

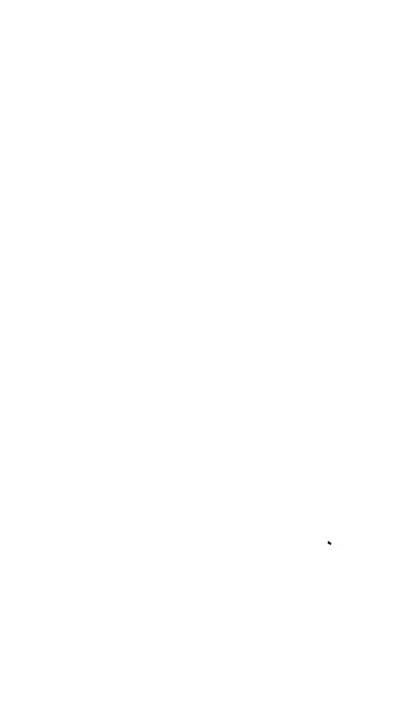
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#### THE

# Free Briton Extraordinary:

Or, ASHORT

# REVIEW

OF THE

## BRITISH AFFAIRS.

In answer to

### A PAMPHLET Intitled,

A Short View, with Remarks on the Treaty of Seville, &c. Printed for R. Francklin.

#### By FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Of the Inner-Temple, E/q;

#### L O N D O N:

Printed for J. Peele at Locke's Head in Pater-Noster Row. MDCCXXX.

(Price One Shilling.)

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THE

## FREE BRITON

EXTRAORDINARY, &c.



PAMPHLET having lately been published by Mr. Franck-lin, entitled, A short View of the State of our Affairs, &c. the Intention of which having professedly exploded the pre-

fent TREATY of SEVILLE, it cannot be improper or unfeasonable to examine the A 2 Nature

Nature and Tendency of this Attempt, fo formidable in its Designs, so oftentatious in its Manner. It is given us as an Antidote to Poison, it is offer'd against a Pamphlet in Desence of this Treaty; and truly the Author, whatever he thinks to be Poison, has given us a very strong Dose to expel it. I wish that the Remedy may not prove worse than the Disease; I wish that his violent Attempt, like all other venomous Potions, may lose its Essect by its being overcharged. In the mean Time it falls to my Province to set these Affairs in a more open and impartial Light.

This Writer takes his View from the Year 1724, when Great-Britain, as the King then expressed it, had Peace with ALL Powers abroad; when We were in particular so far from any Contests and Disputes with the Emperor or Spain, that We were made Mediators between them at Cambray conjunctly with the Ministers of France.

And now comes the Point of Enquiry, what alter'd this happy Situation, what Motives induc'd the most wonderful Union of Germany and Spain; wherein this incomparable Author reverses Mr. Addison's Story of the Mountebank. He sets up for a Zany to the Writer of the Craftsman, and avers that whatever he has said on this Subject is ture.

true. I think that this Child of a Remarker has made a most wretched Improvement of a scandalous Quackery. The Merry-Andrew should rather have called upon the Charlatan himself to aver that his Assertions are true, especially considering the Zany has never the Doctor's Authority or Gravity. I hope he will make a little better Application of his Stories next Time.

His Allegations make up in this Pamphlet what in Logick we call the Petitio Principii. He begs the main Question, upon which he has sounded all his Arguments, nay, he arrogates the Judgment to the Parties, and makes the Disputant himself Arbiter of the Debate. But these, in his own becoming Language, \* are Postulata, which we are obliged, and every good Patriot will be ready to grant, for the Justification of those Measures our Enemies pursued during several Years past

The fundamental Premises are these: The Crastisman last Winter laid down certain Causes as the Motives of those Treaties. The Remarker comes now, and says, my Father said true. Hence the Nation must swallow by Wholesale all the hasty Assertions and unsupported Propositions which

<sup>\*</sup> See Remarks, p. 6. par. 1.

fell from that Author last Season. I take it, says this dutiful Infant, my Father has demonstratively proved—What?—Why you shall presently see:

That fending back the Infanta was the immediate Cause with relation to France which threw Spain upon the Emperor; that our Refusal to accept the sole Mediation between Spain and the Emperor, even after their Accommodation, was the immediate Cause with relation to Great Britain. As to the Affair of Gibraltar, which was formerly most flatly denied as a Motive of Spain in the Treaty of Vienna, yet now it is allowed, though fomething distanc'd in his View; it Might be a Cause, and perhaps it Had some remote Influence on the Spaniards. But the Writer, tho' doubtful in the Spanish Intention to recover that Fortress, is certain of a British Engagement to restore it; which in itself would be an Evidence of the Spanish Intention, for unless they had expected it of us, we could never have promited to furrender it. Thus among his innumerable glaring Contradictions this Writer has expresly contradicted the Tenor of a vast many Papers in the Craftsman, and what is more notorious, contradicted himself in the Terms of his own Asseveration.

However,

However, he is so very condescending to allow that the *Emperor* might have his Private Reasons for accepting the Offer from *Spain*, with all its advatagious Terms; a Concession not to be overlooked, because, immediately after it has served his Turn, he endeavours to overthrow it, and again contradicts himself by an egregious Recantation.

He infifts that the Foundation of the Hanover Treaty was merely the pretended fecret offensive Treaty of Vienna, alledg'd to contain, First, Extraordinary Engagements to support and extend the Commerce of Ostend. Secondly, an Engagement to recover Gibraltar. Thirdly, A Stipulation in Terrorem, to assist the Pretender. And, Fourthly, The Marriage of Don Carlos with the eldest Arch duches of Austria.

The Emperor's PRIVATE REASONS are thus specified in the Ostend Company, and the intended Marriage of his Daughter.

Now attend to the remarkable Contradi-Etions and Inconsistencies of this Remarker.

In pag. 4. par. 3. he admits the Emperor might have fome PRIVATE REASONS; which

is spoken in reference to the last Winter's Controversy, and can only intend the private Reasons alledged by the Writers for the Government; for what other private Reasons could he possibly mean? Now in pag. 6. par. 2. he denies, that the Engagements for that Company, or for the Archduchess were ever yet brought to Light, or that there was the least Proof of them; Assertions, which, as they are most naturally and obviously now understood, do absolutely clash with and consound each other.

He very confidently afferts, we had no pretence of Exception to the publick Treaties of Vienna, either those of Peace or Commerce; on the contrary, he holds, we might have fafely acceded to both \*; yet he certainly knows, that when a common Share in the Oftend Company was penal even to a private Merchant by Act of Parliament, consequently the British Accession to a Treaty of Commerce, confirming that pernicious Company, would undeniably have incurr'd an Impeachment against every Minister advising so unlawful a Procedure: Such is the Candour of his shallow Remarks, his empty Observations.

He modestly sneers at Postulata For the Ministry, tho' admitted by himself in sup-

<sup>\*</sup> Pag. 6. lin. 8-9.

port of his own Propositions, and advances many others AGAINST those Ministers, tho' never admitted at all. Any Premises for the Government are not to be prov'd; all against that Government are not to be disjuted. He scoffs at the Writer of the Enquiry for advancing the fecret Stipulations at Vienna, to recover Gibraltar from Britain; yet in the same Breath, without the least Appearance of Proof, most arbitrarily and unreafonably infifts on a TREATY, a fecret Convention at Madrid, wherein Britain is pretended to have engaged the Restitution of Gibraltar. The Author of the Enquiry, he fays, is as positive about the Vienna private Treaty, as if he had been present at the Signing: The Author of the Remarks, even whilft he is thus wrangling, appears as tenacious of the pretended Madrid Treaty, as if he had been present at the Sealing. So confistent we find him with himself upon every Occasion.

He lays very great Stress on the Emperor's Imperial Word in denying his secret Engagements. Do Princes then never disown what they really intended? Did the World ever doubt the Designs of the late Court of Sweden, when Gyllenborg's Letters were seiz'd, although the Conspiracy was flatly deny'd by his Principals. In short, the Thing must rest on other Evidence than a partial

partial Averment, a mere political Parole. His awkward Buffoonery on Popish Princes adhering to Protestant Councils, is unworthy of Animadversion, were it not to observe, that what the Italians have phras'd the Raggione di stato, is always what Princes consider in their Leagues, and not the Religion of Countries.

He denies that the Emperor assisted the Siege of Gibraltar. Indeed I don't readily perceive how he could; nor was it in his Imperial Majesty's Power to transport his Armies into Spain; for he could not carry Troops through the Air. However he could have given us Diversion, had he invaded the King of Great-Britain's Dominions in Germany; and it was never imagin'd his Engagements had any other Import, it being the utmost that Princes can engage with their Allies, to make War in their Behalf where they have best Opportunity. That this was very much apprehended, the Applications to Parliament evince; That it was prevented, the Zeal of a British House of Commons, may account for: Nor should we omit that the Emperor's Good-will to us, during the Siege of Gibraltar, was instanc'd by a solemn Prohibition of the British Manufactures, thro' all the Hereditary Countries, proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet.

He justifies the well-known clandestine Conclusion of the Treaties at Vienna. It feems that we fet the Example, by concluding private Treaties at Madrid, during the Mediation. But though we allow him a most forward and vigilant Advocate; though we doubt not his Zeal to the Cause of his illustrious Client; yet till it appears that the Emperor ever relented or protested against fuch a Convention, I think there is no posfible Foundation for such random Assertions; which if tolerably well grounded, would undoubtedly have been affign'd as an accessary Cause to the Treaty of Vienna, a Point which hitherto has not been advanced, nor can ever be justly allow'd.

At length he finds his Post untenable, his Charge on the Councils of his Country far from plausible; he therefore has decently departed from the Causes of those Treaties, and leaves them as he found them, unprov'd, unexplain'd, or illustrated. Hear him now treat the Consequences after the very same Manner.

And here \* fays he, I think there can be no Room to DISPUTE, whatever might be the Motives of the Treaty at Vienna, or its se-

<sup>\*</sup> See P. 7. Part 2.

cret Designs, that the Conclusion of a Treaty with France was CERTAINLY the Occasion of widening our Differences.

For whose Service these rare Postulata are thus to be admitted is casy to guess; an Assertion is offer'd, and what follows, it is certain it is not to be disputed. Did ever Man talk in this insolent, this arbitrary Strain, who requir'd every Proof from a Ministry? This is not the common Demand; it is more than was ever presum'd; it is absolute Infallibility; there can be no Room for Dispute on the Point he propounds: And why not? Is it incapable of Proof? Then why should we receive it? But this Conduct is far from surprising the World; they are too well acquainted with the Characters concern'd.

Thus it appears without any Proof, for that is denied us; without any Probability, for that we can no where perceive, that merely our Posture of Desence, a desensive Alliance, sounded on our long-establish'd Friendship with that Power most able to desend us, without any Stipulation to the Damage of Spain, one single Agreement against its Advantage; that This widen'd the Breach, heighten'd Animosities, added Fuel to Fire, and stimulated Wrath in the Spaniards.

We come now to Facts which were subsequent to the Convention so much canvass'd. The Evils of these are made Essects of the Hanover Treaty; no Injustice was done us by the Treaty of Vienna, no Injury by the Ostend Company it self, though declar'd against by a penal Statute, a very solemn Act of Parliament: Such is the Equity of our own Patriots. They assert all this in Reproach to their Country, yet they will not prove it in Justice to that Country. It is certain it is not to be disputed, and thus they advance, infer, and conclude.

He makes the Blockade of Portobello by our Squadrons, the only Inducement with his Catholick Majesty, that made him lay Siege to Gibraltar. Does he forget what a Stress Mr. D'Anvers has laid on Lord Harrington's Memorials at Madrid, in Behalf of the British Merchants? Does he forget the Resolutions of Parliament, that they had many Years fuffer'd unprecedented Depredations; and yet he thinks Britain was the Aggressor in the Rupture, the only provoking Party. So strict is his Justice to the suffering Trading Interest, so candid in all his Constructions, that even a Fleet fitted, professedly equipp'd in Behalf of the Commerce of this Kingdom, and to enforce a Restitution of our Losses, is censured as that very Act of Ho**fility** 

stility, which justifies every Procedure against us, and drew every Mischief on our Heads. But for this I refer him to the Merchants, who will certainly thank him for his gracious Discovery; and to all the People of England who value Gibraltar; since had all the Treasure been return'd to Europe in Time, which this Fleet in great part prevented, the Siege might have been much more vigorous, and thereby the Consequence statal to this Nation.

His wretched Sophistries on persuading the Galleons, are purloin'd from the Crasts-man of last Winter. Our Admirals, says he, had ever memorable Orders, even to use persuasive Force. He knows it was otherwise; they had Orders to try persuasive Means first, to prevent any Loss of the Treasure by sinking the Ships, and if this fail'd, then to employ even all their Force. But his Objections are in general so trisling, that if we were not fully resolv'd to obviate the minutest Exception, we should pass over with Contempt such pitiful and trite Insinuations.

He arrogantly endeavours to impose this Opinion, on France and the British Allies, that we were the Aggressors against Spain. He thinks they view'd it in the same Light with himself; he says they did not stir a Step as they had stipulated, and as we were told they had promis'd to do: They observed

ferv'd an exact Neutrality almost, and as the Emperor did not assist Spain, so neither did they assist us, as we were told they were ready to do.

On this I observe it was not from an Indifference to our Quarrels, but from a View to reconcile them, and this with our own voluntary Concurrence. Had France employed her Arms, she could not have interposed a Mediation. Spain would little have regarded Roussillon, provided they had carried Gibraltar; and had France begun the Land War, the Emperor might have continued it, infomuch that the French must have turned another Way in their own Defence. To avoid this Universality of Blood and Confusion, to interpose all the amicable Means of Address and Negotiation, to put the more speedy Conclusion to the Troubles of Europe, and to restore Harmony among all the Powers, our Allies were thus neutral, tho' not unprepared; for France and Holland both kept numerous and expensive Armies on Foot, enlifted for our very Defence, and which would have been warmly engaged the Moment we had made the Demand, according to their constant Declarations.

He fays, our Expeditions were looked on as Hostilities by the *Spaniards*, and produced a *Return* of Hostilities upon us, yet they did did not answer Ends which further Hostilities promis'd; they opened a Dispute whether we were not the Aggressors, they gave our Allies an Occasion to with-hold their Assistance; we had the Missortune to do enough to provoke the Spaniards to Hostilities, but not enough to bring them to a Compliance with our Terms.

I answer to this, that the End of any further Hostilities would have been Universal Confusion; that the Dispute concerning the Aggressor was entirely confined to the Paper Politicians in London, that France or the Allies, could never with hold an Assistance which was never demanded; nay on the contrary, rather declined by this Nation as unnecessary in that Conjuncture. And though the Spaniards went on with Hostilities, yet that we did bring them to Compliance is most certain, Witness the Preliminary Articles, of which I would be glad to know the Cause, if it was not the Success of our Arms, and the Vigour of our faithful Allies.

Well, he owns there were Preliminaries, tho' of a most mysterious Nature, and without any efficient Cause. In the mean Time, to magnify our grievous Missortunes, he helps out the pathetick Narration with a palpable Falshood, and against all Knowledge and Certainty of Truth, he avers that our Ships

Ships were made *Prizes* in the British Channel it felf.

He likewise is equally honest on the National Debt, which he represents in a deplorable Condition, tho' he knows the Sinking Fund improved some Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, during these four Years, and consequently some Millions of Debt were paid off. Indeed it must be own'd those Debts and that Fund were under a common Disadvantage from the Times; the former would have lessened, and the latter have greatly increased in uninterrupted Peace: But had the War been more general, the Hostilities further extended, or longer continued, that important Fund would then have been useless, and those burdensome Debts would have been vastly more weighty, in regard we have never been yet at any thing near the Expence of a general War. We must therefore reflect on the Evils we escap'd, as well as on the Grievances we suffered.

He exaggerates much that the Congress, appointed in Virtue of the Preliminaries, was delay'd during four Months extraordinary. He complains we had no Minister at Madrid: He should have observed Spain had none at London. And it seems he has been told, that Minister who had got over

all remaining Difficulties, namely Count Rottembourg, did not act his Part to our Satisfaction. This is very extraordinary; but so he has been told—— a sufficient Authority truly.

We are henceforth to wait on this Writer from the Congress to the Treaty. He makes it an Exception to the Conduct of Great Britain, that the Course of Negotiation was attended with various Schemes, Projects, and Conventions. Did he ever know a general Negotiation that was not? Did the Peace of Utrecht take Place in less Time, or fucceed upon less Sollicitations? The same great Abilities which were employ'd to conduct that Affair are worthily engaged to overthrow this. I hope they will be pleafed to allow the fame Measures are just at this Time as they thought to be equal at that Time, if possibly they happen to meet with a Parity of Accidents. I remember the Treaties of Utrecht were fo long negotiating, that one was concluded in June and the other in December; not to mention the numberless Proposals and Projects, Preliminaries and Acts, which preceded the final Conclusion; wherein too the EMPEROR was totally excluded, and that not in fo fair a Condition as under the prefent Circumstance, viz. our not being folemnly restrained by our Contracts from concluding

an exclusive Treaty, but under the aggravated Injury, a Breach of Faith and of the Grand Alliance which expressly declared against a separate Peace, nay a separate Negociation. I wish, for the Honour of my Countrey, these Things were forgot; but since some are so ready to impose themselves upon us, and set up their Judgment as a Law to the Nation, I think it but just to remember their former Transactions, and the satal Effect of their Opinions, when those were indeed an Authority.

Among other Projects he speaks to the Provisional Treaty, and is pleafed to affert, it was far from giving general Satisfactionat Home. I would know by what Measure he regulates general Satisfaction. I am apprehenfive if that Plan had been put to the Vote of the Multitude, the unrepresented Multitude, it might have been approved by a Majority of the British Nation. I had not faid this on the Merits of that, because we have a better before us; but because he dogmatically afferted, as usual, his Judgment to be an Authority. Yet I, who despite every fervile Attachment, every fordid implicit Belief, nor take any *Postulata* for granted without having proved them; nor even then, till I know the Opinion of Mankind, I shall equally difdain to be led by the Nofe in this Ca

to their folemn Stipulations. But however, admitting the least Possibility of this, yet still it must be in it self of so private a Nature, it is a moral Impossibility it should be known. And dare a Writer affront the Honefty of Men so much, as to suggest this foul, this unsupported Allegation in View, to the Reproach, the Dishonour, and Damage of the Government? As little Foundation can he have to affert that the Councils of France restrained our Hostilities; for if the French had thro' their Influence on Britain, and their Interest in uncertain Peace, ever gone fo far as to controul our Exploits, our Armaments necessary to do our selves Justice; they would still have continued to check us, and have longer postponed an Accommodation: For these Reasons it cannot be Truth. He goes further, and afferts with great Affurance, as himself has phras'd it, that this Equipment was intended to prevent his Danish Majesty's Designs with Regard to the Altena Company: Whereas the whole World can bear Witnels that Prince had not a fingle Ship in Readiness at Altena; that he could ill afford at any Time to support that Project, at either Hazard or Expence; and that the distressed Condition of his People at Home, made him think much less of their Commerce Abroad; for whilst his very Capital lay in Ashes, what was he able to do for

an India Company at Altena. Thus is the Sophistry of a Writer exploded, who erects Batteries in the Air to demolish an Administration.

He styles the Misfortunes of our Nation during interrupted Peace peculiar Misfortunes\*, and feems to lament that our Neighbours had not their Share in them. I cannot fee how this could be otherwise from the Providence of human Wisdom. I cannot see what we should have gain'd by the Sufferings of our Neighbours and Allies. Will good Company in any Misfortunes make them really less, or feel the lighter? The Truth was, they had no Gibraltar for a Bone of Contention, which, as it was the View of every Hostility against us, did principally create the Mifunderstanding with us. The Ministry might have been impeached had they given it up, and they are still condemned for preserving it. In short, it is not Things, but Men, about which fuch Writers are angry; and for this Ministry to fave the Nation, is a greater Crime than for others to ruin it. Such is the Logick of this Remarker

We have purfued him thro' all his Mean-

ders, till we come to the Treaty itself, which he sears to be genuine, because it is honourable and just. He would infinuate Mr. Buckley may print a false Treaty, an unfaithful Copy: I might as well suppose Mr. Francklin would publish a surreptitious Craftsman. It appears to be authentick by his Majesty's Speech: And as to any Articles suppress'd, it cannot be supposed the Government would conceal, on this Publication, the least, the minutest Point, which was proper for the View of an opening Parliament.

Indeed I must admit with this Writer, that there may be some secret Stipulations concerning the Manner of introducing the Spanish Troops into the Garrisons: But these cannot possibly be inconsistent with the Tenor of the Treaty itself. They cannot relate to our Rights of Dominion, to the Restitution of our Losses, or indeed to any thing whatever, but the Tuscan Succession. That these Stipulations must be secret, the very Nature of any such Design will evince; for should the opposing Party be informed of the particular Manner whereby it is designed to be effected, we should furnish him with Money to prevent its Execution. As to the abovementioned Particulars, the Rights, the Commerce, and Merchants

Merchants of Great Britain, if any thing on this Head should be concealed, the Ministers would lose all Advantage from the Sanction of Parliament, who cannot approve what they do not consider, and whose Approbation to any thing they debate, will be wholly avoided by any thing private, which interferes with that which has been published: Therefore no Ministry will practise an Artisice so much to their own Disadvantage.

Having obviated this, I perceive a vast deal of Invective thrown out against Wiredrawing Treaties; and yet, to my infinite Diversion, find full twenty Pages of the Pamphlet employ'd in this ridiculous Work. Does the candid Author mean that he is to understand all our Treaties not only for himself, but for the Govenrment and the whole Nation? Or must no Man be fuffered to explain them, but fuch as He is pleafed to appoint? I own with Him, this Method of Wire-drawing Treaties, which he condemns and yet practises, in Opposition to their natural Construction, and their true Designs, bath too much been practis'd of late for CER-TAIN PURPOSES; and I confess that it hath always given me a strong Suspicion of very bad Designs, when there is any Occa-12012 sion for Explications and Refinements of this Nature. He admits the Commentators for Government would do their Country fignal Service, could they perfuade foreign Princes to understand Treaties as they do. I beg leave to remind Him, that as every good Englishman ought to apprehend them, and every good Minister ought to enforce them, in that Sense which appears to them most natural and beneficial; fo, by a strong Implication, He himfelf acknowledges, that it is an injurious Attempt to persuade Foreign Princes to understand Treaties to our Disadvantage, fince he owns it makes us look'd upon as very awkard Tricksters abroad: And, as we shall speedily detect Him in Attempts of this Nature, I leave it to him to husband this Merit as well as he can. In the mean Time All Persons who think it their Duty, and whose Conscience enjoyns them to approve any Treaty, as they have the fame Right at least, so they appear with the very fame Credit, at worst, whenever they explain them for their Country, as when he explains them against his Country. And as to his infolent Expressions, his dogmatical Affertions with relation to this, I take leave to retort them, and decypher his Meaning in his own Phrase. † Pray,

Gentlemen, read over these Remarks, and consess what an infamous Peace I have represented it; it is sufficient, Gentlemen, that I say it, and if you offer to be of another Opinion it is a plain Sign that you are no better than Villains, and Fools in your Hearts.

He pretends \* that this Treaty was justified before any Objections were rais'd against it. He denies that any Thing was printed against it before it was publish'd, however some Gentlemen might be appriz'd of some Articles. In this Manner does he wilfully advance a most shocking Falshood against known Fact and self-evident Truth.

In the CRAFTSMAN it felf, No 180. December 13. 1729. there are these express Institutions against it, that this so long look'd for Peace leaves our Foreign Acquisitions in as uncertain and precarious a Condition as ever; that our Merchants, who have been plunder'd in America for several Years past, shall have only Reparation for the Damages which have been done during a sew preceding Months; that even their Demands may be

that we are to have no Amends made us for the Depredations on our Shipping in Europe, but from the Time that those Depredations ceas'd, and all preceding ones are dropt by the fallacious Way of expressing the Article relating to it; that the Losses of the Spaniards are to be reckon'd from the Year 1718. and ours only from 1727, tho' they are known to commence from the Year 1713. Sc. which last was a known design'd Misrepresentation of the sisth and sixth Articles, sixing on a Fact therein mention'd, and disponestly perverting the whole Tenor of both.

These are the Words of the Crastsman varied only in the Particle That for IF, made use of in every infinuative Method of Induction. And now will the Author of the Remarks stand unabash'd in the View of Heaven or Earth, after having so sturdily and wickedly denied, that Objections and Clamours were rais'd against the Treaty before it was publish'd? Which it plainly was not, till the seventh of fanuary last, full five and Twenty Days after it had thus been libell'd and traduc'd. A Face so fortified out-goes the most Corinthian Composition; and yet a Face so fortified has

has already been feen, that after having betray'd its Country inhospitably, abus'd its Asyle, and injur'd forgiving Mercy, set up for the Patriot, the upright and moral Politician. We therefore can never be surpriz'd at any suture Proceedings, consistent with a Character like this.

Conscious of scandalous and almost insupportable Licentiousness, he put in a Hint that the LIBERTY of the Press is in Danger, from a Government who have look'd on it as facred, whilst themselves were fo grievously infulted and injur'd from that Quarter. I do not know a greater Virtue in Human Nature; and I hope they will always be so just, though fuch Libellers as he may continually provoke them to be otherwise. He says he believes that no other Men\* will ever attempt to restrain it. I can shew him one that he is no such Stranger to. Did not the Craftsman himself very lately demand a Prosecution against those who were pleas'd to reflect on the Lord's Anointed of Furnival's Inn, the Under-Sheriff of Middlefex, for returning a Jury at his Tryal, whom they thought to be partial and corrupt, as our Libellers have done by the Ministers and Parliament it self?

The Remarker has the Pride and Vanity, after all the Scurrilities and personal Reflections he himself has broach'd, to be angry at a certain Observation on him and his Cabal, That they are like those Wretches that live upon dangerous Coasts, whose profit arises from Wrecks, who subsist by the Misfortunes of their fellow Creatures, and whose Affliction is by Consequence the happy Attendant of Calm and Screnity. He thinks this Description suits better a great over-grown wicked Minister: I think not: I conceive it is best suited to the bungry and rapacious Crocodile Patriot, who, with Tears in his Eyes and Sighs from his Heart, carries Guile in his Motions and Murder in his Aim; whilst, with specious and insidious Professions of Love to Mankind, he plots their Destruction and perpetrates their Ruin. Such a Creature as this, may delight in the Storms, and live upon the Wreck of his Country, whilst its Calm and Serenity will prove his Affliction and Bane.

The Writer of this Pamphlet makes it an Argument, that fome Gentlemen cannot be fond of a War, because of the

the very high Taxes their private Eslates must contribute; but the World, tho' sufficiently acquainted with their extreme Parsimony, and their strong Indisposition to assist the Publick, will however most readily allow, that, to gratify Revenge against a Ministry whole Interest in this Peace is the same with their Country's, such Men will be glad of a War, and submit to Taxation, like the Envious Man in the Fable, who was content to lose one Eye that his Neighbour might lose both.

Thro' the whole Tenor of his Pamphlet the Writer condemns every Refusal to act in Violation of Treaties: He with a Sneer calls the British Faith and Honour mere Complaisance to our good Allies. But had we done what we declin'd in any of these Cases, his Store of Scurrility and Reproach, inexhaustible as it is, would hardly have suffic'd to have set forth his high sounding Billingsgate Impeachments.

He is angry with the Gentlemen now in the Direction of the South Sea Company, because they had seen and approved those Parts of the Treaty relating to Trade and their Interests: He is incensed

incensed they should be savour'd previously to other People with Informations which chiefly concern themselves: He hopes that the Company, in whose Name they expresd their Approbation, will shew their Resentment upon the approaching Election, and exclude those Directors who approved a Treaty so much to the Advantage of every Proprietor. But these weighty Points must be submitted to their Consideration.

The conscientious Pamphleteer hath fome Scruples and Qualms in Point of Morality, as whether it be righteous to dispose of Dominions which are not our own. I am glad to see this Sign of Grace working in a harden'd Sinner: I hope he will shew us hereafter his Faith by his Works: At present I must own it is very surprizing to me, that one, who has practis'd Breach of Faith and other Points of heroick Virtue in the Publick Measures he advis'd; I say, it is surprizing He should quarrel with our Politicks on Account of Morality: But he gives it up himself, and I have done with it.

When he comes to be told, that the Tuscan Succession is solemnly contracted and guaranteed to Spain by the Quadruple

ple Alliance, he asks, What then; if that be bad in itself, will one false Step justify another? But how is it proved to be bad? Must we take That for granted, as well as his other *Postulata*? Can any Thing else preserve the Quiet, the Neutrality of Italy, with the general Repose of the Christian World, which, should this Succession remain unprovided for, would be involv'd in Confusion whenever the reigning Possessor of Parma or Tuscany die. He adds, why could we not depart from one Part as well as another? I answer, because, both the Treaties of London and Seville being made with Spain, we could not possibly by the latter vacate any Thing in the former, without the Confent of that Nation, and this we have undoubtedly obtain'd. I hope he will not think this a very hard Postulatum, especially after having imposed so many much harder upon us.

As to the *Emperor*, I am of Opinion he was not a *Principal*, but rather a concurring Party in the *Quadruple Alliance*. He cannot alledge that he did not confent to this Succession, because many Acts and Treaties have been executed by him to that End: Nor can any Variation, such as this in the Garrisons which he design'd E should

should effect it, a Variation only in the Country from whence the Soldiers and the Pay must come, defeat his Imperial Majesty's Intentions that the Spanish Succession should take Place in those Dominions: I hope therefore he will not oppose it. I am sure I cannot approve the least Difrespect to so great a Prince, even the' he should be our Enemy, any more than I can justify the Craftsman's Abuse of that august Monarch when he was like to be our Friend. Whatever some Prostitute Pens may have offer'd, tho' I am fure it was never approved or encourag'd by the Administration; yet I cannot see any Irreverence or Contempt of the Emperor in the Pamphlet, entitled, Observations on the Treaty of Seville, notwithstanding the Remarker's malicious Infinuations. On the contrary, that Gentleman from a Sense of the Publick Interest, and of the Imperial Greatness, wish'd with the grearest Expressions of Sincerity the Emperor's Accession to the Treaty.

I think this Writer very ill advised to reflect on the Friends of the Administration, for reviling Foreign Princes, when their Views are inconsistent with our National Interests; I think this imprudent for him to condemn, the rather, because

he is fo very polite, obliging, and candid to their Catholick Majesties, since Spain has become our fincere and faithful Ally; that in Page 26. Par. I. by a strong Implication he infinuates, they have Violence in their View to the Persons, or at least to the Rights of the Duke of Parma, and of the Great Duke of Tuscany; i. e. they would either destroy or dethrone those Princes: A Hint of fo extraordinary a Nature, tolerably well agrees with the Craft finan's Compliments to the Spanish Court, whilst they were looked on as our Enemies, that they were a wife, a great, and brave Nation, for which he brought Puffendorf as an Authority. I suppose, if the Emperor accedes to the Treaty of Seville, that Monarch must also submit to be abused in his Turn by this fecond Aretine, this Libeller of Sovereign Princes. At prefent I cannot help observing, that as he could never accule the Writers of the oppolite Side, with any Abuse of the Friends . and Allies of their Country; so he has been abundantly liberal where they have been sparing, and paid all his Vows to the Pagods of a contrary Interest.

He observes by the Terms of the Quadruple Alliance, that his Catholick Majesty was not to take upon him the Guar-E 2 dianship dianship of that Prince who should stand in Succession to Tuscany. I have carefully look'd over the Treaty of Seville, and I cannot find any such Guardianship assum'd. No, the Kings of Great-Britain and France, with the States-General, are to be Guardians or Guarantees entirely exclusive of Spain.

And as to the introducing Troops into Garrisons during the Lives of the reigning Princes, it is, that the Succession should not lay too open or expos'd upon their Demise. The Imperial Forces are quarter'd all round in their Neighbourhood, and if the Emperor should ever be averse to this Succession, (which God forbid) who knows but he may sieze on those Dominions before the Guarantees, who live at a much greater Distance, can come to the Relief of Don Carlos?

His Imperial Majesty hath had Abundance of Proofs that the British Nation are his Friends. I dare say he complains of no uncivil Behaviour from us, and would not be much pleas'd with those sandwine Volunteers in his Cause, who upbraid us with having done too little for him. We were not charg'd with Want of Complaisance, when we expended our Millions,

Millions, and facrificed Armies in Support of that Monarch's Succession to the Kingdom of Spain. We were not reproach'd as ill-manner'd, when we conquer'd him an Island, even Sicily itself, to cover his Kingdom of Naples. I hope neither he nor his Friends will think it uncivil or very unpolite, that we should also make good our Engagements of two little Duchies to Don Carlos. I dare say the Court of Vienna will allow us to serve other Princes in Turn as well as themselves, nor take it so extremely unkind.

In this we do no more than what our brave King William, our glorious Deliverer, often undertook; what the valiant invincible and immortal Duke of Marlborough constantly fought for, and what I must hope the illustrious House of Hanover will always pursue; who as they receiv'd the Sceptre from the Hands of that Monarch will sway it by his shining Example.

The Tranquillity of Nations, their Rights of Succession, the Division of Countries, and equal Distribution of Power; This was the View of King William in all his Proceedings: This is the prefent Design in the Treaty of Seville.

He

He expresses his own Apprehensions that his Imperial Majesty will think it derogatory to his Honour, that a Fief of the Empire should be disposed of without his Consent, tho, it seems, by his Act of Investiture.

He grounds his Apprehensions on the Manner of the Disposition, which cannot be resented by a Prince whose Faith is sincere in his solemn Stipulations, since it does not defeat, but strengthen his Intentions.

He adds, it is an Expedient to dissolve an Alliance, advantageous to his Imperial Majesty. It may be the better for that, if such an Alliance was bad for us: I hope he does not think this the worse for his Country: And if the Emperor will not recognize our just Interests, we cannot help it; but still it will be our National Duty to maintain them.

He subjoins, that his Imperial Majesty's suffering himself to be disunited from so beneficial an Assiance, rather than come into this Treaty, is an Argument that he thought a rout on to his Interest.

Now

Now in my humble Opinion the Emperor has not disunited himself from the Vienna Alliance, by any Thing that I can perceive; for that Treaty still subsists in every Thing not contrary to former Treaties, and his Imperial Majesty would never allow that any Thing therein was contrary to them.

And though that Prince might require fome Time to confider the Treaty, longer than perhaps it could be justly delayed; yet I fee no Reason or Shew of Argument, that his *Imperial Majesty* is determined not to accede; and I am assured he will, in Confidence of the old German Faith, and that the Emperor will execute his own Engagements in the most effectual Manner.

To shew the Nature of the Emperor's Engagements in this Case, I must here observe, that he consented to the Succession of Don Carlos by the Treaty of London, and by the Treaty of Vienna. That by the former he engaged to procure Don Carlos the Imperial Act of Investiture, which was accordingly delivered to Spain by Consent of the Germanick Body, all the Princes and States of the Empire. So

that the Emperor can never conceive it derogatory to his Honour, to permit a Succession which he has confirmed by so many Treaties: On the contrary, he must demur to all those Treaties, should he oppose it.

He seems to hope that the reigning Princes of Tuscany and Parma, will invite the Emperor's Force to exclude Don Carlos and the Spanish Garrisons; because they can never be pleased to admit a Foreign Power into their States whilst they live. But I cannot see why those Princes should not be content with a Foreign Power in their States, to preserve the Neutrality of Italy; as well as the Emperor himself in the Netherlands, to preserve the Security of Flanders.

The Remarker would give Two Reafons on this Head.

First, The present Dukes might think their Persons safer in relation to Neutral Garrisons, who could not offer Violence upon them without the Concurrence of Three Neutral Kings, who can have no Reason to be so impatient for the speedy Accession of Don Carlos as their Catholick Majessies seem to be.

Answ.

Answ. I beg Leave to reply, that it can never be the Interest of their Catholick Majesties to offer any Violence of their Sort, or to basten the Succession of their Son by any unjustifiable Means, because, as it would draw the united Force of all Europe upon them, it would effectually deseat their most favourite Ends.

Secondly, He thinks that Neutral Garrisons would be under less Temptation to meddle directly or indirectly in Assairs of the Political, Oeconomical and Civil Government.

Answ. I must differ in this Point with the Remarker from daily Experience; for I don't think that Spanish Forces in Italy can be under more Temptations of this Kind than Dutch Forces in Flanders: And yet nothing like it was ever attempted, because it would certainly have caused an Expulsion of all such Troops from those Countries; a sufficient Reason why it newer will be attempted.

The Remarker leaves the World to judge, if the reigning Princes, or the Emperor, should either justly or unjustly oppose the Execution of this Treaty, who ther it hath procured that only good End

we could ever propose, a general and laste

As I am one of that Many to whom he refere, I will freely explain my Opinion, and as freely submit to better Judgment. Though I admit in this Event (an Event far from certain or unavoidable) that the Peace will not be absolutely Universal, yet l am humbly of Opinion, that our Peace with so many Porters, will at least be very valuable; and that no Interruption of the general Peace can be very long, because it will be a most unequal Opposition. Does he think the French will suffer the Emperor to extend his Conquests any where, or to oppose their Engagements? Does he think there will not be the very same Check and Restraint on his Prussian Majesty's Excursions, as there was a few Months ago, when France and the States General both declared they were Guarantees, and would preserve the Peace in the Circles of Lower Germany? Or does he think no Treaty must be made, for scar some particular Power should unjustly oppose it? If this should be the Case, no Treaties can ever be made.

However, if we must be involved in War, as this Writer alone prognosticates,
I must

I must dissent from him in this, that it matters not what Prince we begin with; because I think a Peace with Spain is infinitely advantageous to a Trading Nation, even during a War with the Emperor; and the Case is much altered for the better, if, instead of a War with both Germany and Spain, we should only be at Variance with the former; nor would a War with the Emperor, as he thinks, be more burdensome to a Trading Nation, and impracticable to a Maritime Power, because our Fleets would sufficiently assist us in Italy; and the French, as also the Turks, would be glad to keep him quiet in Germany.

Now if we consider the Difference between a War with Germany, and a War with Spain, it is very great, and vastly important; no suffering Merchants, no plundered Commetee will then alarm or grieve us. The Trading Interest therefore owes this Writer Thanks, who would gladly continue the Cause of all their Mitfortunes.

He fays, if the Emperor could possess himself of Tuscany, in Case the Succession lay open, he may give a vast Opposition to its being effected. I think not; for he F2 might

might do that by Surprize, which he is unequal to by Force of Arms.

As to the Argument, that Neutral Troops, introduc'd during the Lives of those Princes, would be more consistent with his Honour, as well as more agreeable to them, the Fallacy of that will easily appear, because it is as much a Variation from the Treaty of London.

And fince we fave the Expence of two Thousand Men per Annum, it is a real Advantage, because we should have been as much opposed if we had not saved that Expence; for the Pretence of Opposition is our varying from the last nam'd Alliance; and Swiss, French, or even our own Troops would have been as much a Contravention as Spanish Troops. So that this Frugality cannot, in itself, be the Cause of a greater Expence in Germany.

Having consider'd the Treaty of Seville with regard to the Emperor, we must follow our Remarker, and view it in relation to Spain.

And here it is objected, that the Nonexecution of the Agreement for Don Carlos, must vacate the whole Treaty.

A voluntary Non-execution undoubtedly will; but can his Catholick Majesty violate the Treaty on such an Event as this, that the Fortune of War may possibly (and a mere Possibility it is) deseat the united Arms of Europe against the Emperor?

Besides, it ought to be consider'd, the Restitution of our Losses since June 1727, is to be immediate and forthwith, as well as the Introduction of the Spanish Garrisons is to be WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME, and that the Assair of the Merchants stands prior in the Treaty to the Tuscan Assair, and, so far as it is to be without Loss of Time, must have the Presence; nay, if it is not perform'd immediately, nothing is oblig'd to be done in favour of Don Carlos.

I am almost quite tir'd with pursuing him through every Page; but I dare not neglect him in one Piece of Justice, I mean an ever-memorable Paragraph in the 29th Page which runs in these Words, viz.

• · Ic

"It is likewise very observable, that there is no Provision in this Treaty, as there was in the Quadruple Alliance, to prevent the Conjunction of these Dominions, upon any Contingency, with the Crown of Spain."

This Blunderbuss of a Politician, if he had read the Treaty of Seville with any Attention, would have found the Quadruple Alliance ratify'd Word for Word, as if it had been inserted on this very Occasion, nothing excepted, but the Affair of the Garrisons. Such careful Commentators as this Writer, are admirably qualify'd to publish Remarks upon Treaties.

As to the Argument concerning oftensible Treaties, it is a very just Distinction. The Manner of executing some Designs, must be conceal'd, or they may be deseated. That some Stipulations of this Kind are in the Treaty before us, I shall not deny: But I am assur'd they are only of this Kind, entirely concerning the Introduction of those Troops; and I have given a very good Reason why there can be no other.

He is vastly fond of the Notion that there is some private Treaty; he dwells very

very much upon it: He compares the Ministers to ancient Philosophers, who had their Exotericks and Esotericks; the former for the View of the Vulgar, the latter for their private Meditations: But he, good Man, who is implicitly anti-ministerial, and unphilosophical in every Thing, would suppress the Exotericks, and dwell merely on esoterical Doctrines, though really as they are natural to no Man's Head but his, I wish he would prudently keep them within the Precincts of his own Brain.

He comes on to the Argument concerning GIBRALTAR.

He would invalidate our Right to it by trumping up a Convention never heard of but from some of his Family; I mean the Craftsman and his Correspondents: So that, fays he, this being confirm'd among others, the Engagement to furrender that Fortress still subsists.

I can only reply, that if Writers will pretend to be in Secrets, which the whole World are Strangers to, as there is no difputing with them, fo there is no believing in them. I must therefore conceive Gibraltar is fully secur'd to this Nation, in Virtue of its ancient Treaties with Spain,

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Spain, notwithstanding his modest Infinitations to the contrary.

He fays we must folely rely on the second Article, wherein the King of Spain guarantees all his Majesty's Kingdom's, States, and Dominions; but he honestly suppresses the Words, under his Majesty's Obedience in whatever Part of the World situate; and by the Help of this wretched Sophistry, he accepts a Defiance to cavil at the Guaranty. This egregious Statesman will haveit, that Gibraltar is only a Possession. and not a Dominion, under the King of Great Britain's Obedience: He finds the Word Possession in the Hanover Treaty, and therefore the Word Dominion in this must not be a synonymous Term. Is Wales a Dominion? And is Gibraltar, or the Island of Minorca, no Dominion? What describes a Dominion under Obedience, but Sovereign Power exercis'd therein? I am asham'd from my Soul, to answer a mere Nibbler on Words; a Critick that weighs Sounds, and fcans Syllables. But I have done with this miserable Distinction, which I am ready to believe was invented merely for the Sake of the Defiance, and more to shew his Parts at a Cavil, than to invalidate the Guaranty.

And now he proceeds to three trifling Objections against the Stipulations for the Merchants.

First, As to the Place of Enquiry, which he thinks would have been more properly fix'd at London, where our Merchants, for whose Relief this Commission was principally intended, could with much less Trouble and Expense have produced the authentick Proofs and Vouchers for their Losses, as also reply to any Objections that may be made to their Demands.

Answ. To obviate this it is to be considered, the only Dispute that can possibly arise in this Enquiry will lie between London and New Spain; so that had the Commission been executed here it would have been situated in an extreme Part of the World. And as upon every Doubt or Dissiculty the Commissaries must send to the Spanish West Indies, their Enquiry would not only have been suspended during the Voyage and Return, but during the Journeys of Couriers between the Courts of London and Seville, which would not have been very convenient. And as to the Trouble

or Expence of the Merchants in exhibiting Proofs or Vouchers, their Factors can do it as well as themselves in the ordinary Course of Commerce; nor can it be doubted but that they will properly surnish them at once, with all the authentick Evidence now in their Hands.

Secondly, He objects, that unlawful Commerce, or Contraband Trade, is not explain'd or specify'd in this Treaty.

Answ. The Objection can have no Weight, because there can be no Illicite Trade, but such as stands declared in former Treatics; and Right is to be done upon that Foot alone.

The Third Objection is against the Time allowed for the Enquiry. He cites a foolish Proverb, that to gain Time is to gain every Thing: But can he shew that any Time is lost to us in this Limitation? Can the Commissaries do their Business sooner?

But what is most false and scandalous, that the Restitution, which was once expected for the Spanish Ships taken in 1718, may, if now allowed, over-balance the

the British Merchants Damages by several Hundred Thousand Pounds.

This truly is News; are there many Ships of War in the World worth a Hundred Thousand Pounds? And there were not many TAKEN in All; some indeed were destroy'd, but only those Taken were to be restored: Now will He pretend that these few Ships of War, and mere Ships of War, that were taken, can over-balance the wealthy Cargoes, and the valuable Essects taken from the British Merchants during sixteen Years? I think all the Traders of Great Britain are under infinite Obligations to their Friend for so gracious a Hint.

Nor does it appear, as He arrogantly thinks, that the Spaniards do absolute-by expect a Reparation, because they insisted on this Stipulation to refer the Claim to Commissaries: No, they only put it on the Foot of a common Enquiry, Whether they ought to have a Reparation.

The Writer observes, the Spaniards found their Claim to this Restitution on the Treaty of 1721, which he afferts is the very same Treaty on which they

found their Claim to Gibraltar: But he knows it to be false, palpably false; for the Treaty of 1721 may be seen in Rousser's Collection, and not the least Word or Fint of Gibraltar is mentioned therein.

He has now done with his notable Remarks on this Treaty; whether it be just or bonourable, or advantageous to Us, he leaves the World to judge; whether he hath proved it otherwise, I must also submit, and likewise the Sincerity of his Acknowledgments with Regard to his Majesty's Goodness in his Treaties, or his Right in the Prussian Assair.

He modefily and honefily complains of Writers against him, for putting Cases and pressing Arguments of a very high and personal Nature. If his Friend the Craftsman, or that Author's Correspondents had been tender or sparing in these Things, the World would not wonder at this extraordinary Complaint. They have spar'd no Orders or Degrees of Men, no Privacies of Life or personal Insults whatever: And when these are return'd with most lawful Reprizals, they complain that they are press'd in their Arguments,

Arguments, and put to Pain in their Answers. But I beg Leave to inform them, the only Remedy for this is not to firain so much in their Arguments, or be so provoking in their Insults.

As to making this Treaty the Cause of the King, however that sacred Name was its Ratissication; yet to draw in the Person of Majesty to overbear the Enquiry, is an Artissice I scorn, and do not want. Let it stand or fall by its own Merits: Let it be try'd by the Country without any Consideration of Persons. And I allow that Ministers deserve to be punish'd who make a bad Treaty; but what do they deserve who misrepresent a good one?

After having call'd every foul Name, he hopes he has preserv'd a Decency of Language. On my Part I hope I have preserv'd it wherever it was due: But as to Fraud or Falshood, I think they are entitled to very little Ceremony in the Detection; and to say the Truth in this Case, must be to shew them black as they really are.

His Warmth he would ascribe to the Virulence of the Writer he answers: I

own Part. But as to the fame on my own Part. But as to the Faults he would excuse by his writing in Haste, the very Plea admits a Crime: Why did he not write at Leisure? False Reasoning or Facts are not to be justify'd by Rashneis. I hope that able and masterly Hand, to whose Superiority he is Trumpeter in Ordinary, when He resumes the Subject, will do it greater Justice, and write with more Consideration. If he does not, my own little Abilities may endeavour to supply the Desiciency.

What I have offer'd to the View of the World, is wrote from no unworthy Views, no other Attachment to Courts than what every honest Man owes to upright Magistrates, to a faithful Administration. I have no Interest in this Treaty but what every Free Briton shares in common, the general Advantage of my Country. To shew that I am unbyas's'd on this Occasion, I will be strictly impartial in every Thing of an opposite Nature; and when any Prossitute to Courts shall give as great Offence to disinterested Men, I will use them as I have done the Hackneys of a Faction.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the Writing of these Sheets, upon looking into the Original Treaty, Art. 2. I find the Words of Guaranty are, leurs Royaumes, Etâts & Terres de leur Obeissance, en quelques Parties du Monde qu'ils soient situes. In the Translation Terres is improperly translated Dominions, tho' it should most undoubtedly have been interpreted Lands or Possessions. I therefore submit whether the Words of Guaranty are not very sull, unexceptionable, and most effectual.

FINIS.









