bless the Armies of the Allies with remarkable Successes; by which we were soon put into a Condition of demanding and expecting such Terms of a Peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the War. But instead of this, our Victories only served to lead us on to further visionary Prospects; Advantage was taken of the Sanguin Temper, which so many Successes had wrought the Nation up to; new Romantick Views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober Design, was forgot.

This was the Artifice of those here, who were sure to grow Richer, as the Publick became poorer,

poorer, and who after the Resolutions, which the two Houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the War with Safety to themselves, till Malt and Land were Mortgaged, till a general Excise were established; and the *dizieme denier* raised, by *Collectors in Red Coats*. And this was just the Circumstance which it suited their Interests to be in.

The House of *Austria* approved this Scheme with Reason, since whatever would be obtained by the Blood and Treasure of others, was to accrue to that Family, and they only lent their Name to the Cause.

The *Dutch* might, perhaps, have grown resty under their Burthen; but Care was likewise taken of That by a *Barrier-Treaty* made with the *States*, which deserveth such Epithets as I care not to bestow: But may perhaps consider it, at a proper Occasion, in a *Discourse* by it self.

By this Treaty, the Condition of the War, with respect to the *Dutch*, was widely altered: They fought no longer for Security, but for Grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar our selves to render them *Formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if in the Treaty at *Gertruydenburg*, we could have been satisfied with such Terms of a Peace, as we proposed to our selves by the Grand Alliance, the *French* would not have allowed them? 'Tis plain, they offered many more, and much

greater, than ever we thought to insist on, when the War began: And they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them, since Conditions of Peace do certainly turn upon Events of War. But surely there is some Measure to be observed in this: Those who have defended the Proceedings of our Negotiators at *Gertruydenburg*, dwell very much upon their Zeal and Patience, in endeavouring to work the *French* up to their Demands, but say nothing to justify those Demands, or the Probability, that *France* would ever accept them. Some of the Preliminary Articles were so very Extravagant, that in all Human Probability we could not have obtained them by a successful War of forty Years. One of them was inconsistent with common Reason; wherein the Confederates reserved to themselves full Liberty of demanding, what further Conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time, *France* was to deliver up several of their strongest Towns in a Month. These Articles were very gravely Signed by our Plenipotentiaries, and those of *Holland*, but not by the *French*, though it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay they were brought over by the Secretary of the Ambassy; and the Ministers here prevailed on the Queen to execute a Ratification of Articles, which only one Part had Signed: This was an Absurdity in Form, as well as in Reason, because the usual Form of a Ratification is,

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with a Preamble, shewing, That *whereas Our Ministers and those of the Allies, and of the Enemy, have Signed, &c. We Ratify, &c.* The Person who brought over the Articles, said in all Companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a Pity, we had not demanded more, for the *French* were in a Disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our Plenipotentiaries affected to have the same Concern, and particularly, that we had not obtained some further Security for the Empire on the *Upper Rhine*.

What could be the Design of all this Grimace, but to amuse the People, and raise Stocks for their Friends in the Secret, to Sell to Advantage? I have too great a Respect for the Abilities of those, who acted in this Negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other Issue from it, than what we found by the Event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the War was the Thing at Heart, among those in Power, both Abroad, and at Home, and then I can easily shew the Consistency of their Proceedings; otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild Demands, ever sincerely intend a Peace? Did they really think that going on with the War was more eligible for their Country, than the least Abatement of those Conditions? Was the smallest of them worth Six Millions a Year, and an Hundred thousand Men's Lives? Was there

no

no way to provide for the Safety of *Britain*, or the Security of its Trade, but by the *French* Kings turning his own Arms to beat his Grandson out of *Spain*? If these able Statesmen were so truly concerned for our Trade, which they made the Pretence of the War's Beginning, as well as Continuance, why did they so neglect it in those very Preliminaries, where the Enemy made so many Concessions, and where all that related to the Advantage of *Holland*, or the other Confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us, was to be left to a general Treaty; no Tariff agreed on with *France* or the *Low Countries*, only the *Schelde* was to remain shut, which ruins our Commerce with *Antwerp*. Our Trade with *Spain* was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no Consequence, because that Kingdom was to be under the House of *Austria*; and we had already made a Treaty with King *Charles*. I have indeed heard of a Treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope*, with that Prince, for settling our Commerce with *Spain*: But whatever it were, there was another between Us and *Holland*, which went Hand in Hand with it, I mean that of *Barrier*, wherein a Clause was inserted, by which all Advantages proposed for *Britain*, are to be in common with *Holland*.

A N O T H E R Point which, I doubt, those have not considered, who are against any Peace without *Spain*, is, that the Face of Affairs in *Christendom*, since the Emperor's Death, hath been very much changed. By
this

this Accident the Views and Interests of several Princes and States in the Alliance, have taken a new Turn, and I believe, it will be found that Ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our Measures with regard to a Peace, while our Affairs continued in the same Posture; and it will be too much in Conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a Prince of the *Austrian* Family on the Throne of *Spain*, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of *Bourbon*; but to have the Empire and *Spanish* Monarchy united in the same Person, is a dreadful Consideration, and directly opposite to that wise Principle, on which the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance is founded *.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent Character of the *Austrian* Princes, the wretched Oeconomy of that Government, the want of a Naval Force, the remote distance of their several Territories from each other, would never suffer an Emperor, though at the same time King of *Spain*, to become Formidable: On the contrary, that his Dependence must continually be on *Great Britain*; and the Advantages of Trade, by a Peace founded upon that Condition, would soon

* We and Holland, as well as Portugal, were so apprehensive of this, that, by the 25th Article of the Offensive Alliance, his Portugueze Majesty was not to acknowledge the Arch-Duke for King of Spain, till the two late Emperors had made a Cession to Charles of the said Monarchy.

make us Amends for all the Expences of the War.

In Answer to this, Let us consider the Circumstances we must be in, before such a Peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only Poor for the present, but reduced by further Mortgages to a state of Beggary, for endless Years to come. Compare such a weak Condition as this with so great an Accession of Strength to *Austria*, and then determine how much an Emperor, in such a State of Affairs, would either fear or need *Britain*.

Consider, that the Comparison is not formed between a Prince of the House of *Austria*, Emperor and King of *Spain*, and between a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, King of *France* and *Spain*; but between a Prince of the latter only King of *Spain*, and one of the former uniting both Crowns in his own Person.

What Returns of Gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial Family been taken as a Favour, or only received as the Due of the *Augustissima Casa*?

Will the House of *Austria* yield the least Acre of Land, the least Article of strained and even usurped Prerogative, to resettle the Minds of those Princes in the Alliance, who are alarmed at the Consequences of this Turn of Affairs, occasioned by the Emperor's Death? We are assured it never will. Do we then
 imagine

imagine, that those Princes, who dread the overgrown Power of the *Austrian*, as much as that of the *Bourbon* Family, will continue in our Alliance, upon a System contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance; What can the Duke of *Savoy* expect in such a Case? Will he have any Choice left him but that of being a Slave and a Frontier to *France*; or a *Vassal*, in the utmost Extent of the Word, to the Imperial Court? Will he not therefore, of the two Evils choose the least; by submitting to a Master, who has no immediate Claim upon Him, and to whose Family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several Claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the *Dutch* more inclined than the rest of *Europe*, that the *Empire* and *Spain* should be united in King *Charles*, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, 'tis known to several Persons, that upon the Death of the late Emperor *Joseph*, the States resolved, that those two Powers should not be joined in the same Person; - And this they determined as a fundamental Maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that *Spain* was first given up by Them; and since they maintain no Troops in that Kingdom, it should seem, that they understand the Duke of *Anjou* to be lawful Monarch.

THIRDLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, if they be such as no way

way find their private Account by the War, may perhaps change their Sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present Condition.

I had two Reasons for not sooner publishing this Discourse: The first was, Because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same Subject, from general Topicks and Reason, though they might be ignorant of several Facts, which I had the Opportunity to know. The Second was, Because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this Argument, to say something of the State to which this War hath reduced us: At the same time I knew, that such a Discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another Juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the Folly of too many, to mistake the Eccho of a *London* Coffee-house for the Voice of the Kingdom. The City Coffee-houses have been for some Years filled with People, whose Fortunes depend upon the *Bank*, *East-India*, or some other Stock: Every new Fund to these, is like a new Mortgage to an Usurer, whose Compassion for a young Heir is exactly the same with that of a Stockjobber to the Landed Gentry. At the Court-End of the Town, the like Places of Resort are frequented either by Men out of Place, and consequently Enemies to the Present Ministry, or by

by Officers of the Army: No wonder then, if the general Cry, in all such Meetings, be against any Peace either *with* Spain, or *without*; which, in other Words, is no more than this, That discontented Men desire another Change of Ministry; that Soldiers would be glad to keep their Commissions; and, that the Creditors have Money still, and would have the Debtors borrow on at the old extorting Rates, while they have any Security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant Reader some Idea of our present Circumstances, without troubling him or my self with Computations in form: Every body knows, that our Land and Malt Tax amount annually to about Two Millions and an half. All other Branches of the Revenue are mortgaged to pay Interest, for what we have already borrowed. The yearly Charge of the War is usually about Six Millions; to make up which Sum, we are forced to take up, on the Credit of new Funds, about Three Millions and an half. This last Year the computed Charge of the War came to above a Million more, than all the Funds the Parliament could contrive would pay Interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a Deficiency of Twelve hundred thousand Pounds among the several Branches of our Expence. This is a Demonstration, that if the War lasts another Campaign, it will be impossible to find Funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax, or by some other Method equally desperate. If

If the Peace be made this Winter, we are then to consider, what Circumstances we shall be in towards paying a Debt of about Fifty Millions, which is a fourth Part of the Purchase of the whole Island, if it were to be Sold.

Towards clearing our selves of this monstrous Incumbrance, some of these Annuities will expire or pay off the Principal in Thirty, Forty, or an Hundred Years; the Bulk of the Debt must be lessened gradually by the best Management we can, out of what will remain of the Land and Malt Taxes, after paying Guards and Garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our Fleet in the time of Peace. I have not Skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary Charges, towards annually clearing so vast a Debt; but believe it must be very little: However, it is plain that both these Taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the Government, as because we have no other Means for paying off the Principal. And so likewise must all the other Funds remain for paying the Interest. How long a time this must require, how steadily an Administration, and how undisturbed a state of Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, let others determine.

However, some People think all this very reasonable; and that since the Struggle hath been for Peace and Safety, Posterity, who is to partake the Benefit, ought to share in the
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Expenditure: As if at the breaking out of this War there had been such a Conjunction of Affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. 'Tis wonderful, that our Ancestors, in all their Wars, should never fall under such a Necessity; that we meet no Examples of it, in *Greece* and *Rome*; that no other Nation in *Europe* ever knew any thing like it, except *Spain*, about an Hundred and twenty Years ago; which they drew upon themselves, by their own Folly, and have suffered for it ever since: No doubt, we shall teach Posterity Wisdom, but they will be apt to think the Purchase too dear; and I wish they may stand to the Bargain we have made in their Names.

'Tis easy to entail Debts on succeeding Ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to insure Peace for any Term of Years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will Human Nature ever cease to have the same Passions? Princes to entertain Designs of Interest or Ambition, and Occasions of Quarrel to arise? May not we Ourselves, by the variety of Events and Incidents which happen in the World, be under a necessity of recovering Towns out of the very Hands of those, for whom we are now ruining Our Country to Take them? Neither can it be said, that those *States*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a Condition as

Ourselves; for, by the Circumstances of our Situation, and the Impositions of our Allies, we are more exhausted, than either they or the Enemy; and by the Nature of our Government, the Corruption of our Manners, and the Opposition of Factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty Comfort to our Grandchildren, when they see a few Rags hang up in *Westminster-Hall*, which cost an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Ar-rears, and boasting, as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were Rich and Great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken Notion of Credit, so boasted of by the Advocates of the late Ministry: Was not all that Credit built upon Funds, raised by the Landed Men, whom they so much hate and despise? Are not the greatest part of those Funds raised from the Growth and Product of Land? Must not the whole Debt be entirely paid, and our Fleets and Garrisons be maintained, by the Land and Malt-Tax, after a Peace? If they call it Credit to run Ten Millions in Debt, without Parliamentary Security, by which the Publick is defrauded of almost half, I must think such Credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the Nation, than their boasted Credit. For my own part, when I saw this false Credit sink, upon the Change
of

of the Ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good Omen. It seemed, as if the young extravagant Heir had got a new Steward and was resolved to look into his Estate before things grew desperate, which made the Usurers forbear feeding him with Money, as they used to do.

Since the Monied Men are so fond of War, I should be glad, they would furnish out one Campaign at their own Charge: It is not above six or seven Millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the Landed Men, they will have their full Principal and Interest, at 6 *per Cent.* remaining of all the Money they ever lent to the Government.

Without this Resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the War upon the same Foot. I have already observed, that the last Funds of Interest fell short above a Million, though the Persons most conversant in Ways and Means employed their utmost Invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next Campaign. But, perhaps our Allies will make up this Deficiency on our side, by greater Efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and *Holland* failed this Year in several Articles; and signified to us, some time ago, that they cannot keep up to

the same Proportions in the next. We have gained a noble Barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire: The Emperor, however sanguin he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with *Naples, Sicily, Milan*, and his other Acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless War, for the Recovery of *Spain*, to which his Allies the *Dutch* will neither give their Assistance nor Consent. So that since we have done their Business; since they have no further Service for our Arms, and we have no more Money to give them: And lastly, since we neither desire any Recompence, nor expect any Thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a Peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the Effects of their Hardships upon Us. The first Overtures from *France*, are made to *England*, upon safe and honourable Terms: We who bore the Burthen of the War, ought, in reason, to have the greatest share in making the Peace. If we do not hearken to a Peace, others certainly will; and get the Advantage of us there, as they have done in the War. We know the *Dutch* have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate Measures of a Peace; and by the Strength of that Argument, as well as by other Powerful

ful Motives, prevailed on those, who were then at the Helm, to comply with them on any Terms, rather than put an end to a War, which every Year brought them such great Accessions to their Wealth and Power. Whoever falls off, a Peace will follow; and then we must be content with such Conditions, as our Allies, out of their great Concern for our Safety and Interest, will please to choose. They have no further occasion for Fighting; they have gained their Point, and they now tell us, it is *our War*; so that in common Justice, it ought to be *our Peace*.

All we can propose, by the desperate Steps of pawning our Land or Malt-Tax, or erecting a General Excise, is only to raise a Fund of Interest, for running us annually four Millions further in Debt, without any Prospect of ending the War so well, as we can do at present: And when we have sunk the only un-engaged Revenues we had left, our Incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon *Expedients*, which in time will certainly destroy any Constitution, whether Civil or Natural, and there was no Country in *Christendom* had less Occasion for them, than ours. We have dieted a Healthy Body into a Consumption, by plying it with Physick, instead of Food; Art will help us no longer; and if we cannot recover by letting the Remains of Nature work, we must inevitably die.

What Arts have been used to possess the People with a *strong Delusion*, that *Britain* must infallibly be ruined, without the Recovery of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*? Making the Safety of a great and powerful Kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an Event, which, even after a War of miraculous Successes, proves impracticable. As if Princes and Great Ministers could find no way of settling the Publick Tranquility, without changing the Possessions of Kingdoms, and forcing Sovereigns upon a People against their Inclinations. Is there no Security for the Island of *Britain*, unless a King of *Spain* be Dethroned by the Hands of his Grandfather? Has the Enemy no Cautionary Towns and Sea-Ports, to give us for securing Trade? Can he not deliver us Possession of such Places, as would put him in a worse Condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the War? The present King of *France* has but few Years to live, by the Course of Nature, and, doubtless, would desire to end his Days in Peace: Grandfathers in private Families are not observed to have great Influence on their Grandsons, and I believe they have much less among Princes. However, when the Authority of a Parent is gone, is it likely that *Philip* will be directed by a Brother, against his own Interest, and that of his Subjects? Have not those two Realms their separate Maxims of Policy, which must operate in Times
of

of Peace? These at least are Probabilities, and cheaper by six Millions a Year than recovering *Spain*, or continuing the War, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common Question is, If we must now Surrender *Spain*, what have we been Fighting for all this while? The Answer is ready; We have been Fighting for the Ruin of the Publick Interest, and the Advancement of a Private. We have been fighting to raise the Wealth and Grandeur of a particular Family; to enrich Usurers and Stock-jobbers; and to cultivate the pernicious Designs of a Faction, by destroying the Landed-Interest. The Nation begins now to think these *Blessings* are not worth Fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a Peace.

But the Advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better Peace, than is now in Agitation, above two Years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that by parity of Reason we must expect one just so much worse, about two Years hence. If those in Power could then have given us a better Peace, more is their Infamy and Guilt, that they did it not; why did they insist upon Conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, and left the Nation in some hope of recovering it self. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their Country,

and Posterity, that the bleeding Condition of their Fellow-Subjects, was a Feather in the Balance with their private Ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy Debts and Poverty of the Nation, 'tis pleasant to hear some Men answer all that can be said, by crying up the Power of *England*, the Courage of *England*, the inexhaustible Riches of *England*. I have heard a Man very sanguine upon this Subject, with a good Employment for Life, and a Hundred thousand Pounds in the Funds, bidding us *Take Courage*, and *Warranting*, that all would go well. This is the Style of Men at Ease, who lay the heavy Burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their Fingers. I have known some People such ill Computers, as to imagine the many Millions in Stocks and Annuities, are so much real Wealth in the Nation; whereas every Farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; and the Landed-Men, who now pay the Interest, must at last pay the Principal.

FOURTHLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, have, I doubt, been ill informed, as to the low Condition of *France*, and the mighty Consequences of our Successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the Battle of *Ramellies* the *French* were so discouraged with their frequent Losses, and so impatient for a Peace, that
their

their King was resolved to comply on any reasonable Terms. But when his Subjects were informed of our exorbitant Demands, they grew jealous of his Honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the War at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his Authority ; and the Supplies he hath received from the *Spanish West-Indies*, which in all are computed, since the War, to amount to Four hundred Millions of Livres, (and all in *Specie*) have enabled him to pay his Troops. Besides, the Money is spent in his own Country ; and he hath since waged War in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the Defensive, compounding with us every Campaign for a Town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the Value, or the Consequences. Then he is at no Charge of a Fleet, further than providing Privateers, wherewith his Subjects carry on a Piratical War at their own Expence, and he shares in the Profit ; which hath been very considerable to *France*, and of infinite Disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual Losses we have suffered to an immense Value, but by the general Discouragement of Trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the Circumstances of that Government, where the Prince is Master of the Lives and Fortunes of so mighty a Kingdom, shews that Monarch to be not so sunk in his Affairs, as we have imagined, and have long flattered.

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Our selves with the Hopes of. For an absolute Government may endure a long War, but it hath generally been ruinous to Free Countries.

Those who are against *any Peace without Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our Victories, and other Successes, to have been of greater Consequence, than they really were.

When our Armies take a Town in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* are immediately put into *Possession*, and we at home make *Bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded People, to see them squandering away their Fewel to so little purpose. For Example, What is it to Us that *Bouchain* is taken, about which the Warlike Politicians of the Coffee-House make such a Clutter? What though the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, and in sight of the Enemy? We are not now in a Condition to be fed with Points of Honour. What Advantage have We, but that of spending three or four Millions more to get another Town for the States, which may open them a new Country for *Contributions*, and encrease the Perquisites of the G——l?

In that War of Ten Years, under the late King, when our Commanders and Soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost Battles and Towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those Gentlemen have better learned their Trade; yet we bore up then, as the *French*
do

do now : Nor was there any thing decisive in their Successes : They grew weary, as well as we, and at last consented to a Peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *Treaty of Partition*, which revived the Flame, that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making War, but that the Side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most Advantage. In such a close Country as *Flanders*, where it is carried on by Sieges, the Army, that acts offensively, is at a much greater Expence of Men and Money ; and there is hardly a Town taken in the common Forms, where the Besiegers have not the worse of the Bargain. I never yet knew a Soldier, who would not affirm, That any Town might be Taken, if you were content to be at the Charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much Blood and Treasure, the rest is all a regular, established Method, which cannot fail. When the King of *France*, in the Times of his Grandeur, sat down before a Town, his Generals and Engineers would often fix the Day when it should Surrender. The Enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some Years past avoided a Battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our Courage evaporate against Stones and Rubbish, and sacrificing a single Town to a Campaign, which he can so much better afford to Lose, than we to Take.

L A S T.

LASTLY, Those who are so violent against *any Peace*, without *Spain* being restored to the House of *Austria*, have not, I believe, cast their Eye upon a Cloud gathering in the North, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a Storm upon our Heads.

The Northern War hath been on Foot, almost ever since our Breach with *France*: The Success of it various; but one Effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its Consequences, and that, whenever this happened, let our Success be never so great against *France*, from that Moment *France* would have the Advantage.

By our Guaranty of the Treaty of *Travendall*, we were obliged to hinder the King of *Denmark* from engaging in a War with *Sueden*. It was at that time understood by all Parties, and so declared, even by the *British* Ministers, that this Engagement especially regarded *Denmark's* not assisting King *Augustus*. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our Obligation to *Sueden* stood in Force, by virtue of former Treaties with that Crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the *Hague* by Sir *Joseph Williamson* and Monsieur *Lilienroot*, about the latter end of the late King's Reign.

However, the War in the North proceeded, and our not assisting *Sueden*, was at least as well excused by the War, which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his Contingent

gent to the Empire, whereof he is a Member, was excused by the Pressures he lay under, having a Confederacy to deal with.

In this War the King of *Sueden* was Victorious; and what Dangers were we not then exposed to? What Fears were we not in? He Marched into *Saxony*, and if he had really been in the *French* Interest, might at once have put us under the greatest Difficulties. But the Torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his Enemy the Treaty of *Alt Rastadt*; by which King *Augustus* makes an absolute Cession of the Crown of *Poland*, renounces any Title to it, acknowledges *Stanislaus*; and then, both he and the King of *Sueden*, join in desiring the Guaranty of *England* and *Holland*. The Q—n did, indeed, not give this Guaranty in Form; but, as a Step towards it, the Title of *King* was given to *Stanislaus*, by a Letter from Her Majesty; and the strongest Assurances were made to the *Suedish* Minister, in Her Majesty's Name and in a Committee of Council, that the Guaranty should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while, it was the same thing as if the Forms were passed.

In 1708, King *Augustus* made the Campaign in *Flanders*; what Measures he might at that time take, or of what Nature the Arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: But immediately after he breaks through all he had done, marches into *Poland*, and re-assumes the Crown. After

After this we apprehended, that the Peace of the Empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an Act of Guaranty for the Neutrality of it. The King of *Sueden* refused, upon several Accounts, to submit to the Terms of this Treaty; particularly, because we went out of the Empire to cover *Poland* and *Jutland*, but did not go out of it to cover the Territories of *Sueden*.

Let us therefore consider, what is our Case at present. If the King of *Sueden* returns, and gets the better, he will think himself under no Obligation of having any Regard to the Interests of the Allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own Expression, *His Enemy, wherever he finds him*. In this Case the Corps of the Neutrality is obliged to oppose him, and so we are engaged in a second War, before the first is ended.

If the Northern Confederates succeed against *Sueden*, how shall we be able to preserve the Balance of Power in the North, so essential to our Trade, as well as in many other Respects? What will become of that great Support of the *Protestant Interest* in *Germany*, which is the Footing that the *Suedes* now have in the Empire? Or, who shall answer that these Princes, after they have settled the North to their Minds, may not take a fancy to look Southward, and make our Peace with *France* according to their own Schemes?

And

And lastly, if the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and other Princes whose Dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those Armies which act against *France*; we must live in hourly Expectation of having those Troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this Recal may happen in the midst of a Siege, or on the Eve of a Battel. Is it therefore our Interest, to toil on in a ruinous War, for an impracticable End, till one of these Cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the Storm?

There is no doubt, but the present Ministry (provided they could get over the Obligations of Honour and Conscience) might find their Advantage in advising the Continuance of the War, as well as the last did, though not in the same Degree, after the Kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it till the Parliament would desire a Peace; and in the mean time leave them in full Possession of Power. Therefore it is plain, that their Proceedings at present, are meant to serve their Country, directly against their private Interest; whatever Clamor may be raised by those, who for the vilest Ends, would remove Heaven and Earth to oppose their Measures. But they think it infinitely better, to accept such Terms as will secure our Trade, find a sufficient Barrier for the *States*, give *Reasonable Satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the Tranquility of *Europe*, though without adding *Spain* to the

Em.

Empire: Rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain Expectation of some improbable Turn, for the Recovery of that Monarchy out of the *Bourbon* Family; and at last be forced to a worse Peace, by some of the Allies falling off, upon our utter Inability to continue the War.

P O S T S C R I P T :

I Have in this Edition explained three or four Lines in the 38th Page, which mentions the *Succession*, to take off, if possible, all manner of Cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe, how ready the Adverse Party is to make use of any Objections, even such as destroy their own Principles. I put a distant Case of the possibility that our *Succession*, through extream Necessity, might be changed by the Legislature, in future Ages; and it is pleasant to hear those People quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the Consent of the entire Legislature.

I have just seen a Paper, called, *An Answer to the Conduct*, &c. I am told several Others are preparing: I faithfully promise, that whatever Objections of Moment I can find in any of them, shall be fully answered in a Paragraph at the end of the Preface, in the next Edition of this Discourse.

F I N I S.

