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**The Works Of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John,  
Lord Viscount Bolingbroke**

In Five Volumes, complete.

**Bolingbroke, Henry St. John**

**London, 1754**

[A Final Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication; and to All the libels, which have come, or may come from the same quarter against the person last mentioned in the Craftsman of the ...

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234 REMARKS ON THE  
not arrogant to challenge all mankind, I do it therefore  
the behalf of this gentleman, to prove that the  
conclusion of any one  
the truth of some I may  
in the service of the lady and are in that of his great  
this gentleman I think  
TO THE  
R E M A R K S  
ON THE  
CRAFTSMAN'S VINDICATION;  
AND TO

All the libels, which have come, or may come  
from the same quarter against the person last  
mentioned in the *Craftsman* of the twenty-second  
of May 1731.

A FINAL  
ANSWER  
TO THE  
REMARKS  
ON THE  
GRAYMAN'S VINDICATION;

AND TO  
All the Libels which have come or may come  
from the same printer against the person and  
personnel of the University of the said County  
of May 1751.

A FINAL ANSWER  
TO THE  
REMARKS, &c.

**I**T is impossible to have read the papers, which have been published against the writings of the Craftsman, and not have observed that one principal point hath been labored with constant application, and sometimes with a little art. The point I mean hath been this; to make all the disputes about national affairs, and our most important interests, to pass for nothing more than cavils, which have been raised by the pique and resentment of one man, and by the iniquity and dangerous designs of another. Nothing, which could be said or done to inculcate this belief, hath been neglected. The same charges have been repeated almost every week, and the public hath been modestly desired to pay no regard to undeniable facts, to unanswered and unanswerable arguments, because these facts and these arguments were supposed, by the ministerial writers, to come from men, to whom these hirelings ascribed, against all probability, the worst motives, and whose characters they endeavored to blacken without proof. Surely this proceeding rendered it necessary, at least not im-

VOL. I.

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proper,

proper, at the end of those remarks, which were to conclude the collection of the Craftsman, to say something concerning the persons, who had been so particularly attacked on account of the part which they, who railed at them, were pleased to suppose that these gentlemen had in the writings contained in that collection. This, I say, was necessary; at least proper; not in order to raise a spirit, as it is impertinently suggested in the libel which lies before me; but to refute calumny, and to remove at least some of those prejudices, which had been raised, or renewed, on the occasion of these writings, and which were employed to weaken the effect of them; an effect, which may be said with truth to have been aimed at the noble pair of brothers; since it keeps up a national spirit of enquiry and watchfulness, which it is the interest of these persons, as it hath been their endeavor, to stifle; and which it is the interest of every other man in Britain to preserve in himself, and to nourish in others; an effect, which cannot be said, without the greatest untruth, to have been aimed against the present settlement; since the highest insolence, which can be offered to his majesty, is to attempt to blend his interest and his cause with those of his unworthy servants, as the tools of these unworthy servants are every day employed to do, and probably at his majesty's expence.

SOMETHING was said therefore by the Craftsman, in his journal of the twenty-second of May, to the purpose I have mentioned. If he went out of his way, (for he ought most certainly to confine himself to things, and meddle with persons as little as possible) he went out of it on great provocation. He carried truth and reason along with him; and he used a moderation and a decency, to which his adversaries are strangers.

To

To set this matter in a full light, let us consider what he said; let us consider how he hath been answered; and, by fairly comparing both, let us put the whole merits of this cause upon one short but decisive issue. It will be time afterwards to make a few observations on the clamor raised; on the reasons and designs of it; in a word, to detect the mean artifice and silly expedients, to which the two honorable patrons of the remarker are reduced. In doing this, I shall neither affect to declaim, nor to inveigh, tho I have before me an inexhaustible fund of matter for both, and the law of retaliation to bear me out. As I am persuaded the men I have to do with, can raise no passion in the person concerned, so have I no need of endeavoring to raise the passions of others.----But to proceed.

THE Craftsman took notice of those accusations which are brought against the gentleman he mentions in the second place.---I meddle not with the defence of the other, which hath been undertaken by an abler pen.---Some of these he answered in general only; and yet he answered them as particularly as he ought to have done for reasons of honor, which are touched upon by him, and which shall be a little more opened by me.

BUT there were other points, not at all affected by these reasons, on which no explanation was necessary to be given by the accused, and on which the Craftsman had a right to demand proofs from the accusers. They were points of a more determined nature; such as admitted of no different constructions; such as could not be altered by circumstances. They were of a more public nature; such as the men, who brought the accusations, must have it in their power to prove, if they were true; and such therefore as must be false,

if the men, who brought the accusations, were not able and ready to prove them.

ON these the Craftsman insisted. He affirmed propositions directly contrary to the accusations brought. He appealed to unquestionable authority for the truth of what he affirmed; and to one in particular, which should have been treated with more respect by the remarker, since it will outweigh, at home and abroad, a thousand such authorities as those of his patrons. He challenged all mankind to produce one single proof, in contradiction of any one of the general affirmations.

WAS there any thing unfair, or indecent in this proceeding? Was there any thing in it, which could provoke the choler of those, who are friends to truth and justice? If they, who brought these accusations, had been such, an opportunity was presented to them of convicting the guilty man at the very tribunal before which his cause had been pleaded. By producing proof on these heads, they had it in their power to condemn him upon all the rest; and if this part of the charge was made good, the opinion of mankind would have been fairly enough decided as to the other.

ISSUE being joined therefore in this manner, the accused person must be found guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge; or his accusers must be found guilty of slander, of calumny, and of the worst sort of assassination.

THUS the Craftsman left the matter.---Let us see what hath been said in answer to him.

I PASS over the many scurrilous productions of those weekly ministerial scolds, who are hired to call names, and are  
capable

capable of little more. The elaborate libel, intitled "Remarks on the Craftsman's vindication," seems to be the utmost effort of their and their patron's collected strength; and tho' I have waited several days to see if they had any more scandal to throw out, yet I never doubted an instant from what quarter this remarkable piece came into the world.

THE whole pamphlet is one continued invective, and deserves no more to be called Remarks on the Craftsman, or an answer to him, than the railing and raving and throwing of filth by a madman deserve to be called an answer to those who unwarily pass too near his cell. All that malice could ever invent, or the credulity of parties, inflamed by opposition, receive, is assembled. Truth is disguised by misrepresentation, and even many things which the noble pair know to be false, are affirmed as true.

BUT you will ask, perhaps, whether the challenge is not accepted, and whether proofs are not brought to contradict the plain and positive affirmations made by the Craftsman? I answer, the challenge is accepted, and the remarker assures us that he hath brought proof in numerous instances against these affirmations; which is the more generous, because the Craftsman exacted but one single proof in contradiction of any of them.

THE first of these affirmations was, that the gentleman concerned never entered into engagements, or any commerce with the pretender, till he had been attainted and cut off from the body of his majesty's subjects.---Let us examine the facts, which we find scattered up and down in the remarks, which may be applied to prove, in opposition to this affirmation, what hath been so often asserted, that this gentleman was a  
zealous



zealous jacobite and an agent of the pretender, even in the reign of the late queen.

THE first fact of this kind is this. He left the kingdom. His high treason, among other crimes, was confessed by his shameful flight.

HAD the libeller proved this high treason, I might agree that the gentleman's leaving his country was a consequence; but I can never admit that it is a proof of his guilt. Could no other reason for leaving his country be given, except his guilt, his leaving his country would be a strong presumption against him. But many other reasons will soon occur to those who remember the passages of that time; and reasons there are of a more private nature still, which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting dishonor on a step, which is called, by these foul-mouthed advocates of power, shameful and ignominious. One thing it may be proper to assure them of, that they may pretend to mistake the Craftsman, and to misapply his words no more. It is this. The gentleman never declined a contest with the two honorable patrons of this libel. One of them was, in those days, below his notice; and he never found, upon trial, that he had reason to apprehend being foiled by the other. But we must not yet dismiss this article.

If the proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline, in certain circumstances, a trial; if to go into voluntary exile, either before a trial, or even after condemnation, were absolute proofs of guilt, the conduct of many greater and better men than the person now accused would deserve our censure, and that of calumniators, as vile as these libellers, would merit our approbation. ME-

TELLUS

TELLUS and RUTILIUS must be condemned. APULEIUS and APICIUS must be justified.

THIS sort of proof therefore not appearing sufficient to make good the charge, that this gentleman was engaged with the pretender before his attainder, great pains are taken, and much rhetoric is employed to shew, what we shall not presume to contradict, that he ought not to have engaged in that cause after his attainder. Neither did the Craftsman insist on this circumstance as a defence of the person accused. He fixed this date of the engagements mentioned, in contradiction to those who had falsely affirmed that these engagements were much more antient. But he neither urged it as a defence, nor pleaded it as an excuse; and yet I am persuaded that this very circumstance had some weight with his late majesty, when that excellent prince, the mildness of whose temper, and the clemency of whose nature, would have rendered him amiable in the most private station, and made him almost adorable in that great elevation, to which the providence of God had raised him; when that excellent prince, I say, was pleased, on his own motion, and without any application from the person here spoken of, to extend his present, and promise his future favor to him.

THO the Craftsman did neither say nor intend what has been objected by the remarker to him, yet he might perhaps mean something more than hath been observed; and if he did mean it, he meant to inculcate, upon this occasion, a very useful, general truth. Let us grant that the man, who engages against his country, even when he has been oppressed in it, or driven out of it by violence, is not to be defended; that these are occasions, wherein we ought to kiss the rod, which scourges us, and reverence that authority, which we think

think has been unjustly exercised against us. But then let it be granted likewise, that human passions are so strong, and human reason so weak, that men, who suffer persecution or who imagine they suffer it, are seldom able to keep within these bounds of heroical moderation. They will be apt to seize the opportunities which may be offered, of resisting, or of attempting to repair the injuries done them. They will flatter themselves, that they do not vow their revenge against the people, the innocent and collective body of their countrymen, nor go about to subvert the constitution of the government. They will persuade others, nay they will persuade themselves, that they do not seek revenge, but redress; nor aim to destroy the law, which punishes, but to prevent the abuse of it, which persecutes. Thus will men, who actually suffer, be apt to reason; and if the case be common to numbers, they will be apt to proceed from reasoning on such principles, to act upon them. Wise governments therefore have been careful to distinguish between punishment and persecution; have never suffered the former, however just, necessary, or severe, to carry the least appearance of the latter. LUDLOW was justly punished. My lord CLARENDON, whom the remarker hath so strangely yoked with the regicide, was unjustly, ungratefully and cruelly persecuted. We may pronounce, without uncharitableness, that the former would have taken any opportunity of subverting a second time the constitution of his country; not from resentment alone, but from principle. The latter would have been moved by no resentments to disturb that frame of government, which he had contributed so much to restore. The former example therefore hath nothing to do in this place; and if I admit the latter, it will only serve to shew us how men should act, not how they do act. It will be one example of virtue, opposed to innumerable instances of frailty. Innumerable, indeed, are the instances

stances of men in all ages, who, having been driven out of their country by violence, have endeavored, even by violence, to return to it. This is the general and known course of nature; depraved indeed, but human: and since it is so; if we allow that they, who disturb a government, because they think themselves persecuted, deserve no excuse, we must allow that those, who give occasion to this disturbance by persecution, deserve very little.

I HOPE I may deserve some for this digression, into which the remarker led me; and I return to my subject, by saying that neither the Craftsman hath pretended, nor do I here pretend, to excuse the engagements which this gentleman took, after his attainder, and which his late majesty so graciously pardoned; but that his taking these engagements, after his attainder, is no proof that he was under them before; and that his going out of the kingdom, in the late king's reign, is no proof that he was a zealous jacobite, and an agent of the pretender in the late queen's reign.

THE libeller, finding himself unable to make this charge good, lessens the charge that he may suit his proof to it. If he cannot prove that the gentleman was in the interests of the pretender, before his attainder, he will prove at least that he had a strong propension to those interests; and how does he prove even this? He asserts that in the year 1702, this gentleman was "one of the virtuous one hundred and seventeen, who gave their votes to throw out the bill for settling the protestant succession, &c." False and impudent assertion! A few pages before he pretends to have the journal book of the house of commons before him. Had he it before him now? If he had, how can he affirm, in direct contradiction to it? If he had not, how could he venture to affirm any thing, concerning this matter?

The bill for settling the protestant succession, in the present royal family, passed the house of commons in the month of May 1701, not in 1702; and it passed nemine contradicente, to bring in a bill "for the farther security of his majesty's person and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors." This bill was accordingly brought in, and the persons who, by order of the house, prepared and brought it in, were sir CHARLES HEDGES and one mr. ST. JOHN. In the progress of this bill through the house, it appears that there were some debates and divisions about particular clauses and amendments; but the bill was passed without any division: so infamously false is the assertion made by this libeller, that there was no division of an hundred and seventeen, or of any other number, for throwing out either the bill which settled the succession; or the bill, which was made for the farther security of it. There was a division indeed, of an hundred and seventeen against an hundred and eighteen, upon a clause added by the lords to a bill for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration, &c. and this happened in the year 1702; but what relation hath this fact to the fact asserted? Whether the gentleman voted against this clause, or not, I am unable to say; and it is to no purpose to enquire; for the clause regarded only such persons as had neglected to take the abjuration oath in time, and provided that if such persons had forfeited any office, benefice, &c. to which any other persons had been preferred, the former should not be restored by taking the advantage of this act. If this pretended proof is not another instance of the vilest calumny, the libeller himself confesses that the Craftsman's challenge was properly made; and that there is not one proof in the world against his general affirmations.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER fact, which is advanced and most pathetically declaimed upon, for reasons not hard to be discovered, is likewise applied to maintain the same charge. "This gentleman," says the libeller, "had the impudence to oppose his present most sacred majesty, when he demanded a writ of right---  
 "The writ of summons to parliament. He afterwards caused  
 "the elector of Hanover's minister to be forbid the court, for  
 "no other crime than having demanded that writ." And did this gentleman oppose this writ? Nay, did any other servant of the late queen oppose it? False and impudent is the assertion. It was ordered to be made out the very day \* it was demanded. If the minister, who demanded the writ, was forbid the court, was this gentleman the cause of it? Is every disagreeable circumstance to be ascribed to him in an affair, which was too important not to be laid, by the proper minister, that is by the chancellor, not the secretary, before her late majesty and her council; and in which it may be supposed that her majesty's resentments were alone sufficient to determine such a resolution? Besides, if the minister received the affront mentioned, was it singly and abstractedly for demanding the writ; or was it founded on the manner of demanding, and on many other circumstances, some expressed and some hinted at in the letters, writ soon afterwards by the late queen to her late electoral highness the princess SOPHIA and to his present majesty, which lie before me in the printed annals of queen ANNE's reign? Was the reception, given by his late majesty, then elector, to the minister, who made this demand, at his return home, such a one as shewed his majesty's approbation of this measure, and his disapprobation of what had happened here upon it?---I say no more.

\* Vide annals of the reign of queen ANNE.

WE have now gone through all I can find in this libel, which seems not so much as to aim at making good the first head of accusation, on which the Craftsman made his challenge.

ON the second head, the Craftsman affirmed that the "same gentleman never had any commerce, either direct or indirect, inconsistent with the engagements he took after his attainer, whilst he continued in them." Now, this affirmation, instead of being disproved, is evaded. "It is foreign to me," says the remarker---Is it so?---Have not all his scribbling associates charged this gentleman over and over for being treacherous to the pretender; for being engaged with him; and at the same time a spy and a partisan, such is the language they use, of the late king? Is not the flat contradiction given to this lie a part of the challenge made by the Craftsman? Hath not this libeller accepted the challenge? Hath he not called it a weak, a foolish, and a slavish defence? May he evade it after all his boasting? Is he not bound to make it good in every part, or to own the charge of calumny, which I make on him, on the whole scribbling crew, and on those who pay them? What he, or they will own, I neither know nor care. What the public will determine is evident.

ON a third head of accusation against this gentleman, the Craftsman affirmed, that since he was "out of the engagements last mentioned, he hath had no commerce, either direct or indirect, in favor of that cause." Now, upon this head, though the accusation be not given up in terms, yet is it as little maintained, or supported by proof as the last. The libeller, indeed, calls the gentleman a leviathan of treason; displays the terrible dangers which would have attended the reinstating him; presumes to call it a libel on the late king's memory to say

say that he had such intentions; and yet dares not deny that his majesty signified his having such intentions. In short, with much bombast, he makes the panegyric of his patron, for defeating these intentions. I shall not condescend to make one single remark on this rapsody of scurrility and adulation. Such poison carries it's antidote along with it into the world; and no man will be at a loss to judge whether public or private motives determined the servant, in this case, to defeat the intentions of the master. Which ever they were, he, who can believe that the gentleman so often mentioned has upon him any of that obligation, which the Craftsman disclaims for him, deserves to be pitied; and he, who can bring himself up to affirm it, deserves to be despised. But before I leave this article, it may not be improper, nor unseasonable to enquire, by what criterion good subjects to his majesty and faithful friends to the present establishment are to be distinguished and known. Are all those to be reputed such, who assumed the greatest zeal for the protestant succession formerly?---This cannot be; for many of the tories have this title; and all, who ever wore that name, are proscribed by the system we have advanced.---Are all these to be reputed such, who were alike zealous for the protestant succession, and who have besides made constant profession of the principles of whiggism?---This cannot be either; since many such as these are daily stigmatized with the reproachful names of malcontents and incendiaries; and since endeavors are used, by false deductions and by arbitrary interpretations, to prove them enemies to the government, and in effect arrant traitors.---What is this criterion then? I am able to discover but one, and it is this; being for, or being against the noble pair of brothers, the two honorable patrons of the remarker. Without the merit of approving their conduct, no man is to be reputed a faithful subject, or a friend to his country. With this merit, and with that of a blind  
sub-



submission, even they, who have been the most obnoxious, may be received; and they, who have been called enemies to the government, as loudly as any others, may be inrolled among it's friends. This practice of endeavoring to confine the interest of the government to as narrow a bottom as that of two ministers, has been of late most audaciously pursued. It has been said in direct terms \* that "if his late majesty had put the administration into any other hands, he would have been unjust to those brave men who had done and suffered much to serve him; and that he would not have deserved to wear the crown, if he had not employed the men whom he did employ."--Here, again, there might be room for some particular reflections, if I was disposed to make them. But I avoid this invidious part as much as my subject will allow me to do; and shall therefore content myself with desiring these bold writers, their inspectors and patrons, to consider what the necessary consequences of such positions are. If they dare to assert that his late majesty would have been unjust; that he would not have deserved to wear the crown, if he had not employed the men he did employ; what might they not assert if his present majesty should, at any time, think fit, in his great wisdom and goodness to his people, to remove some of those very men, whom his royal father did employ? The assertion is not even extended to party. It would have been still indecent if it had. But it is confined to a certain number of particular men; as if the zeal for the protestant succession in the present royal family had not been directed, as it most certainly was, to the national advantage; but had been intended, as to be sure it was not, for the advantage of particular men, and to perpetuate the administration in a private family. This is such language, as I believe was never held before, and as no man would

\* London Journal, May 15, 1731.

presume

presume to hold now, if the encouragement to it did not proceed from those, by whom it should be discountenanced and punished.

THERE is another fact, which I must not omit to take notice of in this place; because, tho it is not one of those on which the Craftsman made his challenge, yet it hath been positively asserted by him, and half of it at least as positively denied by the remarker.

The Craftsman said "that the mercy of the late king "was extended to the gentleman we speak of, unasked and "unearned." That it was unearned the remarker thinks probable; and in thinking so he gives the lie to all his fellow-scribblers, who have so often affirmed the contrary. That it was unasked, he says, is a downright falshood. He hath the journal-book of the house of commons before him; and there he finds "that the house was acquainted, by his late majesty's command, in April 1725, that this gentleman had, "about seven years before, made his humble application and "submission, &c. which his majesty so far accepted as to give "encouragement to hope for some future mark of his majesty's "favor and goodness."---In this he exults; but here again the effrontery and falshood which he charges on others, will recoil on himself. Who drew this ministerial message I know not; nor how far the file of it may be necessary, according to the forms usual on such occasions; but the remarker might have known, if he had consulted even his patrons, that his majesty's mercy had been extended to this gentleman two years before the seven there mentioned; and that his mercy did not consist in encouragement to hope for some future mark of his majesty's favor and goodness, but in a gracious and absolute promise of his favor in the full extent, which the circumstances  
of

of that gentleman required. I may be the more bold in affirming this fact, because the noble lord, \* who delivered the message I quote, is still alive, as some other persons are, to whom his late majesty was pleased to own that this message had been delivered by his order, and to express his gracious intentions conformably to it.--- But to proceed.

IT appears most undeniably, that of the three heads, on which the Craftsman gave, and the remarker accepted the challenge, the remarker hath shewn himself unable to prove the first by any true facts, and hath scandalously attempted to do it by false ones; that he hath given up the second; and that he hath not so much as attempted to prove the third.

LET us ask now, shall men, thus plainly convicted of calumny on accusations brought so often and charged so peremptorily by them, expect belief, when they endeavor to defame in any other case? Shall they, who are convicted of accusing falsely in cases, which are plain in their nature, where no proof can be wanting, and where no pretence can be alledged for not producing it, expect that the public should condemn any man, and especially a man who is under so many circumstances of disadvantage, peculiar to his singular and unexampled situation, because they affirm him guilty in cases, which are intricate in their nature, and where reasons of honor, of prudence and of decency may all concur to impose silence? How often have the noble pair defended themselves, and been defended by others, on this principle; that no man ought to charge another, unless he is able and ready to prove the charge? How often have they called for proof on this principle, and triumphed that it was not immediately brought?

\* The present earl of WINCHELSEA.

Now,

Now, altho this defence may not be sufficient in every case, where matters of present transaction are concerned and where the persons attacked are in actual possession of the greatest power; yet surely it may be thought, with reason, to be a sufficient defence, when matters long ago transacted, and long ago censured too, are concerned; when the persons, who attack, are in actual possession of the greatest power; and the person, who is attacked, hath none of those offensive, or defensive weapons at his command, which power furnishes in so abundant a manner.

THE remarker thinks that no "reasons of honor, prudence, or decency ought to shut the mouth of innocence; that shame and guilt alone are silent in the day of enquiry"---When this day of enquiry is to come, and who is to be the subject of it, I know not; but let him learn that there are many cases, wherein it is not honest, and many others may occur wherein it is not prudent, to say all that might be said either in defence or in excuse; that is, when the defence or excuse of ourselves must affect others, not concerned in the debate. In such cases the most innocent will rather bear the imputation of imaginary crimes, by keeping silence, than be guilty of a real crime, by breaking it; and to carry this as far as it can be carried, instances might be produced of men, who have died, rather than accuse others, whose blood was thirsted after more than theirs.

MUCH hath been said, and great complaints have been made, of the torture, as it is called in this libel, given to another gentleman's actions. If, by this, be meant ransacking into all the private and public passages of his life, and wresting every one into a crime; far be it from me to approve in his case, what I abhor this libeller for doing in the case of another.

ther. But is it really so? Have we seen accusations of treachery and ingratitude towards several, who are dead, and towards any, who are living, insisted upon, in the former case? Has it been reproached to the patrons of the remarker, that they wormed out of power a person, to whom they were nearly allied and ought to have been firmly attached by gratitude and friendship? And yet is that a subject, which affords nothing to be said? Are there no circumstances, which might be aggravated at least? Are there no strong colors, which might be laid? Even I should not be at a loss to do it, if I thought it fair to do it; if I thought it honest to push any man to a silence, of which I might take a seeming advantage, or to a necessity of justifying or excusing himself by saying what, supposing him innocent, he ought not to say. Are there no facts relating to former transactions of great importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely secrets, which remain still unmentioned?---In short, is it not apparent that there are men, who accuse, indeed, when the immediate subject of debate leads, and provokes them necessarily and unwillingly to it, whilst there are others, who wait for no such necessity, but accuse merely to defame.

It would be tedious, not difficult, to go through this whole invective; to deny with truth many things, which are falsely affirmed; and, by giving a just turn to others, to set them in a very different light from that wherein the author exposes them to public view; to explain what he perplexes; to distinguish what he confounds. But I shall not take this task upon me, for the reasons I have given, and for others which I am going to give.

As to the conduct, which the person, against whom such torrents of ribaldry are poured forth, held towards those who  
were

were at the head of affairs, whilst he was in business, I shall only add to what hath been said already, what no man of candor will deny; that the heat and animosity, which perpetual contests and frequent turns of party raise, have carried many, perhaps the person who is blamed, perhaps the persons who blame him, to do what, in any other situation or temper of mind, they would carefully avoid: in a word, that the just man hath been, on such occasions, sometimes unjust; the good-natured man ill-natured; and the friendly man unfriendly. Few there are, I fear, who could with a safe conscience take up the first stone upon such a trial. Few there are, who are blameless. But here is the difference. The just, the good-natured, the friendly man returns to the character, out of which he started. The unjust, the ill-natured, the unfriendly man persists. The first reflects with sorrow on what the last reflects with triumph; and whilst one wishes undone what the heat of party carried him to do, the other is glad of the excuse of party, such as it is, to indulge the viciousness of his own nature, and to repeat unjust, ill-natured and unfriendly actions to the living and even to the dead.

THERE is an example before us, which may serve to illustrate what I have said.---Great advantage is taken of a memorial sent to the late queen, by the late earl of OXFORD, wherein many hard reflections are made on others; but the hardest of all on the person here referred to. He is painted in the worst colors, and accused to the queen of the greatest faults. Should I descend into the particulars, I might shew that the accusations were groundless, and point out, perhaps, the unjust causes of suspicions which were taken, as well as the motives to the writing that memorial, which I wish had never been written for a reason very different from that which the remarker would be ready to assign. But I shall not descend

into any such particulars, nor give a double advantage to the malicious, who would be just as well pleased to have any handle given them by the living, of inveighing against the dead, as they are ready to seize, on every occasion, that which was given them, so many years ago, by one, who is now dead, of inveighing against the living.

THE persons, who had the honor to serve the late queen, in the last period of her life, have been these twenty years the subjects of great clamor. If the differences which happened amongst them so long ago, gave in some measure, as I apprehend that they did, both occasion and force to this clamor, it would be strange conduct, indeed, in those of them who remain alive, and in the relations and friends of those of them who are dead, to preserve the spirit of difference, and to assist in reviving this clamor.

THE day will come, when authentic history will relate the passages of those times, without regard to the partial views of any party, or the particular defence of any man. Till this day does come, every one must decide, or suspend his judgment, as he sees reason to do; and they, who may suffer by these judgments, must bear it with that temper and respect, which is due from every private man to public censures; nay, even to public prejudices.

BUT what hath all this to do with the characters and conduct of the noble pair? Suppose the men in power, two reigns ago, to have been angels of darkness, will it follow that the two honorable patrons of the remarker are angels of light? What then is the meaning of so great a clamor, affectedly raised on so slender an occasion as the Craftsman of the twenty-second of May gave; wherein little was said, and that little  
with

with much moderation, after much provocation? Why are so many pens employed, and so great pains taken, to divert the attention of the public from present to past transactions; from national considerations to personal altercations?---The reason is obvious; and no other reason in nature can be assigned. The noble pair have been hard pushed, on their management of public affairs, both at home and abroad. Not only their errors have been pointed out; gross, palpable errors; but a long series of error; a whole system of cool, deliberate, conducted, defended, expensive error hath been laid open to public view. What I believe never to have happened before, hath happened on these occasions. The noble pair have been admonished in time, and shewn the precipice, into which, whoever led, they were both falling. The consequences of their measures have been foretold as early as possible, and even whilst the causes was laying. Surely this conduct, on the part of their adversaries, favors more of public spirit than of private resentment; and yet, when they have taken advantage of it, they have stooped short and triumphed in their escape, as they did in the case of the Irish recruits. These very admonitions, which gave them time and opportunity to do so, have been modestly attributed to private resentment alone; tho' nothing can be more manifest than this; that private resentment would have found its account better in silence, would have preferred accusations to admonitions, and would have waited longer to have struck more home.

SOMETIMES, instead of stopping short, they have gone on, answering for and being answered for, till the events have justified the predictions; till the inconveniencies, disadvantages and difficulties, against which the noble pair had been warned in vain, have followed and increased upon them; till even their apologists have been forced to allow some errors, and till  
they



they themselves have confessed their boasted system to be wrong, by changing it, and by boasting of the change. Even after all this, they have complained of clamor; and they still complain, as if there had never been the least occasion for it given by them.---How their new schemes are planned, and how they will be pursued; whether these able men have failed hitherto, because they set out on mistaken principles of policy, or whether they have failed for want of skill to conduct the rightest, we shall soon see.

BUT these are not the only circumstances, which have borne, and still bear hard upon them.---In the course of these and other disputes, it seems to have been plainly and fully proved, that such principles have been established, and such doctrines have been taught by the ministerial writers, as tend manifestly to destroy the freedom of the British government. Such are, the dependency, I mean the corrupt dependency, of parliaments on the crown; the necessity of standing armies, notwithstanding the danger of them to liberty; and some other points, which I need not recapitulate. It is sufficiently known how much, and with how much reason, the far greater part of mankind have been alarmed at these attempts; which, if they succeed, must hurt not only the inferior and temporary interests, but the greatest and most permanent political interest, which a Briton can have at heart; that of the constitution of this government.

As these things have been objected strongly on one side, so endeavors have been used on the other, to disguise and to palliate them, or to evade the consequences drawn from them. But these endeavors have not succeeded. How, indeed, should they succeed? As well might those, who make them, expect to persuade mankind that slavery and beggary are preferable to  
liberty

liberty and wealth, as to make the world believe that these blessings can be preserved to Britain by the very means, by which they have been lost in so many other free countries.

SINCE this therefore cannot be imposed; since the minds of men cannot be convinced of such absurdities, they must be diverted, if possible, from the subject. A new cry is therefore raised, or an old one rather is revived. Disputes, which inflamed the minds of men, whilst the affairs they relate to were transacting, and the conflict of parties was the most fierce, are renewed at a time, when they can be of no benefit to the public, and when the same motives of party subsist no longer. One man, in particular, is made the subject of new invective. Nothing, which malice can suggest, and ill nature and ill manners utter, is omitted to render his person odious, and to represent his designs as dangerous. In the same breath, we are told that this odious, this dangerous man is endeavoring to come into power once more. He stands again "a candidate for grace and trust. He would again administer the public, abandon it's allies, and sacrifice it's honor. Nothing will satisfy him but the power, which he once abused and would again abuse; the trusts, which he once betrayed and would again betray." These are represented, with equal modesty and fairness, to be his requests; and the hero of the remarker, that is the remarker's paymaster, who administers the public so righteously; who never abandoned it's allies; neither the emperor nor France; who never sacrificed it's honor to one, nor it's interest to both; who never abused his power, nor betrayed his trust, through ambition, through pride, through private interest, or private pique; this person is applauded for his opposition to such requests, for his just and fatal discernment.

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WHAT fatality there may be in his discernment, I know not; but surely there is a fatality, which attends those who indulge themselves in speaking and writing, without any regard to truth. How could it happen else that the remarker should so egregiously contradict himself, and destroy in his fortieth page the whole drift of his thirty-ninth? This bold and rash scribbler takes upon him to marshal and to characterize insolently the friends of the man he rails at. If I was not of that number myself, I should probably say more on the subject. This however I am under an obligation to say; that the friends of this gentleman must be such to his person. They cannot be so to his power. That he takes it as the greatest compliment, which can be made to him, to have a sympathy of nature and a conformity of principles and designs with them attributed to him; that he thinks their friendship an honor to him; such an honor as the warmest of his enemies have cause to envy, and do envy; such an honor as the highest of his enemies would be heartily proud to obtain, and have not been able to obtain.

THE friends now of this gentleman, whom he is sometimes said to lead, and who are sometimes said to employ him as their tool, just as it suits the present purpose of scandal to say; these very friends, it seems, the very men, who defend him, "would never raise him above his present low condition, nor "make him the partner of their success."---However they may employ him, the remarker and his patrons know how they mean to reward him.---Since this is the case, since they know it to be so; for what reason, in the name of wonder, is all this bustle made about so insignificant a tool?---Why so many endeavors to raise a jealousy, and give an alarm, as if this man was aiming again at power?---Why so much merit ascribed to the noble pair, for keeping him out of it?---His  
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own friends would not raise him to it.---How ridiculous then is the affectation of his enemies, who value themselves on their opposition to him?

LET the noble pair stand or fall by their own merits, or demerits. I dare answer to them and to the world, upon better foundations than those of the remarker's laying, that their continuance in power will never break the spirit of this man, nor their fall from it excite his ambition. His ambition, whatever may have been said or thought about it, hath been long since dead. A man must be dead himself, who is utterly insensible of all that happens, either to the public or to himself; but he who seeks nothing but retreat, and that stability of situation, which is essential to the quiet of it, hath surely no ambition. Now that this is the case, and hath been long the case of the gentleman, concerning whom I speak, I know to be true, and I affirm boldly. He never had the least, I say more, he never would have the greatest obligations to any country, except his own; and yet so desirous was this man of rest and quiet, that he was contented to enjoy them where fortune had presented them to him. A little frankness might have kept him abroad all his life, without complaint. Much art has been employed to confine him at home, and to teaze him there. If forgetting all former persecutions, he resented the last, would he be much to blame?

I AM not conscious of having said, in this paper, a word against the truth; and I am sure that I have the same truth on my side, when I assert that this man, whom the libeller represents to be so turbulent, so outrageous, and of such pertinacious ambition, however he might have been willing formerly to have had the obligation to the noble pair, of enjoying, by their assistance, the full measure of his late majesty's

intended goodness, would decline with scorn, after all that has passed, to be reinstated in his former situation, at the intolerable expence of having the least appearance of an obligation to them. Neither they, nor their advocates, can be half so sollicitous to keep him out of power, and even out of a state of aspiring after power, as he is determined against the first, and indifferent about the last.

I AM sensible that all this may appear a little improbable to the persons I oppose. It will be hard for them to conceive that the man, who has once tasted power, can ever renounce it in earnest. No wonder they should think in this manner. Those who find nothing in themselves to rest upon with satisfaction, must lean on power, on riches, or both, and on other external objects. Nay, those who have of the two vices, ambition and avarice, the meanest in the most eminent degree; and who would be glad to quit their power, and to retire with their gains, may be afraid to quit it, because they have abused it. They may be so miserable as to see no security out of power, nor any other in it, except that precarious, that temporary security, which is the last and useful refuge of desperate men; the continuing the same violences to maintain, by which they acquired their power; the keeping up of dissensions, and the embroiling of affairs; those noble arts, by which they rose.

BUT there are men in the world, who know that there is something in life better than power, and riches; and such men may prefer the low condition, as it is called by the remarker, of one man, to the high condition of another. There are men who see that dignity may be disgraced, and who feel that disgrace may be dignified. Of this number is the gentleman whom I have undertaken to defend; who possesses his soul  
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without

without hopes or fears, and enjoys his retreat without any desires beyond it. In that retreat, he is obedient to the laws, dutiful to his prince, and true to his oaths. If he fails in these respects, let him be publicly attacked; let public vengeance pursue and overtake him; let the noble pair indulge for once their passions in a just cause. If they have no complaints, of this nature, to make against him, from whence does this particular animosity proceed? Have they complaints of any other kind to make, and of a private nature? If they have, why is the public troubled on this account?—I hope the remarker's mask is now taken off; that the true drift of all this personal railing is enough exposed; and that the attention of mankind will be brought back to those more important subjects, which have been already started, and to those which every day may furnish.

AFTER what has been here said, the gentleman, in whose defence I have appeared, can have no reason of honor to enter, by himself, or his friends, into these altercations; and if my opinion can prevail, should these libellers continue to scold, and to call names, they should be left to do it, without reproof, or notice. The answer now given should stand as a "Final answer to all they have said, and to all they may think fit to say hereafter."

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

without hope of a cure, and engage the most eminent  
physicians. In this treatment, it is evident, to the great  
doubt of success, and time to the end. It is in vain that  
repeatedly, but not be possibly attacked, for physicians  
pains and over the time for the noble part, which the  
their position is a full circle. If they have no complaint, of  
the nature, to make again his, from whence does the pas-  
sicular somewhat, please they complain of any other  
kind to make, and of a certain name? It they have only  
the public method, in the account, I have the remedy  
with a new, and all, that the true bill of all this account  
trying a second, and that the attention of mankind  
will be brought back to those who, in common, which  
have been the art, and to that, which, in my  
opinion, is the best.

As to what has been said, the gentleman, in this  
address, I have observed, and have an opinion, to  
over, by himself, in the world, in the world, and in  
my opinion, can be said, for the sake of the common, as well  
and to all names, they should be left to the  
part, of the world, and the world, and the world, and  
the world, and the world, and the world, and the world.

And to all names, they should be left to the  
part, of the world, and the world, and the world, and the world.