REMARKS
ON THE
CRAFTSMAN'S
VINDICATION
OF HIS
Two Hon'ble Patrons,
In his Paper of May 22, 1731.

Par nobile Fratrum.

The Sixth Edition.

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HE Mask is indeed taken off. The Craftsman hath openly avowed the Conduct of the late Lord Bolingbroke. The vindictive and merciless Hand, whose flaming Zeal against all wicked Ministers hath so long pointed the Dagger at another Gentleman's Breast, hath so long threatened the Axe to that Minister's Head, and solemnly sworn to pursue him even to Destruction: This Roman-spirited Patriot, as he modestly affects to call himself; even He, with astonishing Meekness, espouses the Cause, and vindicates the Character.
character of a Person attainted of High-Treason: A Person, who by his own Confession, fled from the Justice of his Country; and who, by the Confession of his truly Advocate, enlisted himself in the Service of the Pretender.

This is the Man, opposed to the Person whom two succeeding Princes have honoured with their Favour, and trusted with their Power. Since then, this upright Gentleman, who now is Candidate for that Grace and Trust, hath, by his ingenious Advocate, offered himself to the Trial of his Country; since he puts his Honour upon their Examination; since he insolently challenges all Mankind to prove that Guilt against his Character, for which he fled the Kingdom, and forfeited his Honours: Let us therefore accept this Challenge; let us examine that weak, that foolish and flavish Defence, which the Craftsman hath given in his Name.

It is said, That they who would have declined a Contest with him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blushed to declaim against him in another Condition. Ridiculous and trifling Pretence!
Pretence! Whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, why did he not answer? Who disabled him to answer? Who changed his Condition but himself? Who declined the Contest but himself? Who abandon'd the Trial but himself? He first ignominiously flies from publick Justice: He then pretends, that his Accusers would never have met him at that Bar: Which had it been his real Opinion, guilty as he was, he would not have fled; and had he been innocent, though his Accusers would have met him, yet he would have stood the Charge. How monstrous is that Defence, where a Man pretends himself to have been conscious of his Integrity, and fearless of his Accusers; yet at the same time run away from his Trial, and dared not abide the Test of a National Enquiry.

It is also said, impudently said, That his Accusers have experienced in his Case, that the Unfortunate are not Friendless; That likewise they may live perhaps to experience in their own, that the Guilty are so. Little is this to be feared by any Man alive, when so much Guilt as fell to his Share hath not excluded him from Friendship. If Corruption, if Breach of Trust, if Breach of National Faith, if
HIGH-TREASON itself; the first charged upon him by his Friend the late Earl of Oxford, in an Instance of more than Twenty Thousand Pounds, of which the Publick was plunder’d; and the others all confessed by his shameful Flight: If these then have not left him friendless, I know not who can ever despair of Friendship.

But who have been this worthy Person’s Friends? Set aside the common Ties of Blood, and such Alliances which will often continue notwithstanding any Crimes, or any Condemnation: Set these aside, we shall easily marshal this unfortunate Minister’s Friends: We shall find them in the Pretender’s Court Abroad, in the dark Cabals of Jacobites at Home: We shall find them among discarded Statesmen, disappointed Whigs, ambitious Malecontents, and veteran Tories; who from a Sympathy of Nature, and Conformity of Principles, who from concurring Circumstances and Designs, have honoured him with a Friendship, which none of his warmest Enemies have any Cause to envy, and which I am sure the lowest of them would heartily be ashamed of.

Other
Other Advantages *heavily* complained of, as taken against this Gentleman, arise from "the various Scenes of Life through which he hath passed; some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature. "Here Calumny, faith his candid Friend, hath more room to assert, and Innocence less opportunity to defend: "Common Honesty, they tell us, in some Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of the Man who carries these Qualities about him, and even more in *his own Cause* than in that of another Person: But Calumny is subject to none of these Controls; and we speak of our own Knowledge, say the well informed Authors of the Craftsman, when we affirm, that in the present Case the false Imputations which the Accusers bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the Accused."

What poor and contemptible Sophistry have we before us. Here are Writers complaining of Hardships done to a Gentleman by Enquiries into the various Scenes of his Life, some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature. Shall they...
then complain of this, whilst they torture another Gentleman’s Actions in the most cruel and merciless manner? What Distance of Time or Place, what Privacy or Intricacy of Transactions, have ever moved their Candor, have ever restrained their Calumnies? And shall they insist upon better Terms for the Character of one whom they acknowledge to have been a Traitor to his Country, and an Agent of the Pretender, than ever they would allow to a faithful Servant of the Prince on the Throne, to a Person eminently trusted in the Councils of the Crown?

Common Honesty and Decency, it is said, shut the Mouth of this unfortunate Minister; and they affirm, that his Honour screens the Charge against him, from absolute Detection. Prodigiously asserted! Did ever Honesty or Decency shut the Mouth of Innocence? Did ever Honour basely submit to Infamy? Shame and Guilt are only silent in the Day of Enquiry: Conscious Honesty is open; nor Decency or Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.
They then take notice of some of the Crimes alleged against this Gentleman; and heinous Crimes the Craftsman allows them to be, if they are true. Let us hear him explain away this Charge: He merits all our Attention.

His Ingratitude and Treachery to the late Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, stand first in the Roll. How then is this Point cleared? Why, the Craftsman says, he believes, "That no Man acknowledges more sincerely than this Gentleman, the superior Merit of those two illustrious Ministers, or wishes more ardently that they were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of Great Britain." But the Craftsman says, "that he knows no Obligation of Gratitude or Honour which he lay under to continue in that Administration when the Measures of it were alter'd. Tho' those illustrious Ministers might have very good Reasons for altering their Measures, he could have none in point of Honour, whatever he might have had in Point of Interest, for complying with that Alteration. Some of the Enemies of this Gentleman, it is
"is said, came into the World on such a foot that they might think it Preferment to be Creatures of any Men in Power: He, who came into it upon another foot, was the Friend, but not the Creature, of those great Men; and had, as they falsely assert, the Satisfaction of proving himself such on several Occasions; and without Overtaking, at least to one of them, at a Time when the Creatures of great Men usually renounce them, at a time when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt."

How just and faithful this Narrative really is, will immediately be seen.

In the first place, the Fact on which the whole Defence is grounded, is a Falshood of the most glaring Nature; namely, That the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin altered their Measures: For it is a Fact of the greatest Notoriety, all Men know it, and none can deny it, that their Administration was uniform; the War they carried on was to recover the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace they laboured to establish was such as might secure those common Liberties. This they never depart-
ed from, and their Plan was never varied. To say then that they altered their Measures, when those Measures were always the same, till this Gentleman came to Court in Opposition to them, is a false and scandalous Libel on these Illustrious Ministers, but no Defence of this very honest Gentleman.

If the Charge of Ingratitude against this Gentleman had no more in it than merely his Difference of Opinion with those Great Men, his Weakness and Vanity might have been reflected on, but perhaps no Man would ever have imputed to him his different Opinion as criminal. He might differ with them lawfully, and yet most unreasonably at the same time; but however unreasonable or absurd his Opinion might be, none would have called it Ingratitude.

Here then is the low Artifice, and the poor Sophistry of his disingenuous Advocate, who wilfully mistakes the Charge of Ingratitude merely to consist in his Opposition to those Ministers, and not in the Circumstances of that Opposition, which was carried on by the most barbarous and cruel Defamation that ever any Minister suffered; by the most venomous,
malicious, personal **Inve&ires** that the Vengeance of Hell could inspire; by *Weekly Libels* ushered into the World; by an insolent Letter of his own writing, address'd to the Author of the *Examiner*, and dispersed by his own Authority all over the Kingdom: *Libels* assailed with his own Pen, and encouraged by his own Bounty, wherein the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were treated as infamous Parricides and Plunderers; wherein they were also pointed out to all their Countrymen, as the worst Enemies of their Country; wherein no Variety of Scenes in their Lives, no Distance of Place, nor Secrecy of Affairs, were ever candidly considered; but their private Life, their domestick Peace, were invaded. The Earl of Godolphin was insulted, not only in his Fall, but even in his Hour of Death, and denied the Privilege of Rest in the Grave. The Duke of Marlborough likewise was defamed in his Absence, for neither Absence nor Death were considered; all Advantages were taken against these great Ministers, all Slanders uttered against them, notwithstanding that this Gentleman owns that he hath such high Opinions of their superior Worth, and such ardent Wishes that they were now in Power; in which
Cafe he would as surely attempt their De-
struction, as the Jews would attempt to
crucify their Saviour should he reveal
Himself again.

If then this unfortunate Lord, or his
Friends, would clear him of the Charge
relating to the Duke of Marlborough and
the Earl of Godolphin, neither he nor
they, have any need to prove that he
had a Right to oppose them, but that
the Defamation of their Persons was
an Act of Gratitude in one who owns
his Obligations to their Friendship.

It would have been very obliging, had
they told us wherein he proved himself
to be their Friend at a time when their
Creatures renounced them. Was he the
Duke of Marlborough's Friend when he
promoted and carried on that Censure
against him in the House of Commons, or
that Prosecution in the Court of Exchequer,
which were so injurious to his superior
Worth? Was he the Duke of Marlborough's
Friend when he so gratefully opposed
and disapproved the Pass, which his
Grace desired to go into Flanders merely
for his private Convenience? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's Friend, when he
he zealously carried on that Charge in the House of Commons; a Charge of notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, in suffering Thirty-five Millions Sterling of the publick Money to remain unaccounted for? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's Friend, when he joined in this infamous Vote against him; and condemned him even without seeing that Evidence which the House had called for, and which, when it came before them, was a full Justification of those Persons whom they thought it necessary first to hang, and then to try? Were these Acts of Friendship to those Noble Lords? These the Proofs of Gratitude given them, when their Creatures deserted them?

It is said, "that he came into the World on another Foot than some Gentlemen," who heartily despise the dirty Insinuation. It is also said, "that he was not the Creature of these Ministers, whilst others might think it high Preferment to be so." If to be the Creature of Ministers, is to serve them faithfully in their Power, and defend them zealously in their Disgrace: If to adhere to them in all their Fortunes, and to do them Justice
in their Fall against all the corrupt Temptations which their Enemies could offer; If this is to be the Creature of Ministers, the whole Creation cannot produce a fairer, or a worthier Character. But if to serve them for mercenary Views and sordid Interests; if to desert them, because they did not gratify these, as indeed who can gratify insatiable Avarice, or restless Ambition; if to supplant their Power by the vilest Arts, and insult their Persons with the most groveling Malice; if to defame their Illustrious Characters; if to deny their superior Worth; if to condemn them without any Evidence, and against all Justice; if this is the Part of a Friend, and not of a Creature, the late Lord B— then was such to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the Earl of Godolphin.

" That he came to Court on the " Call of the late Queen, in Opposition to them; and exerted himself " in her Service, when they served " her no longer, will not, says the " Craftsman, be objected against him C " by
by any Man, who thinks more Al-
legiance due to the Prince than to
the Minister." But the Craftsman
knows, and wickedly evades the
Truth, That this Gentleman came to
Court without her Majesty's Call, and
came there only to oppose her Mini-
sters: That they served her faithfully,
to her own Glory, and the Good of
her People, with the Approbation of
the Queen, and with the Applause of
the Nation, till he and others, by base
and treacherous Arts, supplanted them
in her Favour; succeeding to the great
Offices of State, by imposing on her
Understanding, and not in pure Obe-
dience to her Commands. All this
was done whilst the Duke of Marlbo-
rough was actually in her Service, and
would have served her still, with the
same Advantage to the Nation: But
this Gentleman was restless, till that
Immortal Man was dismiss'd her Ser-
vice, though then in the full Career
of Success; and by this Minister's
Means the Royal Hand was prostituted
to disgrace that Great and Invincible
General. We shall ever make the
just Distinction between Princes and
their
their Ministers. Some Princes there undoubtedly are, whose Judgments and Opinions ought to have a much greater Deference than those of their Ministers; but with the highest Reverence to the Throne, and to the Rights of Monarchy, with all possible Tenderness to the late Queen Anne, and to her pious Memory, I will be so free as to assert, That the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Ggdolphin understood the Interests of this Nation better than ever that Princess could at any time be supposed to do; and that those Illustrious Persons discharged their Trusts more faithfully and more honourably, than those whom she suffered to supplant them. Let the Craftsman deny it, if he pleases; the rest of the World are sufficiently satisfied.

"This Gentleman, says the Craftsman, had no Patron, or Patroness, "but the late Queen." The Craftsman knows it to be utterly false: He knows that this Gentleman would never have been re-admitted to her Coun-

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ford's
ford's Influence; nor made her Principal Secretary of State, but with that Great Favourite's Choice and Approbation. All the World have seen that Lord's Memorial to the Queen, wherein he charges this Gentleman with having listed Parties for himself among the Members of the House of Commons; wherein he also observes to her all those Factions and Divisions, which Lord B. had raised in her Councils to make himself Chief in Authority; wherein he likewise observes, that Lord B. was sent to France merely to give Time and Leisure for composing those Differences; wherein he farther instance his Rage against him for opposing the Voyage to Canada; by which, he says, Lord B. actually cheated the Publick of above Twenty Thousand Pounds. And through the whole Course of that Memorial it may be seen, that Lord B. was in fierce Opposition against him, and zealously bent to disgrace him. To say that he neither projected or procured this Disgrace, is therefore apparently false: To suggest that he knew not that the Earl's Disgrace was resolved on till the Queen told it him, is idle and foolish, a silly Jesuitical
jesuitical Evasion; for who could tell him sooner than the Queen? And how could she tell him her Resolution before she made one? That he had Obligations to the Earl of Oxford, is apparent from his Advancement; for he came into Power in Conjunction with that Noble Lord, and by the Means of his Friendship. What his Gratitude was in Return, appears likewise from the Noble Earl's Overtrow. This is certain, that there hath been no Minister, or Administration, since this Gentleman came into the World, whose Person and Measures he hath not distrested, to have a Share in their Power; and afterwards, when he obtained a Share, it hath always been seen that he constantly renewed the same fierce Opposition, that he might become Supreme Director of Affairs, and engrofs all that Power, which he never would suffer to be easy in the Hands of other Men, however deserving of the Publick, or however kind to himself.

The Craftsman then comes to this Gentleman's Behaviour in His late Majesty's
Majesty's Time; whose Mercy, he says, was unasked and unearned. That it was unearned, is probable enough; that it was unasked, is a downright Fallhood: For by the Journal Book of the House of Commons, Tuesday the 20th of April, 1725, which is at this time before me, it appears that the House was acquainted, by His late Majesty's Command, "That this Gentleman had, about seven Years before, made his humble Application and Submission, with Assurances of Duty, Allegiance, and Fidelity; which His Majesty so far accepted, as to give him Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of His Majesty's Favour and Goodness". Yet the Craftsman says that this Person never asked for Mercy: See then what shameless Effrontery and Fallhood reigns in these Gentlemen, and runs through their Arguments.

"What followed many Years afterwards, in part of His Majesty's gracious Intentions, the Craftsman says, was solely due to the late King;"
King; that they were not fulfilled, was solely due to the M——r.

His Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and private Interest, continued a sort of Proscription, with much Cruelty to the Person concerned, and little Regard to the King's Declarations.

To this I answer. That it is notorious that the Minister here abused found it difficult enough to obtain from the House of Commons that Indulgence to this attainted Lord which the Craftsman calls but Part of the late King's gracious Intentions; that he was very much blamed, both by his Friends and Enemies, for the Share he had in obtaining that Favour of the Parliament; which, I may truly affirm, was an Indulgence against the Sense of the Nation: And such was the Opposition very reasonably made to it every where, that I do not believe it was in the Power of the Crown to have reversed the Attainder. If likewise it had been in the Power of the Crown, yet it would have been an high Injustice to the Nation to have re-
re-admitted a Person into the House of Peers, who had openly been in the Service of the Pretender; a Person, who by the most wicked Administration in the Service of his lawful Prince had incurred the Guilt of High-Treason; a Person, who by enlisting himself in the Pretender's Service had avowed his Treason, and aggravated his Guilt; a Person, who at Home sacrificed the Honour and Happiness of his Country, who Abroad endeavoured to overthrow its Liberties and Laws, the Protestant Succession and all that was sacred in the British Constitution. If the Craftsman and his Friends could think 750 Irish Papists in France dangerous to this Establishment, could they then think it safe, had such a Leviathan of Treason been re-admitted in Parliament, or re-invested with Employments which he had formerly discharged with so much Corruption, Perfidiousness, Wantonness, and Iniquity? If this Gentleman's Affairs were thus circumstan-
ced, would the Minister he complains of have been just or faithful to his native Country, had he counsellel or advised
advised the King to fulfil such Intentions or Declarations? It is a Libel on the late King's Memory to say that He had such Intentions. But, if through excessive Grace and Goodness; if through that overflowing Mercy which was so natural to his Royal Mind; if through this Abundance of tender Compassion, he had ever signified any such Intentions; let every Englishman judge, whether it would not have been highly criminal in any Minister not to have represented to his most sacred Majesty the dangerous Tendency of such his Intentions. For tho' Princes may propose to pardon the greatest Malefactor, yet if Mercy to such a Man should be Cruelty to a Nation, what Minister dare be silent on such an Occasion, or suffer, as far as in him lies, the Royal Grace to be extended even against the Good of the Kingdom.

Should we consider this at the same time in the Lights of a just and reasonable private Interest; an Interest no way inconsistent with the general Good; should we reflect on this Gentleman's Usage of all the Ministers who
who lived in his Time; how gratefully he used the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin; with what Honour and good Faith he treated the Earl of Oxford; how restles his Nature, how infatiable his Appetites: A Man of Sense must have thought that Minister infatuated who should have consented that this Gentleman should ever have Power to shew that shining Gratitude to him which former Ministers had so largely experienced: For the Craftsman owns he had earned no Mercy: Should any Minister then concur in such Indulgence to him as might not only endanger the Ministry, but even the Constitution? This Minister therefore, whether he considered Himself or his Country, was, from common Justice to both, obliged to oppose the Pretension.

Surely it was a very great Indulgence that this Gentleman was restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and of enjoying his private Fortune, when he was deservedly exiled from the one, and had justly forfeited the other. Could he have had this Indulgence and Favour, with-
out the Assistance of that Minister against whom he is so vindictive? Has he not had more than he ever deserved? And what would he have more than this? Would he again administer the Public, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour? Will nothing satisfy this Gentleman but the Power which he once abused, and would again abuse? the Trusts which he once betrayed, and would again betray? Humble and modest Requests! and wicked that Minister indeed who stands in opposition to them!

It is said, "That the Minister just mentioned, opposed these Requests from causeless Jealousy." Let it be determined how causeless that Jealousy must be, when it is considered how moderate this Gentleman hath been, how quiet and peaceable a Subject he is, under that Government which pardoned such Treasons, and shewed him such Mercy: These are Merits of which the Volumes of the Craftsman will ever be precious Memorials. If then he hath been so fierce, so turbulent, and outrageous, as a private Man, was
was it causeless Jealousy to suppose that he would have been worse in a publick Capacity? Certainly this Gentleman's Friends are ill advised, to censure that Minister's Jealousy, when so much hath been done in conjunction with themselves, to justify that Jealousy. In truth, it ought not to be called mere Jealousy; it was just and fatal Discernment.

They own, That this Gentleman was in the Service of the Pretender; that he served him unfaithfully, they say, is false. This gives the Chevalier the Lye: And, as I am not concerned to vindicate his Honour, so it is foreign to me. They assert, that the Gentleman never entered into these Engagements with the Pretender, or any Commerce with him, till he had been attainted, and was cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. Good God! what an Excuse is here! What had the People of England done to this Lord to merit this Usage? That, because he would not, or dared not, stand the Judgment of his Peers, and answer a Charge of Male-
Male-administration committed in the highest Offices, therefore was it just or reasonable that he should impose the Pretender upon this Country? That because he could not justify his Crimes, that therefore he must subvert our Constitution? And, not being able to support his wicked Greatness, must he therefore be excused in a monstrous Design to destroy all our Liberties? This, perhaps, was natural with him; but then it shews us how bad his Nature must be. And this Defence of his Crimes is worthy of the Craftsman.

Is there an Instance of one honest Man in the Annals of Britain, who ever turned himself against the National Happiness and Constitution, because he was cut off from the Body of the People, either through Mistakes in publick Affairs, or through Default to answer a publick Accusation; or, if they please to have it so, through the Violence of Times? Did Laudlow the Regicide? Did the Worthy and Innocent Earl of Clarendon, both driven out of the Kingdom? Did any Man, who had the least Share of natural Integrity,
tegrity, ever attempt to enslave a great People, because he could not continue to live among them? But this is the governing Principle of our modern Patriots, whatever Incapacities their Crimes or Demerits draw upon them; whether they are banished the Country, deny'd its Honours, or refused its Offices: This too, however justly or deservedly, they vow their Revenge immediately against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen; and in their Despair of gratifying their unbounded Appetites, of recovering their former Power, or engrossing all Employments, they immediately attempt the Destruction of all Mankind.

That he so readily went into the Pretender's Service, shews his strong Propension to those Interests. Even in the Year 1702, he was one of the Virtuous 117, who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover: Which shews how much His Majesty, or His Royal Family, stand obliged to this Gentleman;
as also how much he ever was devoted to their Interests. If this is vile Calumniaion, then the Craftsman's Challenge was properly made; and there is not one Proof in the World against his general Affirmations, notwithstanding the numerous Instances which have been herein produced.

They make their Appeals for the Truth of their general Affirmations, to a Noble Lord. If they would let us know who this Lord may be, or what particular Points they desire his Lordship should speak to; and if this Great Personage would condescend to be examined, we might perhaps obtain some useful Informations by proper Interrogatories: But at present we think it highly absurd for this Gentleman, or his Friends, to call a Witness in their Defence, whom they are certain will never appear, or submit to an Examination. Equally foolish is it to make him Arbitrator for the Publick, when they are assured that he will not give the Publick any Opinion which he may form in this Case.
It is no extraordinary Presumption to imagine, that if the Noble Lord was to give his Opinion freely of the Gentleman who makes such solemn Appeals to his Judgment, that he would brand him with all that Infamy which his Crimes deserve. His Lordship must well remember that scandalous Negotiation carry'd on by this Minister with the late French King; and that at the very Time when this Gentleman assured the Dutch, in the late Queen's Name, *That her Majesty was resolved, in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States*; at that very time he carried on a separate Commerce with France, signing with the French Ministers private Propositions of Peace; in which an express Article was inserted, *That the Secret should be inviolably kept*. In Consequence of which, he was oblig'd to sacrifice the Honour of the Nation, and to comply with all the Demands of the French, that they might keep his *wicked Secret*, and screen him from the Justice of his Country.

This
This Breach of the Grand Alliance, this shameful Violation of the British Faith, was attended with an Act of High-Treason, as arbitrary in its Nature as ever was committed in this Kingdom: For he presumed to take upon him Sovereign Authority, and, without any Powers from the Crown, met the Agent of France, then in open War with the Kingdom, and in that manner carried on his clandestine Negotiation: A Proceeding so fatal, that the Earl of Strafford soon informed him that the States had seen a Letter from M. Torcy, giving an Account of a Negotiation begun in England: By which Step the Queen was divested of all her Allies; who could no longer repose any Confidence in her faithless and treacherous Ministers: And the British Nation, whose Arms had been so victorious, was now entirely exposed to the tender Mercies of France.

To compleat this Work of Infamy, this Violation of every thing sacred among Mankind, this Gentleman, then Her late Majesty's Secretary of State:
State, sends Her General, the late Duke of Ormond, Orders, not to assist the Confederates against the French Army, then encamped near them; at the same time communicates these Orders to the Court of France, and opens a Correspondence between Mareschal Villars, and the Duke of Ormond, whereby his Grace gave the common Enemy Intelligence of all that was designed in the Confederate Army. Not content with ordering the Queen’s Troops to suffer that the French Armies should do whatever they desired against the Allies, this Gentleman insists, that all the Foreigners in English Pay should withdraw from the Confederates, or forfeit the Subsidies of Britain: The Consequence of which must have been, that Prince Eugene’s Army had been infallibly cut in Pieces, and all the Empire laid open to the Arms of France. But those Foreigners were faithful, notwithstanding this Violation of the British Faith: An Act so ignominious, that the Earl of Strafford wrote to Lord B—ke, on the Separation of the Troops, That all the English seemed rejoiced to march off;
off; being weary of the Situation which they were in, and of the Reproaches which they met with in the great Army. To such Disgrace did this worthy Person expose our gallant Countrymen.

The dreadful Consequences of the Separation were now sensibly felt in the unfortunate Action at Denain; where Mareschal Villars attacked Lord Albemarle’s Camp, which he forced, took him Prisoner, and entirely defeated all the Troops under his Command: On which Occasion M. Torcy makes his Compliments to Lord B——ke, in full persuasion that a Victory obtained by the Queen’s Enemies over her faithful Allies, must be a Pleasure to her Majesty: A Letter, which, however insolent and intolerable, Her honest Secretary not only received with Patience, but even with much Satisfaction.

It would be endless to enumerate the Consequences of this egregious Scene of Iniquity: How Lord B——ke himself gave the French Court special Instructions, whereby they
they might force Tournay out of the Hands of the Dutch, whose Interests then we had in our Care, and to whom we had engaged our Honour for their Security: A Crime for which he was not only impeached, but which was likewise expressly charged on him by his Friend the late Earl of Oxford. We may also remember, how he foolishly and stupidly gave Orders to the British Minister in Spain, to acknowledge King Philip's Right to that Monarchy; the only Point which his Catholick Majesty laboured to obtain of Great Britain. An Acknowledgment, which was most wretchedly offered before he had promised even one Point in Favour of the British Nation: An Act of Folly so fatal, that this Prince, who would have purchased our Recognition on any Terms, when he had gained it for nothing at all, refused us, in the most positive and imperious manner, even an Inch of Ground about the Town of Gibraltar; and also rejected all our Instances for our brave, unhappy Allies, the Catalans: A People, whom we had, on the Faith of our Nation, engaged in the War ag
against King Philip: Nay, he insisted, and to the eternal Infamy of that Administration it was complied with, that we should turn our own perfidious Arms upon them, to compleat their ill-deserved Destruction. Our own Ships of War were commanded to force this free-spirited People, with whom we were united in the Cause of Liberty: We did accordingly force them into that Slavery from which we had sworn to defend them; and when they perished bravely and manfully, though miserably, they hung up on their High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration to protect them, as a Memorial to Heaven and Earth of British Perfidy and Ingratitude. All this I mention for the Glory of that worthy Gentleman, who whilst this poor unfortunate People were thus delivered over to Destruction, assured the British Nation in the most solemn manner, that every thing was doing for their Preservation. This is H E, whose Cause and Character the Craftsman so warmly espouses; whose Counsels are the standing Measures of our present Patriots, and whose Principles
ciples are by their united Strength to be imposed upon the People of Britain.

If I add, that this Gentleman's wife Negotiations reduced him to such low Distress, that he submitted to accept of a Renunciation from King Philip, which all the French and Spanish Ministers told him, at the very time it was made, was perfectly invalid, and never could be effectual: That by his great Skill in Treaty-making, he suffered the French grossly to impose upon him in the Affair of Newfoundland; was forced to allow them a Share in the British Fishery, which they had no Pretension to; and to purchase the unworthy Terms, which they agreed to, by an Article for lowering all the Duties on French Commodities: An Article, which, had the Parliament complied with it, must have exposed our Staple Manufactures to Ruin. If these, I say, are duly remember'd, it must be confess'd that he is a most able Master of Negotiation, and worthy, above all Men, to act in the Councils of his Country; an Employment,
ment, for which he professes so vast an Ambition.

If in the British Parliament he was seen so enterprizing on the British Liberties: If to his Piety and Justice was owing the ever-memorable Schism Bill; that Bill, which deprived our Protestant Dissenters of those Rights, which, as Men, they were born to enjoy; deprived them not only of publick Trusts, but even of the private Education of their Children: If to his Zeal for National Freedom were owing those Speeches and Messages, which the late Queen made to her Parliament in the Four last Years of her Reign, against the Liberty of the Press: If to his Love of publick Enquiries were owing the Measures carried on in the House of Commons, and the Grand Committee appointed by that House to restrain the Press: If these are his Merits, how worthy must he be to sit in the British Parliament, where he would not allow the present King to sit as Duke of Cambridge, altho' it was his legal and undisputed Right? How wicked are they, who will not restore him to that Peerage, which he so highly dishonour'd, and
so deservedly forfeited? Let Englishmen judge what an excellent Patriot he is, and how useful a Minister he would be: Let the Noble Lord judge for us, to whom he makes his Appeals.

I dare say, that no Man hath ever more united the Opinions of all Parties than this Gentleman hath done. As none but the most Abandoned think him useful, so none but the most ignorantly Stupid can think him honest. They who defend him, do it, not from any Impressions of his Worth, but in Vindicati- on of themselves for employing such a Tool: They who would rise by his wicked Arts, would never raise him above his present low Condition. As they know his Treachery and Ingratitude, they bear him no Affection; they place in him no Confidence; nor will they ever make him the Partner of their Success, if they preserve the least Share of common Sense. However they may employ him, we all know how they mean to reward him; and perhaps it may be the only good Meaning those Gentlemen are to be charged with.

In this Disquisition I have given this honest Gentleman the Preference, and have
have considered him in the first place, although the Craftsman introduced him last. This was not done by me with any View to neglect his Inseparable College, but from the material Difference of their respective Cases. And it must be allowed, that he who has done most to deserve such Acknowledgments as are in our Power to give, ought to receive them first.

The Craftsman enters into the Charge of cruel Revenge and disappointed Ambition, so frequently objected to an Honourable Patriot his Patron. "How ridiculous, says our Author, is this Charge? and on whom can such Stuff fall?" Hath he changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed? Yes, indeed; and this I shall give myself some little Trouble to shew.

If this Gentleman was educated in Whig Principles, as he undoubtedly was: If the fundamental Maxim of
his Education was the Establishment of this Government in the present Royal Family: If this Royal Family have governed the Kingdom by the Laws, and allowed greater Liberties to the People, than ever were at any Time heretofore known or enjoyed among us: If to this mighty Share of Liberty, be also added that sacred and inviolable Right of Property which we enjoy; that free and unrestrained Privilege of exercising our private Judgment without Control in Matters of Conscience and Religion, no ways subject to Ecclesiastical Power, or spiritual Tyranny, or political Bigotry: If freed from all these Impositions and Grievances, we thus enjoy all that Happiness, which we ever could promise ourselves from the Protestant Succession: If notwithstanding this, the Honourable Gentleman taking the Advantage of common Evils, and unavoidable Difficulties, arising from the various Passions and Interests of contending Princes, hath even attacked the Royal Title to the Crown, and invaded the Prince on the Throne; invaded Him even in open Parliament, by charg-
charging Him with having broken the Terms of the Act of Settlement; by insisting that the Act of Settlement is His Majesty's only Tenure by which He holds His Crown, by suggesting that the Care of his Foreign Dominions, provided for in pursuance of Parliamentary Powers, and consistently with the Act of Settlement; by suggesting, I say, that this was in breach of that Act; and leaving others to conclude, that as the Terms were broken, the Title was forfeited, and the Throne was thereby become vacant. If this was done by this Gentleman, may it not be asked Whether any Title in this World was ever impeached but with a View to change the Possession? And if this be true, he certainly and manifestly hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government; hath taken every little Advantage which might shake the Sceptre in the Royal Hand; and render all the Happiness of Englishmen precarious.

If he hath gone over to the Tories, and suffers himself to be governed by

F 2 Veteran
Veteran Jacobites, by Men who confessedly have been in the Pretender's Service, and would return to it on the first Temptation or Provocation; if he constantly votes in open Conjunction with a Body of Men sworn Enemies to Whigs, to Whig Establishments, and all Whig Principles; if he acts in concert with, and by the Dictates of, those who opposed the Revolution, distressed King William's Government, opposed the Settlement of the Protestant Succession, promoted the French Commerce Bill, carried the Schism Bill, and for Thirty Years together have laboured with all their Might to impose the Pretender upon the British Nation; if, further, he opposes the King's Affairs in general; if he attempted and struggled to put off the Common Supplies of the present Year, and to distress the Publick Service in every Branch of the Government; if he now condemns those very Measures which he himself once advanced, the Treaties which he voted honourable, and the Alliances which he then asserted necessary; if, notwithstanding all the Share which he hath had in the Coun-
Councils of the Crown, and all the Vindications which in former Years he made of the Royal Measures, he hath lately avowed and declared That not one Treaty signed within these Sixteen Years, was even made, or so much as intended, for the Good of this Kingdom. If this be true, he hath departed from the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed. However bold the Defiance to shew this may be, it is evidently true; and those Imputations of Disappointment or Revenge, which the Craftsman calls impertinent and silly, are the very best Excuses his Patron can possibly make use of.

It is said, that "If he pursues the same general Principles of Conduct with which he first set out, and is in opposition now to some few of those with whom he concurred then, they have left him, because they have left the Principles which they professed: He left neither, says this Writer: For instance, he inveighs against publick Profusion, and private Corruption, &c."
To this it may be replied, That on the above-mentioned View of his Conduct he doth not pursue the same general Principles with which he first set out: That whilst he concurred with the Government he never opposed either publick Profusion or private Corruption: That he himself shared the Bounties, and added to the Pensions of the Crown: That there hath been no more Cause to complain of either Corruption or Profusion, since he hath opposed the Government, than there plainly was whilst he had the Honour to concur with this Ministry: That the very Day of his Patriotism may be assigned, and we can date the Hour of its Birth: That the genuine Rise of his Publick Spirit was from the Corruption of his own Heart: That, instead of having a Spirit which might have done honour to a Roman Citizen in the best Times of the Commonwealth, a Roman Citizen would have been ashamed of his self-interested Spirit, even in the worst of those times: That all his Life-time he hath been upon Extremes; and, whilst he con-
curred with the Government, was as compliant to their Views as if he had fat in the *Parliament of Paris*: Likewise, since he has opposed this. Government, he hath been as unreasonably loud and vindictive against their Measures as if he had been a Member of the *Polish Diet*: That whatever his Vanity may be at this Time, or however his Mercenaries may extol him, with how great Disdain soever he may treat this Minister, or with what Licentiousness soever he may revile him; yet that there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour, and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that Great Man's Friends, whose very Name and Character hath given him the small Consideration which he hath found, even in his Opposition.

They endeavour to make the Charge on this Gentleman ridiculous by putting it into *Syllogism*: As thus; "He assisted a Minister in his Rise to Power; He opposes this Minister in Power; Ergo, Spight and Resentment are his Motives." Their Logick is as
as false as their Politicks: The Syllogism, fairly stated, is thus: He concurred with a Minister whilst this Minister's Power was favourable to his Wishes: He opposed this Minister when he found his Power no longer favourable to his Wishes. All the World knows the Truth of these Propositions, and hence the Certainty of the Conclusion, that Spight and Revenge are his Motives.

They ask, "May not the Abuse, which he apprehends this Minister makes of his Power, may not Measures, which he fears are wicked, knows to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives?" What a Heap of mere Possibilities are here started against a positive Charge? Let me recite a few Questions: Did he not expect, and insist on a great Employment? Was he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand? Did not his Patriotism take its Rise here? Did not his Opposition begin from this very Fact? Where then shall we look for Motives, but to this Fact? Had he been gratify'd, instead of bei-
ing disappointed: Had he been comply'd with, instead of being refused, would he have fear'd any Wickedness, or have found out any Weakness in this Administration? I defy him and all his Sophisters to contradict me in this.

They ask, "May not dangerous Ambition, insatiable Avarice, and inoffent Behaviour be his Provocations?" I ask, Have they not been his Incentives? If his Lust of Power, if his Appetite for Wealth, or if his overbearing Spirit were Secrets with Mankind, I could crowd innumerable Pages with irrefragable Proofs.

They farther ask, "May not this Gentleman think himself the more obliged to contribute to this Minister's Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation?" Why, really I do not undertake to determine what he may think; but if these were his Thoughts, I should think him like a capricious and whimsical Builder, who had raised so fine a Structure for another Man, that the Beauty of the House
Houfe vexed him to the Heart, and he thought himself obliged to pull it down again. If this then is the Gentleman's Wisdom, I wish he may long enjoy the Renown of it.

But I should be very glad to know, wherein this Important Person contributed to the Minister's Elevation. For, if I remember rightly, this Minister brought the Gentleman into Places, which he was no ways entitled to, and when he was even more insignificant than he is at present. To say that the Creature of this Minister's Greatness contributed to that Greatness, is altogether new, and false in Fact; though on both Accounts entitled to a Place in their Political System.

They then ask, "Who shall they soonest suspect to be actuated by Sentiments of private Interest, this Gentleman, or the Minister?" The Question is not fairly, Whom we shall suspect? for here is a positive Charge. Was not the Gentleman's Anger actuated by Sentiments of private Interest?

Answer
Answer This. As to their Question, Whom shall we soonest suspect? Let those, who consider the sparing, scraping Nature of the one, with the frank, liberal Heart of the other, fix the Charge of sordid Views on Him, to whom they think it justly belongs.

It is next enquired, "Whose Circumstances most demanded, whose Family most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune, the Gentleman or the Minister?" Indeed, I think, if the Gentleman's Family and Circumstances required it least, his Avarice is the most to be blamed. But since so much Difference between their Fortunes and Circumstances is perpetually made, I will shew the World what that Difference really is. The Gentleman possesses an enormous Estate of above Nine Thousand Pounds per Annum, all acquired only by a Secretary of the Treasury. The Minister's Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high a Station, as at the Head of that Treasury, where the Gentleman's little Possessions were picked up by the Secretary;
and which Possessions he, this Gentleman, obtained the Fee-Simple of, on very easy Terms, by the Favour, Indulgence, and Assistance of that Minister, whom he hath sworn to destroy.

They ask in another place, "In whom have we seen strongest Evidence of that vindictive Temper, which prompts to personal Spite and resentment?" I answer, In that meek and humble Man, whose Vows of Destruction, whose horrid Imprecations and Outrage have been fitter for Hockley in the Hole, than for St. Stephen's Chappel: That Christian and Lamb-like Patriot, who hath been so dutiful to the King, so complaisant to the Queen, and so religiously decent to all the Royal Family: That original Pattern of Humility and Moderation, who has given so many divine Instructions to his loving Countrymen: It is He, this Man of Peace and Patience, upon whom I think the Charge in the Question must fall. We all know how easy he is under all such Accusations. I dare say for myself, I shall draw no Instances
ces of a vindictive Temper, no personal Spite and Resentment from this kind, good-natured Gentleman; he is not used to be out of Humour, when any one tells him the Truth.

Finally, the Craftsman maintains, “That there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that the Gentleman’s Opposition proceeds from a Spirit of Ambition, or a Design of pushing himself into the Administration.” And why? First, he possessed the War Office many Years ago, which he laid down for the sake of this very Minister, whom he then supposed would soon, from Publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a better Place. Secondly, when that Minister came again into Power, this Gentleman was made Cofferer to the Household; which he forced the Ministers to take from him, when he would not be content with it; but was resolved to oppose them, that he might compel them to make him Principal Secretary of State. These are two of the Proofs which his judicious Advocate gives, that this worthy Man
Man had no Ambition, or Desire to be in the Administration. Now for the Third, it seems that since he hath despaired of gaining upon His Majesty's Favour, or of removing the faithful Servants of the King from the Councils of the Crown; since he hath been sensible that it is impossible that he should ever have a Share in the Administration, or any Office in the State: I say, since this hath been sensibly demonstrated to him, he hath made a Solemn Vow never to accept a Place of Trust, or a Share in the Ministry as long as he lives; often declaring in the House of Commons, and publishing it now in the Craftsman: Thereby endeavouring to make that appear as his Virtue which is his Fate; and not his Election, but his Destiny.

Thus stand the Proofs of his Disinterestedness, his Want of Ambition, and his Aversion to Power. When he struggled for the Seals, he lost the Cofferer's Place. When the late King died, he again followed the Court, and worshipped the Rising Sun. When the Civil List came to be settled, though with
with those large Appointments which he hath since not blushed to declaim at. When this, I say, was settled, dumb was his Voice, neither were there Words in his Mouth. But when the Ministry came to be settled, exclusive of his own Person, our very flexible Patriot again appeared with that Inflexibility, so worthy of a Roman Citizen, and yet so very yielding whilst there were any Hopes of his being a British Minister.

Hitherto they always have constantly declined and carefully avoided to mention or defend the Ministers employed in the Four last Years of the late Queen Anne’s Reign. The Craftsman, in his Libel upon Acts of Grace, very modestly owns that he was not concerned to vindicate the late Earl of Oxford, or the Measures of his Administration. But now their Design is full-grown, and their Iniquity hath ripened to Maturity. They who were cautious to vindicate the Earl of Oxford, a Minister whose Character had some good Qualities which his worst Enemies never denied, and whose Conduct
Conduct had various Excuses, which Men of good Nature have always been willing to admit: Those Persons, I say, who have heretofore feared to enter upon his Defence, even they, are at length so advanced in their Schemes, that they have leaped all Bounds, have exceeded all Measures of Discretion, and have undertaken to palliate those Crimes, which have ever been beyond Dispute, as they are without Example.

Whilst they so vindictively pursue the Person of another Minister, even to Destruction, for Crimes that have never been proved; and, for want of Capacity, tho' he hath triumphed for five Years together, over all their Abilities, Industry and Power: Whilst they thus condemn him for Actions which themselves judged innocent, as also for Measures which they voted honourable, just, and necessary; at the same time do they palliate confessed Crimes, and the most notorious Corruption, the most wicked Minister of our Times, and the worst Measures that ever were carried on in our Country.

They
They say, that the Honourable Person who is at the Head of this Faction is wonderfully happy in the Applauses of his Country. I remember an Observation which the Craftsman made once in the Case of a great and popular Magistrate of London, namely "That many Persons, in all Ages have enjoyed the highest Degree of Popular Favour for some time, who least of all deserved it. But the Gentleman and his Friends seem to be under a very grievous Mistake in their Notions of his present Popularity: For his mercenary Nature, his vindictive Temper, and boundless Ambition, are too well understood. All Men of Sense see his self-interested Disposition. All Men know how ready he is to give up what he calls the Interest of his Country, by some Observations which every one made in the Opening of His present Majesty's Reign. All Men see how ready he is to give up his Prince, by his hasty and violent Opposition on the Settlement of the Ministry. And how eagerly disposed he is to give up the Constitution, may be seen by his intrepid
intrepid Invasions of the King, and of the Royal Title. If this is Popularity, I leave him the Glory of it: But I can assure him that all the Whigs in the Kingdom are duly sensible what these Measures tend to; and they who remember their Country in so much Distress whilst the Co-partner of this virtuous Cause was a Minister, well understand what would be the Consequence, should they be able to distress the present Administration. What would be the Case of the British Allies should a Person prevail among us who broke our Faith with all our Allies, and gave up the Honour of his native Country in all his Negotiations? What would be the Case of the Protestant Dissenters, should the Patron of the Schism Bill come again into the Management of Parliamentary Councils? What would be the Case of our Merchants, should the Projector of the French Commerce Bill have the Direction of our Affairs? And indeed, What would be the Case of us all, should those who boast themselves our truest Patriots be no better than his florid Pupils?

I have
I have taken these Pains, to shew these Gentlemen and their Principles in the strongest Light; because I think that no Man who is an Englishman, and a Whig, can honestly or patiently submit to see Persons impose themselves as such upon the People of England, which very Persons have forfeited and abandoned those Characters in every Action. I have shewed this altogether from their publick Behaviour. I scorn to enter into private Life; I abhor to copy from their ever memorable Proper Reply, or from any of their other Filthy Libels, which have spared no Family Affairs, no Personal Secrets, or Private Correspondencies. And indeed their Practices have been so open to the World, that these Gentlemen have rendered it equally unnecessary, as it is really disagreeable to me to imitate them, in disclosing Secret History; as, on their part, they have found so little to accuse in the Publick Transactions of this Ministry, that from this very Deficiency of Argument, they have loaded their scandalous Libels with such an Abundance of private and infamous Abuse.
As I am now to conclude this Pamphlet, I must indulge the Pleasure of observing what a virtuous and uniform Conclusion Mr. Oldcastle lately hath made of his great Undertakings in the Craftsman. He hath, for the Course of the last Year, employed his able Pen in making Remarks on the History of England. He begun with professing a Design to raise the Spirit of Liberty against the Administration: He went on with libelling all the Royal Family, and ended with a Vindication of the late Lord B.—A noble Subject to raise a Spirit on. Such is that Spirit, which acts against the Ministers: Such the Invectives and Apologies which come from these Men. In truth, I hope that they who abuse this Ministry, and affront the Prince on the Throne, will always vindicate such honest Men as Lord B.; for then it will no longer remain a Doubt, for whose Sake, and with what Design, such wonderful Works are carried on.

I will add one useful Reflection to these Remarks: That the Man who
had the Impudence to oppose His Present most Sacred Majesty, when he demanded a Writ of Right; I mean the Writ of Summons to Parliament, lawfully due to him, in consequence of his having been created Duke of Cambridge; and who afterwards caused the Elector of Hanover's Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime than having demanded that Writ: It is worthy of such a Man to complain of much Cruelty done to himself, in being deprived of that Peerage which he forfeited by High-Treason; and of that Place in Parliament, which he would not allow to a Prince of the Blood, an Heir Apparent to the British Crown, even our present most Gracious Sovereign; at the very same time too, when the Ministers poured into that House Troops of their own Creatures, even a Dozen at one Creation. An insolent arbitrary Procedure, equally injurious to the Right of that Illustrious Person, and to the Independence of the House of Peers; Since those who advised this wicked Refusal, assumed a greater Prerogative than the Crown of Great Britain is possessed of; namely,
ly, in excluding Peers from their Seats in Parliament by mere Will and Pleasure; as also in daring to determine, by their own lawless Authority, what Peers of this Kingdom should, or should not, sit and vote in the Great Council of the Nation. And I dare undertake to say, that however wicked, imperious, or lawless those Ministers were in the Exercise of their Power, that still they would not have dared to have deny'd this Great Prince his Claim of Right to sit in Parliament, had they ever thought or intended that He should one Day be King of, GREAT BRITAIN, and sit on the Throne of this Kingdom. Those who deny'd Him the Right of His Peerage, would as freely have deny'd Him his Right of Succession: And if they should ever have it in their Power, they would with as little Scruple deny Him his Seat in the Throne, as they once deny'd Him his Seat in the House of Lords.

FINIS.