AN ANSWER
To a late Pamphlet,
INTITLED,
OBSERVATIONS on the Writings
OF THE
CRAFTSMAN.

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A N
A N S W E R
To a Late
P A M P H L E T,
I N T I T U L E D,
Observations on the W r i t i n g s of t h e
C R A F T S M A N.

Have always had the utmost Contemt for insignificant, unreasoning, florid Declamations upon S e r i o u s Subjects. When the most important Concerns of a Nation are at Stake, I confess it moves my Indignation to see a little, E-pigrammatical Politician start up, with a Schoolboy’s Conceit, dres’d out in the usual Ornaments of such Compositions; especially, when the Author’s fordid Purpose staring us full in the Face through every Line.

The Pamphlet, which lies before me and gives Occasion to these Thoughts, is indeed such a pom-rous Jargon of Words, without answering any one A 2 Point,
Point, or aiming at any End, that it may seem beneath all Criticism; and I find the Gentlemen concerned look upon it in this Light, by not having taken the least Notice of it; but as many Things become considerable by some particular Circumstances, which attend them; so, perhaps, it may be thought that even this frothy Piece of Pedantry hath some Value stamp'd upon it by the Approbation of Those, who have order'd their Creatures to cry it up as an excellent Performance, and taken great Pains to propagate it through the Kingdom. This will, at least, be my Excuse for bestowing a few cursory Remarks upon it, without any Regard to the Thing itself, or the Author of it.

One Way of expoling the Nothingness of such Productions, is by throwing back the Shuttlecock; and making Use of their own little Turns to condemn the Cause, which They mean to defend. That this frivolous Manner of Writing may appear in a stronger Light, I will begin with shewing that, in many Places, the same Sentence, with the Change or Omission only of a Word or two, will read much better on the contrary Side. I hope the Observer will not make any Objections to this Method of dallying with Him; since it hath been so often practis'd by his ingenious Brethren, the Writers against the Craftsman; and He will perceive, from the Sequel, that it is not my Design to dwell long upon such a triving Way of answering an Adversary; but only to expose it, and for the Sake of reviving my Schoolboy's Talent of writing upon a Theme.

For this Reason, I shall not trouble myself with the personal Circumstances of the Author.—Sometimes He hunts with the Minister. Sometimes, He turns over the mouldy Records of Philosophers. But, by his frequent Theological Allusions, and his favourite
favourite Peal of Bells, He seems to be a Divine; whom the Death of the Bishop of Durham and the Train-Trow of Preferments, ensuimg upon that Event, have affected with the warm Scent of some fat Benefice.—Poor Caleb! How the most ordinary Events are turn'd to thy Destruction?

I shall now proceed to the Author's Words, with a few paraphrasical Alterations, distinguish'd in Italicks.

"I am not ignorant of the unequal Terms, upon which He enters the Lists in a Paper-War, who draws his Pen on the defensive Side. Those, who engage the Hopes, the Covetousnes, and the Ambition of Mankind to their Party, will generally, I fear, lead more numerous Troops and find much better Encouragement than Those, who solicit the Love of their Country and appeal to Justice.

"For as most Men have those Passions, whilst few are bless'd with a publick Spirit, and Men are generally more fond of a Pension than a Pillory; so the Glare of Court-Favour, though never so basely acquir'd, will dazzle much greater Numbers than the clearest Reasoning and most conclusive Arguments will ever enlighten.

"But notwithstanding the Disadvantages, which, from the self-interested Dispositions of human Kind, They sometimes labour under, who undertake the juster Cause; as I flatter myself that, on some Occasions, the Honesty of their Minds may recoil against their Propensity to Flattery, and will not suffer the Depravity of their Natures to get the better of their Consciences; I shall not be deterr'd by the Difcouragements I have enumerated from entering into a short Examination of the original Delign, Progress and Effects of the Writings against the Craftsman.
The first Article of Impeachment is their having usurp'd a Right of circulating guarded Treasons and weekly Falsehoods throughout the Kingdom. — But before We proceed to the Defence, it is necessary to define and settle the Meaning of the Terms made Use of in the Indictment.

First, the Phrase, usurping, seems to acknowledge that there is an undoubted, indefeasible Right of circulating Falsehoods vested in some Persons; and that the Craftsman is only an Usurper of it. If This is really the Case, our Author is much to be commended for endeavouring to depose Him; and for my Part, I am ready to own the Right of Those, who have so long exercised this noble Imperfection with unlimited Authority.

The next remarkable Term, made Use of in the Indictment, is the Word circulating; by which, I presume, We are to understand sending Papers about the Country; and I believe the best Circulators will be found on the Side of this Author and his Patrons; for They have the Clerks of the Post-Office, Customs and Excise, who are not only indulg'd in the same Privilege with Members of Parliament to frank Letters, but may possibly be commanded to take off and disperse many Papers, even at the publick Expence; by which Means They are become the most considerable Hawkers in the Kingdom. I am likewise told, that these Officers have been lately laid under some Restraints, and prohibited, on Pain of Difmission, from getting a Penny in their Way, by circulating any of the Craftsman's guarded Treasons. Their chief Business, at present, consists in circulating weekly Falsehoods and the unguarded, explicit Treasons of the London Journal and the Free-Briton.

In the last Place, the Term guarded Treasons deserves some Notice.

I never
I never apprehended before that there was any other Species of written Treason, but asserting the Pretender's Right to the Crown, or denying That of his present Majesty King George and the Succession in his Family.—Is the Craftsman guilty, upon this Article, by constantly and clearly defending the Principles of the Revolution, and the Parliamentary Right of limiting the Succession to the Crown? No; the Treason, with which He stands charg'd, is guarded Treason. Guarded by what? — By the Law; that is, Treason, which the Law hath not declared to be Treason. I don't like, by any Means, this new Species of Treason, which is not to be found in our Statute-Books. Guarded Treason, in the Hands of a guarded Minister, may prove very dangerous. I take this Term, according to its natural Interpretation, to mean something, which might be wrested into Treason in a Court of Justice, if the Law did not guard the pretended Delinquent; something, which would be call'd Treason, if We had an Attorney-General and no Law; but is not Treason, since We have Law, as well as an Attorney-General.—This same Law is a strange, uncourtly, uncomplaisant Sort of a Thing; and ties up the Hands of an angry Minister in a most unreasonable Manner.

But since this Writer hath thought fit to coin a new Species of Treason, I must put Him in Mind that there is not a more heinous Kind of Treason than to undermine those Foundations of the Constitution, which equally support the Rights of the Crown and the Liberties of the People. They are inseparably cemented together; and He, who attempts to shake the one, must of Course weaken the other.

Before I leave this Head, I must just take Notice that the Case of poor Mr. D'Avers seems to be very
very odd and extraordinary. Whilst He is openly threaten'd with Correction by one Writer, who is a
profe's'd Nonjuring Parson, for being too much a
Whig and having spoken disrespectfully of some of
the Stuarts, He is charg'd by another (I might say
by several others) with being a Jacobite, and hav-
ing a Design to set up the Pretender, who claims
the Crown, as Heir of that Family.—This is some-
what like the Cafe of our Countrymen in the Reign
of Harry the Eight; when They were hang'd for
being Papists, and burn'd for being Protestants;
Dij immortales! (cry'd a Foreigner) quomodo vi-
vunt Hominès in ihis Regionibus? Suspenduntur
Papiffici; comburuntur Anti-Papiffici.

If the Author of the Observations should like-
wise prove to be a Nonjuring Parson (as the Town
generally supposes Him to be) I leave it to be con-
 sider'd whether his Resentment against the Writings
of the Craftsman may not proceed from the same
Motives, which actuate his Brother Earlery; and
whether He might not think the most politick Way
of venting his Spleen was to take upon Himself the
Character of a Courtier, and write under the Dis-
guise of an Advocate for the Ministry.

But to proceed in our Author's Strain.

"P. 7. A certain, great Man hath, by a sort
of Papal Authority, taken upon Him to dictate
to his Fellow-labourers in the Ministry, as dog-
 matically, as unfairly, and as ignorantly as his
Holiness; and to impose his Opinions and Mea-
sures as infallible; and when Experience hath
proved the one erroneous and the other unsucce-
sful, his Invention supplies his Wisdom, endeaour-
ing to correct the past Blunder with a fresh one.

"But unless He could contrive that the Read-
ing of publick Papers should be prohibited to
*the English, as the Gospel is to the Followers*
of the Pope, his Frauds may chance to be detected; the Sect of political Jansenists increase; and his Bills not received with implicit Faith.

I had once resolved to pass over this Paragraph of our Author, which contains some indecent Reflections on our worthy Friend the Cardinal. Far be it from me to disturb that sacred and mysterious Union between two great Ministers; by which, at the same Time, the Papal Dominion is strengthened in France, and the Protestant Succession supported in England.

But the Craftsman treats the Minister too roughly; on which Occasion our Author makes the following Reflection.

P. 8. "For as the Brutality of an Executioner does not prove the Innocence of Him, who suffers; so it is possible for a Criminal to deserve his Punishment, though one abhors the Hand that inflicts it.

It appears from hence that it is the Brutality of the Attack, and not the Innocence of the Party attacked, which hath induced the Author to publish these notable Observations; but is not the Law to be put in Execution, because Jack Ketch may sometimes behave Himself a little butchery in his Office?—I confess, indeed, that Halteres, and Axes, and Pillories, and Scaffolds, are no very agreeable Objects either to a good-natur'd or a wicked Man; but whatever this Author may think of them, I am sure his Patron will allow that They have been of some Use to his Administration, and ought not to be laid entirely aside.

P. 9. "Many pompous Professions are daily made for the Design of their Undertaking. Private Views wear the Mask of publick Good; the Spirit of Slavery affects the Dress and Lan-
guage of the Spirit of Liberty; the Welfare of
the Nation and Loyalty to the King are made
the plausible Pretences for throwing amongst the
People such Doctrines as tend to the Destruction
of his Government.
For a little while, indeed, all the Arrows in their
Quiver seem'd to be directed solely at one Mark;
a Gentleman, who happened to vent a Piece of
guarded Treason in the House of Commons; pre-
ferring the Safety of the Nation to the Preserva-
tion of the Minister.
But if I am rightly informed of that Affair,
(which hath been so often exaggerated as a
bloody-minded Vow) it was no more than a warm
Expression, signifying his Resolution to do what
in Him lay to destroy the Power of the Minister;
for He immediately added, as a Reason, that He
would otherwise destroy the Nation; and if all his
Attempts to fulfil this Vow should prove unsuccess-
ful, it is to be feared that the prophetical Part
of his Speech will soon be too amply verify'd.
If this Gentleman made any additional Vow
not to eat or drink till He had done the Nation
this Piece of Service, the present, plump Condition
of his Person is a plain Proof that He hath broke
it most flagrantly; and He hath only rais'd his Ad-
versary to a Parallel with St. Paul.
What an Honour is it for St. Paul to be the Type
of a first Minister of three Kingdoms? If the Sir
does not come quite up to the Saint, can it be de-
nied that He resembles Him in some Circumstances?
Hath not the Minister been in Prison, as well as
the Saint?—Hath He not been in Perils amongst
false Brethren?—Hath He not renounce'd the
Principles, which He once espous'd with great
Zeal?—Is not This He, who formerly persecuted
Frenchi-
frenchis'd Ministers, and who now preacheth up the glad Tidings of a French Allyance?—O, may the Sir Minister never stand in need of the Saint's Basket?—How impotent is this Ananias of a Craftsman, who hath not been yet able to open his Eyes?—How thick and adherent must those Scales be, which scarce a Miracle can make to fall off?

P. II. "However as the whole Stream of their Malice, for some Time, flow'd only in this Channel, to vilify this great Minister's Name; so, on the other hand, no less Industry and Art were used to extoll his Conduct; to magnify his Services; to brighten his Character; and fortify his Credit with his Prince. All Hands were employ'd; and all Engines set at work. Letters were forged and pretended to be intercepted at the Post-Office, in which the Continuance of his Administration was represented of the utmost Importance to publick Credit; the Press was loaded; Coffee-house Lyons, Table-Spies, and Bottle Companions had their Instructions given them; the groffest Falshoods were inculcated in the groffest Terms; the sacred Receives of Families were invaded; the more sacred Reputation of the Fair Sex was violated; private Conversation was made the Subject of perjur'd Affidavits; and all the Laws of Nature, Custom, Principle, Morality and Society trampled upon and broken.

Minerva's, Fames with double Trumpets, and all the fabulous Machinery of the Ancients were introduced to oppose the Sejanus's, and Wolsey's of former Ages, and the Menzikoff's, Costia's and Mackbeaths of later Dates. Italicks grew
"so familiar on both sides, that it occasion'd even a new Foundery of those Letters.

"But still the great Man was able to repel the Weapons of his Adversaries, by the superior Temper of his Metal. His Quiet was invulnerable, (pardon the Impropriety of the Author’s Expression, which is the Effect of his being already dry-drain'd of Epithets) and He contemn'd Accusations, which his well-temper'd Conscience did not feel; He mistook the Voice of the People for the Voice of his personal Enemies; consider'd all their Clamour as the Effect of Competition, Disappointment, and a Tax upon Royal Favour. Oh! may He place this Tax to the Account of the Sinking Fund, in lieu of those Sums, which He hath taken from it!

When our Author made his pretty Observation, that the most illuminat'd Bodies have the deepest Shadows, He seems to have had St. Peter in his Eye, whom the People follow'd in crowds, to be bless'd with the Sweep of his Shadow, as He pass'd by; and He would, no doubt, have introduce'd this Apostle, as well as St. Paul, in his Panegyrick, had it not been for that unlucky Circumstance in the History of his Life; Silver and Gold have I none.

Nothing is more observ'able than the sudden Transitions of this Author, and his Skill in jumbling incoherent Metaphors together, as will appear from the following Paragraph.

P. 13. "But when this Scent became so cold, that polit'cal Sportsmen grew weary of following a Pack of Animals, (now you see, They are Hounds) who were always barking at a Prey They could not wound, and following what They could not overtake; and that these Writers had rang the Changes (now They are Ringers) on the Words..."
"Corruption, Bribery, Male-Administration, Oppression and Injustice, till People were so habituated to the Vox & preterea nubil, that the Peal laid Those to sleep, whom the Ringers propos’d it should alarm.

He might have added five more Bells to this Peal, and made it compleat; French-Allyances, Depredations, Dunkirk, Hessians, Irish Recruits; and if He had been at a little more Pains, He might have even furnish’d out a Dutch Chime.

But, dear Sir, let me advise you to be a little more sparing of your Metaphors, or to choose them better. Take my Word for it that the barking of Dogs and the jangling of Bells are two of the most unlikely Things you could have possibly hit upon, to lull any Body asleep. Why a Man must read three or four Pages even of your own Works, before He can possibly get a Nap, either in a Bell-fry or a Dog-Kennel.—But if the Craftsmen’s Bells have laid Those to sleep, whom He propos’d to alarm, why so angry good Mr. Observator? And wherefore do you run the Risque of disturbing the good People in their Slumbers, by these unnecessary Remarks?——I am sure it is your Business to let them doze on as long as They please; and I think your Patron is much oblig’d to Mr. D’Avriers for ringing them into such a political Lethargy, just as Nurles sing their Children asleep, when They have a mind to be merry.

The succeeding Paragraphs ought to be treated with more Gravity and Respect, on Account of that sacred Name, which is introduc’d almost in every Line; though it is well known that his present Majesty had no Hand in those Measures, which brought the Nation into that dangerous and uncertain Situation, which He lamented and complained of in his Speech to his first Parliament. No
Endeavours were spared, indeed, by the Authors of the Miscarriages of the former Reign, to shift the Burthen upon their new Master; a more severe Attack on his Honour than all the misconstrued Allusions of the Craftsman from the Conquest to this Moment; for notwithstanding the Author’s Dilemma, a King may be warn’d of the Iniquities of his Minister, without calling in question the Goodness either of his Heart or his Head; and to affirm the contrary, is at once to overturn all the political Maxims of the Law, and the Constitution of England. Princes may have Reasons, which it is not proper to declare. I have known an Architect left to finish a Building, in a very bad Style of his own contriving; and a very unskilful Engineer kept to look after a Machine of his own framing, because no Body else would undertake to correct its constant, erroneous Motions, when it was more proper to pull it to Pieces than endeavour to set it right.

The next Paragraph charges the Craftsman with flattering the King and cajoling the Mob. As to the King, the greatest Respect that can be paid to any Prince, is to tell Him Truth; and I do not remember that any other Art hath been made use of by the Craftsman. As to the People, whom this Author calls the Mob, I answer in the Style of Gaius, (and yet I protest I am no Parson) if this Counsel is not founded on Truth and Reason, it will come to naught. It is impossible to make People uneasy with Grievances, which They do not feel. Faction is always impotent, when the Administration is wise and honest.

It is remarkable, that all the Writers of this Stamp are very angry with the People for reading and admiring the Craftsman. Our Author speaks of them; at the Beginning of his Pamphlet, like brute Beasts, having no Understanding; though I
shrewdly suspect that his Anger proceeds from their discovering too much Understanding, to be cajoled by Him and his Patrons. This puts me in mind of Mr. Sparkish in the Play, who being sensible that his Follies laid Him open to Satire and Ridicule, took up an Aversion to all Writers, and breaks out into the following Exclamation. Damn all your silly Authors whatever; all Books and Book-sellers, by the World; and all Readers, courteous and uncourteous.

Let us consider the Circumstances of the Writers of the Craftsmen, as they are stated by the Author; and here it is proper to take notice that He set out with telling us that it was his Design to consider their Allegations, without entering into the Characters of Those, who advance them; though He begins, in the very next Line, with calling Names; and, in this Place, They are said to be a Set of idle, desperate Fellows, who have no Characters to lose, and nothing worse to fear; inured to Hanging; (which is one of the worst Habits a Man can be addicted to) perpetually declaring against the Pretender, and inculcating Principles absolutely destructive of his Interest; yet at the same Time incensing the present Government. I believe I may add, that these Writers have no Pensions, Salaries, or Gratuities for their Papers, besides the weekly Contributions of their loving Readers. From whence then can their Expectations arise? The Great Man attack'd (however this Author may flatter Him) is far from being an Object of Envy to any of them (as much as They are inured to the Danger of Hanging) and, whatever He may imagine, of personal Hatred to none. From whence then arises their Zeal? In my Opinion, their Conduct, according to this Description, seems to be more Apostolick than Those of the Mini-
Minister; for They must be whimsical Fellows beyond Imagination, who court Preferment by obliging Those, who can bestow it, and try to advance the Pretender’s Interest by preaching up Republican Principles; which is so far from being true, that it is the universal Opinion, that for one Jacobite the Craftsman hath made, a certain great Man hath made his Thousands; and whoever deals in the Manufacture of Jacobite-making, the Minister must always supply the Materials.

It is a sensible Pleasure to every honest Man to see those ridiculous Doctrines, which gave any Life to the Pretender’s Views, abandoned by all People of common Sense; and I still believe that the Constitution, as it stands at present, may and must be supported by the Principles, advanced by the Craftsman. The Pretender, indeed, hath served the Ministry, upon several most important Occasions; but surely it is not altogether politic to employ this Machine upon so trifling a Subject as poor Caleb.

Many Persons now alive remember Bass Brown, Verger of Westminster-Abbey. He had but one Secret for keeping Himself unrival’d in his Sovereign, the Dean’s Favour, and often partaking of his Bounty; which was driving the Dogs out of the Church; but that He might, at the same Time, make his Ministry the more necessary, Bass took Care to whistle them into it. This may be call’d Plot-making; and when the Terror of his Whip had made all the stragling Curs forsake even the Cloisters, I am told that Bass kept a Boy hid in a Corner, who could bark. This I call Pamphleteering.

But, says our Author, the Transition was easy from Ministers to Princes, and the same Methods, which had served to defame the one, were now employed to depreciate the other. In Pursuance of this Design,
Design, They recur'd again to History for Parallels.— I affirm that this Method of attacking an Author is mean and ungenerous. It is not the Language of the Law; which, in all Censures for Male-Administration, excludes the present Possessor of the Throne. It is not the Language of Conversation, nor of Gentlemen. It is not the Language of Religion; for without impeaching Providence, one may find Fault with his Agents. It is protecting our selves from the Shot of an Enemy, by interpoling the Body of our Father.— But let us see who is the Criminal in this Case.

A Workman is digging in old Rubbish. A Servant standing by, throws the Dirt by Handfuls upon his Master, and lays the Blame upon the Digger.— Let me state another Case.

A great Lord is travelling a long Journey, under the Conduct of a Servant, whom, for want of a better Title, We shall call his Fac-totum. An honest Yeoman, an old Acquaintance of my Lord, accoits Him after this Manner; "My Lord, you are in "a wrong Way; long; impaiFable; ill-accommo-"dated; and beset with Robbers. Sir Harry the "older and younger, and Sir Edward (your Ance-"ftors) all came to fatal Accidents in taking this "Route."— My Lord, replies the Fac-totum, I "desire your Lordship to observe the Insolence of "this Fellow; who, without any Knowledge of "your Lordship's Intentions, pretends to intruct "your Lordship and Me, in what We must cer-"tainly know, and He is totally ignorant of; and "This, forsooth, He is not satisfy'd to do, with-"out reflecting upon your Lordship's Character; "for of the three Gentlemen mention'd, one was C
"the simplest Fellow in the World; the other a Bully, and the third the arrantest Whore-Master of his Time." Upon which some high Words ensued between the Fac-totum and the Countryman. Then, says the Fac-totum, let us appeal to the Country, who ought to know; and calling up one of them and slipping a Crown-piece in his hand, am not I in the right, Tom? — To be sure, Master. A second, a third, a fourth answered and were rewarded after the same Manner. At last one took Part with the Yeoman — I remember you, Friend, quoth Fac. You were my Lord's Steward, and speak out of Spight, because you are discharg'd.

I believe every Man, who is sufficiently informed, will allow the Prince, whom the Author mentions, to have all the good Qualities, which He hath enumerated, and many more. What distinguishes Him from most Persons of his high Rank is Sincerity and Integrity; and one may truly affirm, that an honest Man is a greater Character than the greatest Monarch without those Virtues. But, at the same Time, I will say that the great, personal Qualities of the Prince is the most injudicious Topick in the World for a Minister to infilt upon, when National Affairs are evidently in a bad Situation; for, in such a Case, as much as the Character of a Prince rises, so much must his own sink. — Let us consider this Matter quite speculatively, without affirming or denying any Thing; but by Way of Supposition only. If a Nation should be bullied under a warlike Prince; bubbled under a wise Prince; or run in Debt under a frugal one; if their Swords should be pad-lock'd under a Monarch, whose secret Inclinations lean towards the Scenes of Action; if there should be many Ebbs
Ebbs and Flows, Vicissitudes and Fluctuations in the Affairs of Peace and War under a Prince of known Constancy, and whose Abilities are equal to his Application; such an unusual Conjunction of Royal Virtues and Royal Beams, amidst so many national Misfortunes, will undoubtedly make the Shade of the Minister still deeper. The People may very justly complain, in such a Case, that their Business is carried on, in a Congress, too much by the same Methods, by which it is managed at home; and that their Welfare hath been made too much subservient to the Interest of another Nation, which (to use the Words of our Author) I am not able to name without blushing; for I must observe that these Ebbs and Flows of the Power and Interests of Europe, which He complains of, are so far from being any Excuse for bad Measures, that They are the properest Tools for an able Minister to work with; and are the most easily turn'd, by a Man of Parts and Dexterity, to the Advantage of his own Country; by never dipping it deep in any of the Quarrels of Europe; but keeping all its Princes in a Dependance of us, as their only Mediator and Re-sort in all Cases.—How weak it is therefore to urge that there have been no Errors and Defects in the Councils of Great-Britain; but that the Vicissitudes and Fluctuation of human Affairs have been the Cause of our continuing, for so many Years together, in our present unhappy Situation, without any Vicissitude?—There is a certain Place in the World, where this Author's Friend knows how to turn the Ebbs and Flows of some Affairs to his own Advantage; and it is extremely unhappy for England that his Genius does not extend farther than that narrow District.
This Author seems to be very well acquainted with the Method of facilitating domestick Measures; and hath pointed out the true Reason why They are more easily manag'd in Parliament, than foreign Transactions at a Congress; because, in the former Case, each Particular finds his distinct Interest in a ready Compliance on the right Side of the Question.

One would imagine, indeed, by the Multiplicity of Treaties, which have been lately concluded, that They were as easily made as Acts of Parliament; and, perhaps, it would be happy for the Nation, if some of them could be as easily repeal'd.

He tells us, in the next Paragraph, That our Credit is at as high a Mark as ever it was known to stand; and that our Trade, though it is at present in a very bad Way, will some Time or other be in a better. But does he want to be told, that the low Condition of our Trade is one of the principal Causes of the high Condition of, what He calls, our Credit? I mean, that since People cannot employ their Money in Trade, They are forc'd either to buy Stock, or let it lye dead? But what is our Credit? Why, the publick Debts; which are not the Riches, but the Poverty of the Nation; so that if this Observation is true, We have no Reason to rejoice at the High Condition of the one, and ought to lament the very low Condition of the other.

Supposing We were to make two Inventories; the one of the Minister and the other of the Nation, when it was deliver'd into his Hands; I am afraid We should find a prodigious Variation in the Balance.
Ballance at present. It would seem too invidious a Task for me to expatiate on the surprizing Increase of the former; and many People do not scruple to affirm, that the latter hath continued gradually declining in Proportion. They form, I hope without Reason, a long Bill of melancholy Particulars; Alliances inverted; exalting Those Powers, which We ought to reduce, and depressing Those, which We ought to support; impracticable Treaties; Hermaphrodite Measures, neither Peace nor War; Insults upon the Element, where we used to ride triumphant; Decay of Trade, without Abatement of Industry; Connivances at the Breach of the most solemn Stipulations; Complaints, where We us’d to threaten; and Supplications, where we were wont to compel; Troops, Taxes and Increase of publick Debts; (the sole Fruits of eighteen Years Peace) and, to use the Author’s Expression, that We are reduced to the Option of breaking with the Emperor or Spain; and, by pawning our most valuable Concerns in the Hands of a proud, exasperated Nation, to purchase a War with our natural Allies.

The next remarkable Observation of our Author is a round Assertion that the Charge of Corruption is entirely groundless. Perhaps, it might be dangerous for me to contradict Him in this Particular, if I had not the concurrent Testimony of the whole Legislature, that Corruption prevailed to a very great Degree without Doors, by the glorious Act, which They made to prevent it for the future; and the Bill, which afterwards passed our present, uncorrupt House of Commons, is a Proof of their Apprehensions that it might have imperceptibly insinuated itself even within Doors; for Persons never tye themselves
themselves up from Play, but when They are con-
fscious of some natural Propensity to Gaming.

Besides, our Author would willingly confine the
Notion of Corruption to the Practice of selling
Employments for Money; and defies us to produce
one single Instance of it.— Alas! what Occasion
is there to give Money for Places, when We all
know that They are often got for a Word speak-
ing?— Aye— and a short one too?

" But, says He, had all these Representations
" They have made of the Decline, Contempt and
" Corruption of our Situation been faithful Reports,
" where must the Odium have fallen but on the
" Head of our State?"

How unfortunate is it for me that I can hardly
ever agree with this Writer? For supposing, as He
does, that all these Representations of our Circum-
fances had been true, I think the Head of our State
ought to be the last Person, on whom the Odium
should fall. Whatever our Condition is at present,
his Majesty found us in it. The Decline, Contempt
and Corruption of our Situation were as loudly com-
plain'd of, before He came to the Throne, as
They have been since. It is therefore not only un-
just, but monstrously insolent to tax Him with our
Misfortunes, and mark Him out to the People as
the proper Object of their Odium and Resentment.

Where must the Odium have fallen but on the
Head of our State? — I'll tell this Author. It
ought, in my Opinion, to have fallen on the Head
of the Ministry, or rather on the Minister (if any
such can be found) who had long ago engrossed the
the sole Direction of all Affairs into his own Hands; who would admit of no Partner or Adviser in his Administration; but made Himself answerable for the Consequence of his own wild Schemes; and, by a long Course of arbitrary Mismanagement, brought these Calamities on the Nation.

Had our Affairs taken a prosperous Turn, no-body should have been more ready than myself to ascribe the Glory of them to the Head of our State; but to fix the Odium of unsuccessful Measures on the King, and say that the Demerit would have been only his, is such an Insult upon the Throne as I cannot think of without Horror. It is making a Screen of Majesty; an audacious Interposition of the sacred Character of the Prince to protect the Minister; and all the dull Flattery that follows is far from being any Extenuation of his Guilt.

He proceeds thus. "Nor hath the indefatigable "Affiduity of Mr. D'Auvers, for the Service of "his Majesty, confin'd it self meerly to the Ad- "vancement of his Honour as a King; but with "equal Good-will extended it self even to the "Care of his domestick Happiness.

"In this View (for in what other could it be?) "He hath, with a Morality not inferiour to his "Loyalty, not only dared to insult the Majesty of "the best Queen, but endeavour'd to cast a Shade "over the Virtues of the best Woman."

He then sits down, like a great Apelles, to draw her Majesty's Picture, and very judiciously begins with those Qualities, which bear the nearest Relation to his own Circumstances; as her Liberality,
or Readiness to give; her Affability, or Easiness to be solicited; and her Benevolence or Good-nature to the Officious.

I shall take no Notice of his other Familiarities with her Majesty's Character; which can receive no Advantage from such coarse Daubing; but as all the Arrows, level'd at the Craftsman, have been taken out of this Quiver; and He is constantly charg'd with a Design against the present Royal Family and Government, I will endeavour to explain this Affair a little to Those, who have some Understanding, as well as Passions.

The Government of England consists of three Parts, or Estates (the King, the Lords and the Commons) who have one Joint-interest, though their Powers and Privileges are separate and distinct. This is call'd our Constitution; which every honest Man ought to regard in the first Place, and to consider each particular Branch of it in a secondary Light only. The separate Interest of the Parts is one Thing. The united Interest of the whole is another; and superior to them all, when distinctly consider'd. Whoever contends for the Constitution, in general, must be a Friend to all the Parts, of which it is compos'd; whereas Those, who endeavour by Adulation, or other base Means, to exalt the Power of any one Branch of it above the others, is an Enemy to the whole; which must be destroy'd, if his Endeavours succeed.— I will speak a little more plainly on this Subject; as every Englishman hath a Right to do.

The Craftsman hath asserted the Doctrine of Liberty, with a View to the Interest of the Nation in general.
and without any particular Applications. He hath shewn that Liberty is the fundamental Basis of our Constitution; and that it cannot be preserved without keeping the Spirit of it alive. He hath produced Instances, from History, of various Attempts, in various Reigns, against the Liberty of his Country; sometimes by Ministers; sometimes by Kings; and sometimes by Queens; which He hath apply'd to his general Doctrine; and shewn that when the Spirit of Liberty hath been preserved, all these Attempts have proved vain and abortive.—

To say that He does This with a Jacobite View (as the little Fry of Scribblers against Him have asserted) is trifling and insignificant.— It is done with a manifest View to preserve the Constitution and the present Royal Family; which was placed at the Head of the Government, to preserve the Constitution upon these Principles and no other; for even the Head of our State (to use the Author's Phrase) is but one Branch of our Constitution, and ought to be look'd upon only in this Light. He is restrained by Laws as well as the others; and bound by an Oath to maintain Them?— I am sure This is the Principle of an honest Briton. It is the Principle of the present Establishment; and of the Revolution, upon which it is founded. Let it not be said that I mention the Revolution, as a menacing Insinuation, or with any View to another. I mention it for the Honour of his present Majesty, as his Title is established upon that glorious Foundation; (which ought never to be forgot;) and, I hope, the Crown of these Realms will continue in his Royal Family till Time shall be no more; but it must continue upon this Principle of Liberty; and Those Men, who endeavour to instill any other Notions into his Royal Breast, are the most dangerous Enemies to
his Government. They are vile Flatterers, and detestable Sycophants; who have been the worst Bane of Princes in all Ages.

The Argumentation of our Author, upon this Head, is therefore as awkard as his Panegyrick. He taxes the Craftsman with drawing a Parallel between Edward the IVth's Queen and her present Majesty; and yet, at the same Time, gives the plainest Reason in the World, from the Matter of Fact mentioned by the Craftsman, that He could not mean it as such; because the Circumstances do not agree.——There is certainly a wide Difference between a Parallel and an Example; between an In- vocative and an Admonition; between a Conduct, erroneous in some Particulars, and a Character absolutely vicious.——I will leave the World to judge, which of the two most probably intends the Shipwreck; He, who sets up the Beacon; or He, who takes it away?——Where the rough Spirit of Liberty hath hurt one Prince, the smooth, deceitful Voice of Flattery hath destroy'd a Thousand.——Charnock, King, and Keys (those execrable Conspirators against our immortal Deliverer, King William) were not so dangerous as a Minister, who endeavours to persuade his Prince that every Piece of extra-ministerial Advice is an Arraignment of his Conduct; and that all Information from private Persons reflects upon his own Circumpection.

Upon reading over the Arret against the forty Advocates, who have lately made an Attempt to revive the Power of the Parliaments of France, I cannot help thinking that our Author had a Sight of it, before it was publish'd, and made it the Model of his Observations; for it is observable that They both
both run in the same Style; and that the Principles of Liberty, which They condemn, are not very unlike.—These Lawyers, for Instance, assert that, by the Constitution of the Kingdom, the Parliaments are the Senate of the Nation; the sovereign Tribunal, and Depoitories of the Laws of the State; that They have the Representative Character of the publick Authority; and that the Laws are true Conventions between Those, who govern, and Those, who are governed.—These Doctrines are call'd, in the Arret, A criminal Attempt to lessen the Respect of the People for the King’s Supreme Authority; seditious; and tending to disturb the publick Tranquility. For this Reason, the Pamphlet, in which these pernicious Principles are contain’d, is order’d to be torn in Pieces; Mr. Lottin, the Printer (who seems to be the Francklin of France) is commanded to produce the Written Copy; and the forty Advocates, who have subsciibed it, have a Month allow’d them to sign a formal Recantation; in Default of which They are to be suspended from all their Functions, and left to the further Rigour and Severity of the Law, as the Importance of the Matter requires.

I need not draw any farther Parallel between this Arret and the Observations of our Author. The Reader will easily perceive that Authority supplies the want of Argument in Both; and that the Principles of Liberty are represented destructive of Government, and the publick Tranquility.

The only Passage, in this empty labour’d Declaration, which seems to have any Meaning or Design, besides Flattery and Abuse, is That, where the Author endeavours to fix a Contradiction upon the
the Craftsman. He charges Mr. D'Anvers with having laid that the Spirit of Liberty and the Spirit of Faction never subsist together; and yet that, in the Craftsman of October the 3d, it is said, in Relation to the Case of the Yorkshiremen and Lancashireans, though each Side contended to have a King of their own, neither Party would have a Tyrant, They sacrificed their Lives to Faction, but would not give up their Liberties.

Upon which this exquisite Reasoner makes the following Observation.—This sure demonstrates that the Spirit of Faction did reign, even among these Champions for Liberty.—And who, I pray, ever deny'd it?—I am sure the Craftsman and his Friend Mr. Oldcastle have often made this Observation; particularly in the very Paper, from whence our Author hath taken this Passage; where it is directly said that We must not imagine, notwithstanding all the contrary Appearances in this Period, that the Spirit of Liberty was absolutely extinguish'd. Though that Flame was lost, for the most Part, in the constant Glare of Faction, yet it was still alive; and, by living, preserved the Constitution of our Government, during the whole Course of these Civil Wars.

Nay, to expose the Sophistry of this Author still farther; the Observation, which He instances, as a Proof of the Craftsman's Self-contradiction, is introduced in that very Paper, from whence He quotes it, as a memorable Exception to the general Proposition, that the Spirit of Liberty and the Spirit of Faction are incompatible and cannot long subsist together.
I do not remember any Assertion of the Craftsman that a Spirit of Liberty and a Spirit of Faction never subsist together. I apprehend, on the contrary, that the Design of his Argument for keeping up the Spirit of Liberty is to defeat the Ends of a Spirit of Faction.

But such a Cavil as this does not deserve a serious Answer; and I should have taken no manner of Notice of it, if it had not been the only Point, which bears the least Appearance of Reasoning, or even of an Object against the Writings of the Craftsman.

To treat this Subject in a familiar Light; I take Faction to be a well-looking, rantipole Strumpet; who happening to resemble Liberty, in some Features, takes upon her to personate the virtuous Lady; as some Gentlewomen of the Town have done Maids of Honour. She affects her Dress, Mien and Voice; often frequents the same Walks, and sometimes gets into the same Company; which is a plain Sign that the fair Lady, whom she represents, must be very amiable Herself; but though the Jade may draw in a Cully now and then, there is no Instance of her having ever imposed on the whole Town.

To sum up the Author's whole Evidence, it appears that this same Craftsman, not having the Fear of God before his Eyes, hath wickedly plotted the Destruction of the Minister; and, proceeding in a Course of guarded Treasons, is guilty of a legal Conspiracy against the present Government, by preaching up the Principles of the Revolution, and
and putting the People in mind of their ancient hereditary Liberties; that He hath, for these four Years past, carried on an hellish Design of excluding the present Royal Family, by constantly asserting their Right; and of introducing Popery and the Pretender, by continually declaring against them. In short, that He is a Republican Advocate for the present Constitution; a Popish Whig; an Hanoverian Jacobite; and, in all Probability, the secret Director of the Incendiaries at Bristol.

What can be done with such a mischievous and desperate Fellow?— He is so much inured to the Danger of Hanging, that to be sure He does not value an Halter a Straw; and our Laws are so strict-laced that They will not allow us to deal with Him, as his seditious Brethren have been dealt with in France.

But as all extraordinary Cases require extraordinary Methods of Proceeding, I wonder our Author did not propose that all the Books, Pamphlets and Papers, which this wicked Incendiary hath dispers’d, should be carry’d to the Secretary of State’s Office, to be torn in Pieces; that Richard Francklin, the Printer, shall be oblig’d to produce the written Copies, (if He hath not already burnt them;) and that Caleb D’Anvers shall, within the Space of a Month, sign a formal Retraction of all his pernicious Tenets; and submit Himself to the new Constitution of this Author and his Patron; That (as Duke Trincalo says) the Government may be suffer’d to drink in Quiet.

FINIS.
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