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N<sup>o</sup> 35 -

D U N K I R K

O R

D O V E R ;

O R,

The Queen's Honour,

The Nation's Safety,

The Liberties of *Europe*,

A N D

The Peace of the World,

All at Stake till that Fort and Port  
be totally demolish'd by the  
*French*.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. BALDWIN, near the *Oxford-Arms*  
in *Warwick-Lane*. 1713.

Price Six Pence.

1871-1872

25. A

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general  
 survey of the subject. It is shown that the  
 theory of the subject is based on the  
 following principles:

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a  
 detailed examination of the subject. It is shown  
 that the theory of the subject is based on the  
 following principles:

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to a  
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4. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a  
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10. The tenth part of the paper is devoted to a  
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 following principles:



# *Dunkirk or Dover ;*

OR, THE

## Queen's Honour, &c.

**B**EFORE I enter upon the detail of the main argument, I would desire my Reader to consider in the first place, that though for reasons (as well known to him as to myself) I shall be far from saying any thing at this time derogatory to the well-known inviolable Faith and Friendship of his most Christian Majesty *Lewis* the Fourteenth; yet that, on the other hand, I shall be as far from sparing any one man besides of the *French* Nation, who are the ancient, the avow'd, the natural, and the perpetual enemies of *Great Britain*: enemies of that peculiar stamp, as ever

A 2

to

to do us more hurt in time of Peace than in time of War; their Friendship being infinitely more fatal than their Hatred, and their Compliments more dangerous than their Blows. As no Law forbids me any more to repeat the history of former times, than to write that of the present; so no man shall terrify me (when a proper occasion happens) from showing how in all Treaties before the last, we have been the constant bubbles in the Cabinet, of those we had as constantly beaten in the Field; that it was in times of Peace the *French* debauch'd our Youth, brib'd our Ministers, undermin'd our Trade, pension'd our Kings, dissolv'd our best Alliances, and made our very Nation contemptible: that therefore all private engagements between their Kings and ours were commonly suspected by our own People, as well as by the other Nations of *Europe*; that those Ministers who made the most Court to *France*, or seem'd to have the greatest Dependance upon it, were ever counted the worst, the most corrupt, and the most profligate; as those who show'd the greatest aversion to their manners or jealousy of their designs, and that seem'd to be really fixt in the interest or confidence



dence of the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, were ever esteem'd true *Britons*, men of wisdom, integrity, and publick spirit. The Proofs for these things are numberless. Now there's no such change has happen'd in the situation or circumstances of affairs, as to make us change our old opinion of the *French* genius, their views, and politicks. Tis just the contrary. They are now as much *French*, and therefore as little *English* as ever; they are bigotted *Papists*, and therefore little enclin'd to be *Protestants*; they are much more powerfull, and therefore much more dangerous than heretofore: *Spain* and the *Indies* being in the House of *Bourbon*, they are masters of the Gold, and so may soon be masters of the Soil of the World. If under such favourable aspects I shou'd see the *French* people assume their wonted haughtiness, I shou'd hear them speak their usual imperious language, I shou'd perceive 'em already to chichane upon some Articles of their last Treaties, and to avoid the performance of the most fundamental ones; if *Portugal* were treated with contempt, *Germany* like to be overrun, and especially the Elector of *Hanover*, degraded from his Rank, and his Dignities and Titles bestow'd on a Rebell to the

*Empire*, and a Traytor to his Country: if such things as these shou'd happen, I say, tho we were not immediately concern'd our selves (which last is far from being our case) I wou'd then cry aloud and spare not, I would call upon all my fellow-citizens to do the like, and would fain see the man (as none but a single Minister can think of it) that should pretend to stop our mouths, or pens against any insolent, perfidious, slavish, and slave-making Nation.

The next thing I wou'd premise to the Reader's consideration is, that he must not expect to find *English-men* more mealy-mouth'd towards their own Ministers than towards foreign Nations, States, or Princes. I may lay it down for a never-failing Maxim, that *all our calamities proceed from the weakness or viciousness of our Ministers*: and for this reason it is, that the Law has wisely made them answerable for all the errors or deviations of the Prince, which from hence are justly stil'd *Male-administrations*; for the Ministers being the eyes by which the Monarch sees, the ears by which he hears, the heart by which he advises, and the hands by which he executes, his opinion of things, and consequently his  
 acting,

acting, must be futeable to the representation made of those matters by his proper officers, or by his favorites. Or if once in n age a Prince should be found to be obstinately bent upon some scheme not originally suggested by his Ministers (as the late King *James* was upon introducing *Poperiy*, or any other Prince upon aspernicious a project) yet even in this cas the Ministers are chargeable, who inread of observing their Oaths, and discharging their duty to their Country by honestly refusing to act, do commonly on the contrary, in order to hold their places, servilely comply with the Prince's Inclinations; nay they are generally beforehand with him, by narrowly studying his bent of mind, and so preventing even his desire to purchase or to preserve his favour. Since our Ministers then are accountable for all Male-administrations, how shall they be brought to account if they are not accus'd? as sooner or later they are sure to be in a free Nation, and hence therefore it is, that all corrupt Ministers mortally hate Liberty, especially Liberty of Speech. Tis nevertheless stupid blindness in them to think of preventing this last. When the people observe any Ministry to do what is evident-

ly to the diminution or detriment of their own country, and that not so much as a plausible reason appears for his encreasing the wealth or power of foreign Potentate, at first sight they are too apt to think such Ministers very god-natur'd or very silly : but when they know them to have abundance of cunning and not a dram of good nature, then they very fairly conclude them to be ignominiously brib'd, to be gain'd by ready money, honours, preferments, or any other hire of iniquity either in present or expectation. Then too it is that the honest people ever give a loose to their tongues, and sometimes likewise to their hands ; or if, in spite of their unanimously declar'd sense about any thing, those Ministers should still persist in such destructive measures, they plainly perceive that the wretched creatures are engag'd beyond a retreat ; and then again it is *the British Lion rouses*, that he's acted by honour and interest, and that (his patience being abus'd) delinquent animals are brought to exemplary punishment.

The third Consideration I would premise, is the use such Ministers make of the Prince's Prerogative, which is to abuse and pervert it. This is the choak-pear

pear whereby they endeavour to stop the mouths of all Adversaries, and under the shelter of this *Gorgon's* head they presume to stile themselves the Government : so that he that speaks against them, does speak (forsooth) against the Government ; and what may he not then expect from their power or artifice ? But in a free Government indeed, these are meer cob-web coverings, of no solid safety to criminals : for the People, haveing rights and privileges of their own, are thoroughly vers'd in the prerogatives and immunities of the coordinate Legislative states, which ever must be a check on each other, and between whom there must be kept an exact balance and proportion. Thus the People of *Great Britain* understand as well as any of their Ministers, that the Prince's prerogative is twofold, consisting partly in such enumerated particulars as are ascertain'd to him by express Laws, just as their peculiar priviledges are by proper Laws secur'd to them ; and partly consisting in certain things for which there being no particular provision made by Law, it is left to the Prince's discretion to do therein what he shall judg most conducing to the publick benefit ; not for any separate views of his own, not to enrich or aggrandize his favorites.

vorites. This the *Romans* us'd to express by *ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat*, and a writer of our own has well defin'd it to be, *the power of doing good without Law*. This discretionary power then being left to the Prince in certain cases by the Law (as in those of making Peace and War) is therefore its self a proper part of the Law: and as all Laws are made for the good of those they concern, so the Prerogative, as in the now-mention'd cases, ought ever to be essentially exercis'd for the good of the nation. 'Tis therefore the plainest thing in the world, that the Prerogative is no more a justification of concluding a disadvantageous Peace, than beginning an unjust War. *All things are lawful for me*, says St. Paul, *but all things are not expedient*: nor is there any man or woman on earth, that shou'd be ashamed of espousing this great Apostle's Political sentiments. " I may indeed by  
 " the bare letter of my Prerogative (let  
 " us suppose a good Prince to say) in a  
 " treaty of Peace give away such or such  
 " branches of trade from my own nation  
 " to another, by what motives soever  
 " thereunto induc'd; nay, I may throw  
 " an over-balance of power into the scale  
 " of their mortal Enemy: but is this an-  
 " swering

“ swering the trust repos’d in me by my  
 “ People, *Prerogative* being but another  
 “ Name for such a *Trust*? is this prudent  
 “ any more than honest? is it the way to  
 “ recommend my self to their love or  
 “ allegiance? to the veneration of the  
 “ present, or the admiration of future  
 “ ages? A Prince, in short, may abuse  
 his *Prerogative*, and he may take what  
 follows for his pains: but this can no more  
 hinder People from complaining, than it  
 will justify the Ministers that contriv’d,  
 that negotiated, or that executed. To  
 talk of being free, and not to dread slave-  
 ry above all miseries; to dread it, and  
 not to warn loudly against it; to warn  
 against it, and not strenuously to oppose  
 it: is squareing the circle, transmuteing of  
 metals, Transubstantiation, the Pretend-  
 er, or if there be any more absurd chi-  
 mera.

Having thus prevented the inferences  
 which might be erroneously drawn from  
 the Royal *Prerogative* misunderstood,  
 from Ministers that might at any time  
 be better trusted than known, and from  
 the fresh date of our Alliances with *France*  
 or any other Nation; I shall now proceed  
 to shew, that if the 9th Article of the  
 Treaty of *Utrecht* (which is unreasonably,

I will not say unfairly, delay'd) be not speedily executed; these consequences will undoubtedly follow: the Queen's honour will be fully'd, which will add no credit to the Nation; the Nation it self will be in danger, which can be no safety to the Queen; the Liberties of *Europe* will be at an end, in which case we cannot hope to be free; and the Peace of the world will be disturb'd, which nearly concerns our plenty and power, as well as our safety and freedom. It will be said that this is but one Article. But it is such an Article as goes big with a great many others: all our Part of the Peace depends upon it; and if we cannot get this perform'd for our selves, how shall we be able to procure those advantages which we have stipulated for our Allies?

But that the evidence of these consequences may only need a very few words to sum it up at last, I shall here give so full and impartial a state of the whole affair, as I promise my self will be above all exception, and such as will naturally suggest those reflections which I may not have time to make. It would be as needless to insist on the dangerous and destructive importance of *Dunkirk*, as to show the force and situation of it. Sufficient  
indi-



indications of both are those thousands of *British* and *Belgick* Families reduc'd to beggary and starveing, the prodigious number of ships taken or destroy'd, the immense quantities of treasure and the millions of lives miserably lost. These sad considerations induc'd the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons assembled in Parliament, humbly and earnestly to address the Queen on the second of *March, 1702*, *that for the security of her Majesty's dominions, the preservation of trade, and the general benefit of the allies, her Majesty would be gratically pleas'd that care be taken (in the Treaty then on foot) that the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk may be demolish'd and destroy'd.* Here you may note that those worthy Patriots had the good of their allies at heart, as well as their own preservation: and the Parliament or Ministry that will not have a regard to their bare honour in such a case, no less than to their visible interest, deserve to have no engagements made with them, nor any stress to be laid on their promises. The Queen's answer to this address, which contain'd some other subjects, was, *that she was of the same opinion with her two houses of Parliament in the several particulars of their address;*  
assure-

*assuring them that no care should be wanting on her part, to attain the ends they desir'd. And such indeed was the superiority of her arms under the inimitable conduct of her ever victorious General his Grace the Duke of Marlborough; such the success of her Councils, by the negotiations of her two most able and unexceptionable Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of the Hague, viz. the same consummate Hero and the right honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend; that his most Christian Majesty, in the 21st article of the said Treaty, promises to cause all the fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, its harbour and Rys-banks, with what belongs thereto, to be raz'd at his expence without exception; so that one half of the said fortifications shall be raz'd, and one half of the harbour fill'd up, within the space of two months; and the other half of the harbour fill'd up in the space of two months more, to the satisfaction of the Queen of Great Britain, and of the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces: nor shall it be permitted ever to rebuild the fortifications, or to make the harbour navigable again directly or indirectly. Here's an Article clearly and fully worded; 'tis home, 'tis to the purpose: and I dare affirm, had that Treaty happily ended*

ed in a Peace, that the Persons concern'd wou'd have seen it executed to a day, and even before the troops had been disbanded. But the *French King*, when reduc'd to the last extremity, when on the point of signing a Peace, that very probably for many years would have secur'd the tranquility of *Europe*, when dispos'd to be quiet himself, and to let others be so too, he has a door of hope open'd from some unknown quarter. The Project appears infallible. For this his Priests and Academicians, those fawning tools by which this experienc'd Monarch utters his Oracles, prepare the world by way of Rhetorical prophesy; doubtless, lest so unexpected a turn should cause too great a surprize. He refuses to ratify the famous Preliminaries: pretends to propose an expedient at *Gertruydenberg*: but all purely to gain time, while his good friends were working elsewhere under ground, whose deeds of darkness I leave to be brought to light by the future Historian of those never to be forgotten Transactions. The Ministry in *England* is soon after chang'd, and a private Negotiation being set on foot with *France*, Monsieur *Messenger* on the Part of the most Christian King delivers to the new Ministers here certain Proposals or *Preliminary Articles*, as a sufficient

sufficient ground for a Treaty. How they became publick every Body may remember; and how far short soever these may be said to have come of the Preliminaries of the *Hague*, yet *Dunkirk* was now also reckon'd a fundamental Point, a Point without which nothing could be heard, much less concluded: and therefore the Sixth article of those Preliminaries contains verbatim, that *notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the [French] King very great Sums; as well to acquire it as to fortify it, and that 'tis farther necessary to be at very considerable Expence for razing the Works: his Majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolisht immediately after the conclusion of the Peace; on Condition that for the fortifications of that place a proper Equivalent, that may content him, be given him. And as England cannot furnish that Equivalent, the discussion of it shall be refer'd to the conferences to be held for the Negotiation of the Peace.* Being resolv'd to keep close to my point; I shall take no notice how nicely we are twitted in this Article with our former mercenary Selling of *Dunkirk*: as little will I dwell upon the *Equivalent* stipulated here, whereas no such thing was granted in the old *Preliminaries*: and least of all will I stay to examine

mine whether it were just that the *Dutch* shou'd be solely oblig'd to furnish this Equivalent, because *L'ile*, with some other Towns and Districts, cou'd onely content the K. of *F.* With regard to my present Subject, I want no more but that the Demolition of *Dunkirk* was a condition *sine qua non* in the new *Preliminaries*. And so well did *Lewis* the Fourteenth see or was inform'd, that no Peace cou'd even then be obtain'd without this condition, that the Ministers of *France* in their *Specifick offers* at *Utrecht*, on the 4th of *February*, *N. S.* 1712. promise that *his Majesty will cause all the Fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolisht immediately after the Peace; provided an Equivalent be given him to his Satisfaction.* Our *Plenipotentiaries* likewise in their *Specifick Demands* made at the same Place on the 5th of *March* following, *N. S.* require that *his Majesty shall destroy the Fortifications of Dunkirk at his own Expence in two Months after the Peace, and never again cleanse the Harbour, or repair them.* The same Demand was made by the *Dutch*: but I shall have nothing at all to do with the *Dutch* on this occasion, since the *British* Ministers were a sort of *Mediators* as well as *Plenipotentiaries*; and that therefore in this very respect we are more

concern'd than any others, concern'd, I say, in honour as well as interest, to see *Dunkirk* effectually demolish'd. The next time we hear of this matter (that we may produce all our evidences in their proper order) was on the 6th of *June*, O. S. the same Year, when the *Queen* told the Parliament, that *the safety of our Home-trade will be better provided for by the Demolition of Dunkirk.* This declaration is short, but it is substantial. 'Tis not an ambiguous Oracle, but a most incontestable Proposition. Nothing in *Euclid* is more self-evident. In Consequence therefore of this eternal and necessary Truth, her Majesty having at heart the good both of her own Subjects and of her Allies, the Ninth Article of our Peace concluded with *France* on the 31st of *March* last, O. S. runs in these terms: *The most Christian King shall take care that all the Fortifications of the City of Dunkirk be raz'd, that the harbour be fill'd up, and that the Sluices or Moles which serve to cleanse the harbour be levell'd; and that at the said King's own Expence, within the Space of five months after the conditions of Peace are concluded and sign'd: that is to say, the fortifications toward the Sea within the space of two months, and those towards the Land, together with the said Banks, within three Months;*

Months; on this express condition also, that the said fortifications, harbour, Moles or Sluices, be never repair'd again: all which shall not however be begun to be ruin'd, till after every thing is put into his most Christian Majesty's hands, which is to be given him instead thereof, or as an Equivalent. The Joy this very Article caus'd among the People of the British Dominions is inexpressible. Nothing can equal it, but the Sadness that appear'd on their brows when they saw the time elapst, and the conditions not perform'd; not as much as a ship remov'd out of the harbour, no more than one Stone out of the Fortifications. In the mean time we may observe from all the now-recited transactions, that the Demolition of *Dunkirk* is none of the heads in difference between the New *Ministry* and the Old. They and all their several partizans are equally agreed in this Point. Our most gracious Queen has done whatever became a true Mother of her People. And these People, Whig and Tory, High-Church and Low, strove to outvy one another in their congratulatory Addresses, when *Dunkirk* was deliver'd up to her Majesty's Possession on the 8th of *July*, O. S. 1712. as a Pledge of the *French King's bonâ fide* in the Treaty then on foot. In these *Ad-*

*dresses, which I have now all before me, from the several Counties, Burroughs, and Corporations of Great Britain and Ireland, never was the unanimous Sense of Nations more emphatically declar'd, nor the importance of a place better describ'd. The important Place and Fort of Dunkirk, is but the language of a few; tis by others stil'd an impregnable Fortrefs, the strongest Fortrefs and Bulwark of France, the Key of that Kingdom, the Pride of all its Forts, one of the strongest Fortresses of all Europe, the most important Place of all Europe; and, to add no more Epithets, one of the strongest Fortresses in the World. These Addresses in so many words declare over and over that her Majesty's getting this Town out of the French hands, is a certain Security to our Trade, which from thence was severely annoy'd: That this is gratifying the Wishes of her People, as a place of the greatest Consequence to these Kingdoms; that it would have been reckon'd an easy purchase at the expence of several millions of Money, and thousands of Lives: a Fortrefs, say others, whose importance cannot be so well estimated, as by the Consideration of that immense Treasure, of which the Enemy has from that Port onely despoil'd her Majesty's people: Others again add,*

*that*



*that the importance of that place to Britain is very evident from the general dissatisfaction so often exprest for selling it to France, as well as by the fatal effects it has had upon our Trade ever since; a place, say others, of more consequence to the Trade of Great Britain, than all the other strong Towns and Castles in the Spanish Low Countries, that have cost so much Blood and Treasure. They all agree that the takeing it from France will add a new life and spirit to all her Majesty's People concern'd in Trade; that it will make our Trade and Commerce to advance and improve both at home and abroad; and, in one word, that it will make the Trade of Great Britain to flourish. Now if these things be really so (as most certainly they are) it is no great wonder that the Inhabitants of the British Dominions should be highly dissatisfy'd, that the performance of the Article of Demolition is so long delay'd, contrary to the faith and exprest words of the last Treaty with France, wherein the Honour of her Majesty, the Happiness of her People, and the Welfare of her Allies, are so highly concern'd. Or if this Article so immediately relateing not onely to our commerce, but even to our very being an independent Nation (as I shall presently*

have occasion to show) should not be fairly executed ; pray what Security have we, or in truth can we have, that any of the other Articles of it, especially in remoter parts of the World, will ever be comply'd with ? not to speak of the *Protestant* Succession, or the *Spanish* and *French* Renunciations.

As therefore the Demolition of *Dunkirk* has not onely been so solemnly stipulated by her Majesty, but likewise so unanimously desir'd by her Subjects ; so in fair dealing, nothing could be alledg'd in behalf of the *French* King's *bonâ fide*, unless he were refus'd the *Equivalent* promis'd, and without actually obtaining of which he was indeed bound to no performance on his part. The Commons of *Great Britain* takeing this into their Consideration, did on the third of *June* last address her Majesty, *that she would be pleas'd to direct that an account be laid before their House, what Equivalent was to be given to the most Christian King for the demolition of Dunkirk ; and what is stipulated relateing to Dunkirk, in case the Equivalent should not be comply'd with.* To this Address they receiv'd no answer till the 20th of the same month, and then but to one part of it, *that in pursuance of the Treaties, as well between her Majesty*  
and

and the most Christian King, as between that King and the States-General, the Equivalent, which was to be given for the Demolition of Dunkirk, is already in the hands of his most Christian Majesty. Well then: be the Equivalent what it will, and given by the Dutch, or us, or both, we have her Majesty's Royal word for it, that it is already in the French King's hands: and methinks the consequence is very natural, that as that King was not to begin the Demolition till the Equivalent were put into his hands, so when the Equivalent was honestly put into his hands, he should as honestly have begun the Demolition. But of this we all know nothing has been hitherto done, and so in the next place we are briefly to enquire what may be the reasons and the consequences of such Proceedings.

All the Reasons I ever heard offer'd worth repeating, are reduc'd to these two, 1. That we should keep it our selves. 2. That we should sell it again to the French. Not to alledge for the first of these reasons, the authority of a few Popish or Jacobite Politicians (whose business is to divide us among our selves, and from our best allies) it is thus worded in the Address of the County of *Salop*, an

Inland untrading County. *Our Trade and Commerce* (say they) *will advance and improve both at home and abroad, and we shall be secure thereof whilst Dunkirk is garrison'd by your Majesty's forces, and France oblig'd to quit that important and impregnable fortress, as the nearest recompence and equivalent we can expect for that immense and unequal share of blood and treasure, we have sustain'd dureing this long and expensive War.* That by takeing *Dunkirk* out of the Hands of the *French King*, I readily grant our Trade will the more improve and advance; and that it will become more secure than ever by the demolition of *Dunkirk*, needs no labour to prove. Securer far by the Demolishing than the Garrisoning of it, in as much as in the first case it is never to be repair'd, nor indeed can it without our having sufficient notice to prevent it: while in the second case we leave a possibility for the *French* to re-acquire it by Force, Surprise, or even by Sale under some future corrupt Ministry; and that the keeping of it would justly raise offence and jealousy against us, not onely in the breasts of the *Dutch*, but of all our other trading Allies, which is not the Way to advance, improve, or secure our Trade. I affirm

in the second case, with the good leave of those trusty *Salopians*, that the keeping of *Dunkirk* would be a manifest treachery and breach of Faith, a thing for which the *Britons* have not been infamous during a long series of Ages. Of this let us leave our worst enemies in the uninterrupted possession they have kept of the same since *Julius Cesar's* time, the fatal instances whereof take up so much room in the Annals of all *European* and many other Nations. Let us, in God's name, rather still be reckon'd thoughtless, blunt, and easily deluded (words our Enemies have found, by which to express our honesty, sincerity, and fair dealing) than with them to be counted artful, dissembling, and perfidious. The *Dutch* have paid the whole Equivalent, or at least the better part of it (for Monsieur *Mesnager* says the *English* could not furnish it) and yet we must keep the Town. This needs no Comment. And God forbid we should take any such advantage over the *French* themselves. In hopes there may be no occasion of putting our Country-men in mind of their good old Maxims against any Conquests on the Continent, which ever require more cost than they afford profit, and which may serve as well for  
the

the nursery of an Army against our own liberties, as to keep on foot the perpetual envy and jealousy of our Neighbours; in hopes, I say, that all true *Britons* are incapable to forget those eternal *British* Reasons of State, I shall now draw no Arguments from hence, lest I should be thought to offer an affront to their Understandings.

Keeping still close to the matter, and willing to bring it into the narrowest compass I can, I shall not trouble the reader how the *Salopians* came by those new Politicks, tho I am not so great a stranger to the intrigue, as some perhaps may imagine. 'Tis no such wonder that our new Allies should persuade us to break our Treaties, especially in favour of themselves, and to our own ruin. 'Twas much about the time the Duke *d' Aumont* made his publick entry, that the *Sieur Tugghe*, who stiles himself *Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk*, presented an Address to the *Queen*, begging her to spare their Town and Harbour. To this Memorial the Viscount *Bolingbroke* answer'd, *That the Queen had read with attention the Address the sieur Tugghe had presented to her in the name of the Magistrates of the Town of Dunkirk; and that she had commanded him to let him know, that she beheld with sorrow the damages which*  
*the*

the inhabitants of that Town will sustain by the demolition of its ramparts and harbour; but that she did not think it convenient to make any alteration in a thing agreed on and determin'd by a Treaty. None in Europe is so stupid, by the way, as to imagine any town in France would dare of their own heads to send Deputies to any Potentate whatsoever: nor would such Deputies dare to come of such an impudent errand hither, unless supported by hopes better grounded than appears to every body, but which in time may be made manifest to all the World. Animated therefore by these same hopes of succeeding (whatever they may be) Monsieur Tughe presents a second Address, which, upon having been printed and dispers'd gratis at the Royal Exchange and elsewhere, to try the pulse of People, did very much surprize and alarm all the world. But a certain person having that same night discover'd by whose means that Address was translated into English, and handed to the Press, his friends were no longer at a loss whither to trace that Transaction; the chief agent being a certain Baronet, who so spends his time between Minceing-lane, Somerset-house, and York-buildings, that tis not more easy to say

say at which of those places he lives, than whether in a little time, at this ubiquitous rate, he can be properly said to live in any place at all. However, the minute he was known to be concern'd in this matter, no body doubted of the rest: for when once a man has sold himself to the Devil, whatever he's a doing afterwards, tis concluded he's employ'd in his Master's business. How unlike is this to the conduct of another Refugee? who, when a certain hot Dignitary in the Church was solliciting his vote at a late Election; answer'd, he would take it as his rule to vote on the contrary side with him; for that as their King was put upon banishing of them from their own native Country by his bigotted Priests, he would never be for making the Priests of the Country that received him, powerful enough to send him once more a travelling, not knowing where this Priest-riding humour might stop. And would to God all our Jacobites and admirers of arbitrary power were transplanted into *France*, and that we by a happy exchange had with us their illustrious Confessors and lovers of Liberty: for whenever I speak disadvantageously of the *French Nation* (whose learned, brave, and worthy persons I honour)



nour) I wou'd not be understood to mean the natives of a better Climate than our own, but the servile Parasites of despotick Rule, and the vile Supporters of Tyranny: But to return to the Sieur *Tugghe*, I wonder when he us'd it as an argument with her Majesty, that the Demolition of *Dunkirk* would reduce 18000 families to extrem misery, he did not think upon the Proverb, that Charity begins at home; and that therefore the Queen's compassion would be more strongly mov'd in behalf of those many more thousands of families of her own subjects that have been utterly undone by that nest of Pyrates; besides that, supposing what he says to be true, yet all the mischief ends there; whereas by saveing the Place no body knows how many more thousands will be ruin'd hereafter. O but he pleads not in behalf of *those dreadful Ornaments, those magnificent works that strike terrour on all the beholders*; let her Majesty's *thunderbolts fall on the martial works, which may have incurr'd her displeasure, provided she spares the Mole and Dykes that form and keep up the Harbour, and which in their naked condition can for the future be no more than an object of pity*. Pity indeed they should be spar'd, and in pity to her  
 Subjects.

Subjects, as well as in justice to her allies, we are very confident her Majesty will not spare them, notwithstanding all this bombast and nauseous stuff. How prodigious then must their assurance be? who could think of obtaining such a request as demolishing the fortifications towards the land, which are no more to us than those of any other town in *Flanders*; and leaving the harbour entire, which is all we are concern'd to destroy! But he too is for ruining the fortifications towards the Sea: and we answer, that all this signifies nothing, so long as the harbour remains: since such works are easily repair'd (especially if the piles are left in the ground) under the favour of batteries we cannot approach, while'tis absolutely impracticable without our leave ever to open and cleanse the harbour again, which to men skill'd in these matters needs no proof. 'Tis neither worth spending my own nor other peoples time in animadverting more particularly upon the ten reasons he has given for preserving the harbour, which he says *will not be inconsistent with the political views of Great Britain*, very well known it seems to the *Sieur Tugghe*. Once or twice he sawcily dictates about these same *Political views* (which

(which none but an impudent *Frenchman* would presume) and then with admirable reach tells her Majesty, that *in time of Peace her Political views center ALL in the encrease of the Commerce of her Subjects*, meaning, I suppose, that she leaves the care of the rest to the Grand Monarch. I pass over his malicious but most false insinuations against the *Dutch*, and his directing us what we are to do in case of a rupture with *Holland*, as things I foresee will come under my consideration another time, and in a very short time too.

Upon the whole we may all perceive, that no stone is left unmov'd for gaining of time to save *Dunkirk* (which, for ought I know, is destin'd once more for a Port to the *Pretender*) and this without any regard to her Majesty's honour, both as she's mutually engag'd in the same affair with the *Dutch*, who are treated in the *Memorial* as if they had nothing to do in the case; and as she's most tenderly affected for the good of her own people, who unanimously desire and expect to see the demolition so often promis'd and so solemnly stipulated. You'll hear a few *Papists* and *Jacobites*, 'tis true, sputter I know not what about the *Ministers* and the *Prerogative*; and we refer 'em for an answer

answer to what, for their information, we have premis'd about both these heads at the beginning : and they may likewise, if they please, be further inform'd, that *Ministry* and *Prerogative* are quite out of this question. 'Tis neither our *Queen* nor our *Ministers* that are to demolish *Dunkirk*, but the *French King* at his own expence, within a time limited, which time is a good while since elaps'd. The importance of the place has been so fully made out before, that we may as soon let the *French* fortify *Dover*, as keep up the fortifications of *Dunkirk*. What security have we, as I said more than once already, that the rest of the articles of Peace shall be more punctually observ'd? All that I insist upon is; that we take care to see this observ'd, in order to make us easy about the rest. If we are not in a condition to get thus much perform'd, then it is plain that not onely the *Queen's* honour, but our own safety is at stake; that he who will not take law, is able to prescribe law to the Confederates; that if they will not sit quietly by this, the states of *Europe* are again forc'd into war, and forc'd upon so disadvantageous a foot, in comparison of what they have been in the last (for reasons needless to recite) that they have  
but

but a very doubtful struggle left for their Liberties and Independency. In all the late Treaties the *French King* appears to be the Godfather as well as the Grandfather of *Don Philip*, for he answers and engages for every thing in his name, which shews that *France* and *Spain* are not yet actually divided. Tis by the late Peace we are to hope they will be so: but if that Peace is not it self observ'd, then it is evident, that we are to look upon those two Crowns as one Potentate, who, instead of demolishing *Dunkirk*, will fortify *Dover* (the reason of my Title) and not onely very easily master *Holland* and the *Empire*, *Italy* and *Portugal*, but e'en set up barefac'd for the Universal Monarchy, which would of course involve the world in War, *Quod erat demonstrandum*.

Since the writeing of what goes before, and printing the first sheet of it, I have seen, first, an *Advertisement* which promises a Discourse upon *the importance of Dunkirk to Great Britain*, and next, a pick-thank *Pamphlet*, which falsely and scurrilously reflects on the author of the said *Advertisement*. The Title of this *Pamphlet* is, *Reasons concerning the immediate demolishing of Dunkirk: being a serious Enquiry into the state and condition of*  
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that affair. The true Title should have been, *Reasons for not demolishing of Dunkirk.* Tho I doubt not but this mercenary wretch will meet with due correction from the worthy author of the *Guardian* (whom he taxes with Insolence, Falsehood, Sedition, and Absurdity) yet I cannot forbear taking notice here of one or two Passages in him, as a sample of the rest. *It should be enquir'd* (he says) *when the Article of putting Dunkirk into her Majesty's hands was in debate, from WHO and from what foundation came the addition of that clause, viz. the Fortifications to be demolish'd?* This enquiry is of a piece with the sophistical insinuations of the *Examiner* and the rest of the *French* Hackneys against the *Dutch*, as if this addition came from them: and truly the author before us affirms as positively as if he had some reason to know it, in his 8th Page, that they were not the *British* Ministers that demanded the demolishing of *Dunkirk*. He must needs mean the present Ministers, for which I leave them to reward him as they shall think meet: for tis undeniable fact from what I have written before, that this demand proceeded, first from an *Address* of both houses of the *British* Parliament in the Year 1703, and next from the Queen's  
 Mini-

Ministers at the *Hague* the same Year, who therein follow'd their *Instructions* founded upon her Majesty's answer to the said *Address*. Now that in this last Treaty of *Utrecht* it could not be added by the *Dutch*, appears from hence beyond contradiction, namely, that it is expressly contain'd in *Monf. Mesnager's Preliminaries*, to which the *Imperialists* and the *Dutch* were absolute Strangers. Much good may it do him therefore with his enquiry, and may they ever have the thanks of the nation (be they who they will) that added the clause of Demolition. But he wonders we should formerly exclaim with so much vehemence against the selling of *Dunkirk*, and yet be so earnest now for the demolishing of it; for it seems he does not know that destroying it is one thing, and preserving it another. That old bargain, he may be sure, will ever redound to the Infamy of all concern'd in it; on which account I shall say nothing in this Paper about the supposition of re-selling it: and the true Reason why no mention was made of demolishing *Dunkirk* in those days, was, because neither the harbour nor fortifications were then considerable. But a hundred instances could be produc'd, were it needful, to prove that all the con-

sequences which have since happen'd, were foreseen, as soon as it was known that so many thousand hands were employ'd to open the harbour, as well as to build those castles, moles, and sluices that preserve it: nor were there wanting faithful monitors then to have them obstructed and destroy'd; but both our King and our Ministers were too much in the interest of *France* at that time to hearken to such salutary Advices. Not to insist on the immense Sums they receiv'd in *pensions*, the *French* King had them besides in a cleft stick, if we may use so familiar an expression: for without his aid they despair'd of ever accomplishing the hopeful projects they had then on the anvil, *viz.* destroying the *Dutch* abroad, introducing *Popery*, and establishing a *Popish Successor* at home. These are matters too recent to be deny'd. Besides facts, we can produce millions of writings to demonstrate them: so it need be no wonder, if, on all these accounts, we heard so little in those times about the demolishing of *Dunkirk*.

The next singular discovery of our Author is, that we keep *Dunkirk* till our Commerce be advantageously establish'd in *Flanders*, for which he does with great  
 assu-



assurance alléde the Commons *Vote*, of the 22d of *June* last, and upon this occasion gives the Author of the *Guardian* the Lye. But the very words of that *Vote* make himself next the *Mercator*, the greatest lyar in the world; always excepting his master the Devil, and his t'other master. The vote is, *That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be pleas'd to take care, that the towns in Flanders in her Majesty's possession. be not evacuated, till those who are to have the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands agree to such Articles for regulateing Trade, as may put the Subjects of Great Britain upon an equal foot with those of any other Nation.* After such an authority as this, says he, what man can have the face to say, THE BRITISH NATION EXPECTS DUNKIRK TO BE IMMEDIATELY DEMOLISH'D? Without troubling our selves with his face, till we see it he knows where, we can tell him the best men in *Britain* have the face to expect this, and will set their faces against all those that seek to delay or obstruct it. But, as to the *Vote* it self, what have those, who are to have the Sovereignty of the *Spanish Netherlands*, to do with *Dunkirk*? or what is *Dunkirk* to them, which is part of the *French King's* domini-

dominions? The towns meant by the *Vote*, and without which indeed the *Vote* cou'd have no meaning, must lie in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in the *Netherlands* belonging to those *who are to have the Sovereignty* of them; not in those about whose *Sovereignty* there was no *Dispute*. They were *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Newport*, but not *Dunkirk*; and the thing is so clear, that I am asham'd to say so much about it. Moreover, as to the regulateing of our *Trade* in *Flanders*, it must be own'd, that we meet particularly from the *Dutch* all the fair and reasonable concessions imaginable in that affair; besides that they are the tradeing part of our own Nation, who are most clamorous about the demolition of *Dunkirk*, not without reasons that cost 'em dear enough; and, with some peoples good leave, they understand as well as they, what belongs to the *Security* of their *Trade*. But I should not wonder if they were not thought so good judges of this, when they are not allowed to be judges, even in *Trade* it self, what imports or exports are most advantageous or detrimental to the Nation: but must have these things explain'd for them, and against their unanimous *Sense*, by those that never traded in any thing but *Money*.

Well,

Well, if this will not do, our *Proteus* will tell us, as he actually does in his 23d page, that the demolishing, and not the keeping of *Dunkirk*, would be a favour to *France*. This is so pleasant a conceit, that my Readers must pardon me, if I spend no words to spoil the jest; but I beg them also to remember, that we were told the same thing by the same persons, about the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce*. Nothing, on their word, but bonfires all over *France*, because they were not agreed to: and yet so self-denying are our new Allies, so obstinately set upon doing us dull Islanders good against our wills, that nothing but uneasiness has appear'd in the *French Court* ever since, nothing but complaints amongst their Merchants, nothing but threats we do not value; and they may depend upon it, that *the Affair of Commerce is so well understood* by this time throughout the whole nation, that instead of better likeing the 8 and 9th Articles, the major and more discerning part are of Opinion (which I believe they will also take pains to demonstrate) that *however convenient we may find it at any time to make Peace with France*, yet that *tis the real interest of Britain never to have any Commerce settled with the French at all.*

But

But our comical author has not done jesting yet. His pleasantest conceit is in the 27th page, that we keep *Dunkirk* till the conditions of the Treaty of *Commerce* be fully executed by his most Christian Majesty. How strangely have we been deceiv'd all this while! under what an amazing illusion! Is it his most Christian Majesty's fault then, that the Treaty of *Commerce* is not executed? No: but *it has met with some Obstructions here* (that is, the *British House of Commons* rejected the 8 and 9th Articles) and therefore we must keep *Dunkirk*, till his most Christian Majesty makes it good. I should have thought he meant to say; that his most Christian Majesty would not demolish *Dunkirk*, till we made good the Treaty of *Commerce*: but that I know some Mens Logick are just of a piece with their Politicks; and that I am sure our Author in particular would detest such an insinuation, which he could not but see would reach a great Way. But I leave him, with all he has said about our keeping of *Dunkirk* to the censure of the *Guardian*; who yet will never think it worth his while to encounter so unequal a Match, unless it be with reference to those who have set the tool on work.

F I N I S.







