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O P P O S I T I O N  
S T A T E D,  
Between the  
C R A F T S M A N  
A N D T H E  
P E O P L E.  
Occasioned by his PAPER  
of *December* the 4th, 1731.



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 O F  
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 S T A T E D, &c.



THE Paper before us is an APPEAL TO THE PUBLICK; it contains a Recapitulation of the Labours of the *Craftsman*, an exalted Account of his Merits, and is wrote to create an Opinion in the World, that the *Power of the State* is at present employed against the *Friends of the People*.

The Question therefore in this Case will be, Whether those Men who make these Appeals, deserve well of the People to

whom they appeal? Whether they have done their Country Service or Damage by the Course of their boasted Writings? Whether they had even the Intention of doing Good to the Publick? And whether their pretended Virtues are not real Crimes? Crimes in the Eye of Reason and Conscience, though neither Laws or Courts of Justice subsisted, and though neither had any effect in punishing or restraining them?

Their partial and insincere Account of their own Proceedings hath a manifest Tendency to create unjust Compassion in their Behalf, and Reproach against those whom they are interested to make odious. In detecting the little Arts of their disingenuous Attempt, I prevent that unrighteous Odium which they have endeavoured to raise; and in preventing so great a Wrong, I discharge the Duty of an honest Man.

Summoned by the APPEAL which they have made, and warranted by the necessity of a Reply, I may without further Apology or Preface review the Proceedings of the last *Five Years*, trace the Steps which have been taken to change the Administration, and shew the consummate Honesty of those whose Violence hath been employed in this extraordinary Enterprize.

If we turn our Eyes to the Times immediately preceding this bitter and vindictive Strife, Was not all the World at Peace, and the People of *England* happy? Neither Foreign Broils threatned them, nor Domestick Feuds distracted them; they were satisfied with the Powers above them, which gave all just Protection to them. Those who since became the warmest Men against the Government, were then equally warm for the Government. They assisted their Sovereign with Zeal and Vigor, to punish the Disturbers of his Reign, and the Conspirators against his Title. They thought that all our Enjoyments, as a free and great People, were owing to the Ease and Safety of a Prince, without 'whom we had been lost and undone. The Mass of the Multitude concurred in the same reasonable Sentiments, and the Crown of *Great Britain* had all that Weight Abroad, which could possibly arise from this happy Situation of our Affairs at Home.

What then was done on the Part of the Government, to alter such a Situation of Affairs? Was any Liberty invaded, any Property injured, or any Man, or Body of Men molested? Was any Grievance or Innovation introduced or countenanced by  
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the Ministers? Was not all possible Care taken by them, to keep all Men easy under them? Constant Attention was given to the Discharge of our Debts. The yearly Supplies asked of the People were moderate, and the manner of raising them scarcely felt. The utmost Wisdom and Integrity was shewn in supplying the Courts of Judicature. Publick Credit could never have better Security, nor was Publick Justice ever better administer'd. The Church of *England*, and all Orders of the Clergy were, as they always ought to be, protected in their Right. All other Religious Persuasions had the largest Share of Liberty and Protection: No reasonable Indulgence was ever asked by them, but it was granted to them. The Kingdom was thus in a happy and flourishing Condition, without Alarims from other Nations, without Division among our selves. Liberty was uninvaded, Property sacred, and Justice unsuspected. No Part of the People were either suffered, or inclined to hurt the rest: All were safe, and all had Satisfaction.

Could greater Wickedness be attempted by Man, or greater Mischief done to the People, than to change this perfect State of Happiness; to make the People weary of their own Ease, and dissatisfied with  
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the most equal Protection; to improve all Accidents against the publick Tranquility; and whatever threatned the State with Disturbance, to anticipate all the Evils of it, by enflaming and distracting the People. In short, to sow Discord in a Nation perfectly quiet, and revive Parties when they begun to be reconciled with each other; to make the Burden of Affairs too heavy a Weight on the Shoulders of the Administration; and the Populace so restless, as hardly to be ruled by the most just and reasonable Measures of Government.

When Nations have recovered their Liberties, and secured their Constitution: When the Invaders of their Rights, and the Enemies of their Country are overthrown and defeated: When the Publick is protected as it ought to be, and the ancient Laws appear to be impartially administered, no Man can ask or desire more from the Government of his Country, than to preserve and continue these Advantages. Whatever new Accessions of Happiness, whatever Improvement of his private Affairs may be most at his Heart, the Government can have no particular Concern in this. Every Addition to his Fortunes ought to be the Acquisition of his honest Industry; and the Protection of  
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equal Laws, which he is entitled to, and which he freely enjoys, allows him, in the Pursuit of his private Interest, all possible Advantage which can be compatible with the Good of his Country.

The Love of Power, and the Lust of Lucre, as they cause Desires in Men to stand above Equality with Mankind; so they prompt Attempts in enterprizing Minds, incompatible with equal Laws, or publick Good. Ambition and Avarice will not be content with a common Share of Wealth and Authority, nor bound their Desires by the common and honest Means of indulging them. Thus the Passions of particular Men interfere with the general Interests; and urged by the Violence of those Passions, particular Men advance their own Views, even against the Good of Mankind.

The Generality of the People desire no more than Liberty to exercise their honest Industry, and Laws to protect their fair Acquisitions. They seek not after Honour or Power; nor are they fond of those Men who happen to enjoy Distinctions of this Sort. On the contrary, they are apt to be jealous and suspicious of all who possess great Wealth, or acquire great Authority: Whilst those whom Ambition or  
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Avarice have taught to envy and covet those glittering Advantages, are constant in making Applications to the Jealousies and Suspicions of the Multitude; which jealous and suspicious Spirit, if it does not always appear, yet it is at any time easily raised, and sometimes Accidents concur to make it more violent. Hence the Malice and Lufts of bad Men are too frequently gratified, whose incessant Labour it is to make the Great, whom they envy, be jealously treated by the Populace; from thence universally odious, and thereby more easily undone.

Did the People know how little their Happiness is the Pursuit of those who so easily draw them into their Quarrels: Did they know how seldom those who are most clamorous for the Publick, have any Meaning at all beyond their private Interests: Did they see how eager those very Patriots are to sell them, who are most assiduous to court them: Did they see the corrupt Applications of those who daily declaim at Corruption, see Men pretending that the Treasures of their Country are lavished away by the Administration, at the same Time offering *immense Sums*, more than ever were raised, merely to *outbid* the Ministers: Did they consider that there is not a Measure of Govern-

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ment, which these Men presume to defame as a *dirty Job*, but what they themselves would comply with, nay even go beyond it, could they have the Honour and Favour of being employed in transacting it: Did the People see the *Malice* and *Selfishness* of these publick Spirits, their cruel Revenge against all who set Bounds to their Schemes of acquiring more Power than is safe, and engrossing more Wealth than is honest, their unsatisfied Desires not even content with large Estates of many Thousands *per Annum*, but violently bent to enlarge them, even by any Means: Did they compare their real Selfishness with their pretended Disinterestedness; their private Passions against Particulars, with their false Pretension to Zeal for the Publick: Did they consider that all the Violence of such Men against Particulars would, if their Views should be at any Time opposed by the Publick, turn it self with equal Fury against the Publick; and that they labour with so much Industry to destroy the Administration, only because the Ministers are the Medium and the Barrier between themselves and the Publick, which must become their Prey, when the Means of Prevention are removed: Did they see these Things, and that they do not see them, is at all Times wholly owing to Neglect or Inattention; They would never be moved or agitated, carried away  
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mised by the Arts of Ambition. Aspiring Men might envy Greatness, and covet Power, yet neither their Spleen would be shared, nor their Hopes encouraged by the People. Mankind would be wiser than to divide into Parties, and they would leave those who act only for themselves, to act altogether by themselves.

That such is the Case very often between the People, and those who profess themselves Patriots, History and Experience demonstrate in numberless Instances. Indeed how should it be otherwise, when Men neither better nor wiser, but too frequently worse than the rest of the World, set themselves up as possessed of all the Wisdom and Goodness left in the World: When Men who have had immense Donations, Favours and Bounties from the Crown, oppose themselves to the Distribution of Favours by the Crown; and after having obtained large Instances of Royal Grace, declaim against the like Instances to others, as detrimental to the Publick. In such Cases as these, where Men would assist all the Schemes and Measures of the Government, provided they were favoured with a Share to their own Wishes in that Government; and when such Men really have assisted the Government, whilst their own Views

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were satisfied; and ever since their private Views could not be satisfied, have opposed the Government: I say, In Cases like these, where such Men cannot possibly declaim at any Measures of Government but what they advised and approved of, whilst it was their private Interest to do so; is it not plain and manifest that they declaim against them now, because it is not their private Interest to approve them? And is such an Opposition as this the Cause of the People? Or whose Interest do those Men act for, who act from such Motives?

The Struggle between the *Whig* and *Tory* Parties for the Succession to the Throne, ended in the Victory gained by the *Whigs*, who fixed that Prince, and that Family on the Throne, whom they had always wished to see there. The Motives of Prudence and Gratitude induced the late King to chuse those Men for his Servants, who had been his Friends; and to look upon those as his *natural Support*, who had been his *constant Adherents*. The *Whigs* being thus admitted into Trust, and the *Tories* excluded, the latter became Mutineers against the Government, because they had no Share in the Government; but their Designs were not concealed, they complained of their Exclusion  
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from Power as their capital Grievance. And having nothing more alarming than this, the People at length saw the Folly of the Clamour, and in the end grew unconcerned at those Complaints, which wholly arose from *private Interests*.

The *Tory Faction* thus declining in Credit, and grown unformidable in their Opposition, the *Whigs* had all the Power and Favour of the Crown to share among themselves; nay, there is a Time still recent in memory, I mean when *Layer's Plot* came before the *British Parliament*, at which time there was not a *Whig* in the House of Commons dissenting from the *Body of the Party*.

The *Tory Interest* grew weak, and the *Whigs* powerful by the Disposition of Favours and Employments. For if the Profit of serving the Publick in Places be computed at any Sum, and this be raised equally upon the People, that Party which is admitted into Trust will have more than a Retribution, whilst the other Party is like a Scale, continually losing Weight, without any new Accession to maintain the Balance; so that in a certain Process of Time the losing Party must quite dwindle to nothing, and the prevailing Party, by continuing in Employments of Profit, must become



come able to purchase all the Lands in the Kingdom.

This had an undoubted Tendency to secure the present Establishment on the most lasting Foundation, as it would most effectually have given the Weight of the *Landed Interest* entirely on the Side of the Government, and have lodged the *natural Power* of the State with those who were *natural Friends* to the present Establishment.

The *whole Body* of the *Whigs* had the highest reason to be satisfied with the Course of Things; but it was impossible to continue that Satisfaction among them long, when once they begun to differ about their several Shares of Power and Favour. It was not difficult to make them agree, that all Employments of Trust and Profit should be divided among themselves: But how to make the respective Allotments, and how to satisfy Particulars that what should fall to their several Shares was as much as properly belonged to them, or that they ought to solicit no more than what came reasonably to their Shares; this was the difficult Task indeed, and this in the nature of Things must produce Division; so that it was not possible by any means in the World to prevent Faction and Opposition.

Opposition. Had the Administration been capable of acting with infinite Wisdom and Justice; yet would this Disagreement of Views and Interests among their Friends, at all Events, have procured them bitter and implacable Hatred. No *human Abilities* or *Virtues* could possibly prevent this Dissention; and the Corruption to which it was owing was not in the Ministry, but in the Heart of Man. Neither was the Contest which proceeded from it a *Struggle for Liberty*, but a *Contention for Power*, influenced by no *Zeal for the Publick*, but by *private Passions*; nor conducted for the Good of the People, but altogether for *private Ends*, and for *private Interests*.

The present Administration found every thing easy at first, and all their Friends compliant with their Measures; but it was whilst all their Friends had Expectations, and few or none had met with Disappointments. But when it was found that under this governing Party it would be impossible to gratify all; when some had raised their Hopes too high, and others had rated their Merits higher; when Competitions arose, and Interests begun to clash; when some imagined that they had a Right to manage all Things, and many desired those Things which could not be allowed them, without provoking or disgusting others; then those  
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who had Passion enough to quarrel about particular Dispositions, and Pride enough to fancy that they could controul the Management of the whole, begun to form Parties for themselves, and by all possible means to break the *Whig Interest*, which was the governing Party, thereby to introduce their own, and over-rule the rest.

But as these *State Schismatics* were too few in number to make a Church of themselves, they had no other way to make themselves formidable than to fall in with the Views and Attempts of the *Tories*. Neither was this Conceit practicable, but by mutual Engagements to give them a Share of Power and Favour whenever the governing Party should be overcome, and those who had *long been in* should give way to those who had *long been out*.

Yet even with this Reinforcement of *Whig Renegadoes*, the *Tory Party* still were weighed in the Balance, and still were found wanting. What could then be attempted to break the *Whig Interest*? What was necessary now to be done, when all the united Squadrons within Doors could make no Stand against the *Whigs* on the Side of the Administration?

To divide the People was then the only Attempt that could do any Service in this Case. But what had the People to do in the Quarrels of Parties? Or how were they concerned in the Disposition of Places? This would weigh very little with the Publick; and the Multitude could never be taught to believe, that the Nation was ever the worse, because a particular Man had not the Promotion or Employment which he demanded; neither could it by any means make an *honest* sensible *Englishman* uneasy, that one was denied the *Seals*, or another refused the *Peerage*.

The Business therefore properly was to persuade the People that they were ill used in general by those who had been so unkind to these worthy Gentlemen in particular; so that making loud Complaints against publick Affairs became the Consequence of private Ruptures; whilst ambitious Men, not knowing how to make the World interest themselves in *petty Quarrels*, nor able to make the Publick adopt *personal Resentments*; were pleased from henceforth to call it a *national Cause*, and disavowed all Regard to less important Concernments.

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Thus did they profess themselves the Servants of the Publick, that they might make the People their Slaves. In order to get the Publick into their Hands, they laboured to wrest it from the Hands of the Administration. In making themselves dangerous to the King's Interests, they meant to make themselves necessary to his Service. By the Danger on one Side, and the Necessity on the other, they hoped and expected that they should even compel the Prince on the Throne to the Choice of their own Persons: And thus by a fatal Election the People of *England* were to become their Possession; we were all to have been at their Mercy, who never regarded us otherwise than as they thought they could sell us. Whilst the Abilities and faithful Behaviour of the Ministers made the Prospect of this more distant, and the Design less practicable, their Rage was redoubled against those Persons who gave such Obstruction to their Scheme.

To carry on this Scheme more plausibly, they strenuously insisted, that they still continued to be *Whigs*, notwithstanding that they were governed and led by the worst and most inveterate of the *Tories*. And though they acted in conjunction with the Patron of the SCHISM BILL, yet they  
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still avowed themselves zealous Friends to the *Toleration of the Protestant Dissenters*.

Nay, though they associated and concerted their Affairs with one who had actually been engaged in the *PRETENDER'S SERVICE*, yet they still insisted on their inviolable Duty to the Prince on the Throne, and to the *Protestant Succession*.

To enlighten the Understandings of the People, it was necessary next to set forth a *Weekly Invective* against the Administration, to mislead the Ignorant, to inflame the Weak, and to help the Ill-designing with Topicks of Clamour and Uneasiness. The Jealousies and the Suspicions of the People were to be applied to, their Passions worked upon, and the Multitude made, every Man of them, as angry as if they had all of them lost Places, and stood in the hopeless Condition of those who made all this Uproar about it.

To break the *Whig Interest* more effectually, it was diligently propagated, as a self-evident Doctrine, that *Whigs* and *Tories* were the same Men, and had the same Meaning; that *Party Names* were idle Sounds, which had lost their Significations; and that there was now no other Business for *Whigs* or *Tories* than this, that they should all unite to *destroy the Administration*.

That this might become a popular Undertaking, they singled out the Person of the principal Minister, and him they devoted to all the Abuse with which they could load his Name; without any regard to his Rank or Distinction, without any regard to the Character which he had borne among themselves, without any regard to Truth or Decency, or even common Discretion. Every Mode of Slander was quite worn out in this Course of defaming him, and the vast Fund of political Scandal quite exhausted. Not only his personal Character was stretched upon the Rack, but his *private Life* and *Family Affairs* brought before their tremendous Inquisition. Proceeding for five Years together in this tedious, unwearied Attempt of making a Minister odious, under whom the Publick was safe, and with whom the People were satisfied, from whom these Men had received no Insults to their Persons, or Attacks upon their Fame, but on the contrary all the Kindness and Indulgence that any Minister could shew them, more indeed than they could expect, and much more than they could pretend to; insomuch that Strangers, who might take a View of their Conduct, must think the Custom of this Kingdom to be more prodigious than any thing on Earth; They acted as if it was a Maxim  
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in *Britain* to divide the People into angry Parties whenever any proud ambitious Man hath a private Quarrel with a Minister; and to change the Administration it self, because the imperious haughty Humour of an aspiring Malecontent *wills that it SHALL be so.*

Such was the wild Riot, the lewd unhallowed Licentiousness of Men, who being uneasy and disappointed in their private Affairs, carried the Quarrel into publick Proceedings, and endeavoured to inspire the People with all their *Violence* without their *Provocations*.

Soon after these private Quarrels at Home had thus occasioned the forming of Parties among us, the Affairs of *Europe*, and the Interests of her Kings, which are always in a State of Fluctuation, ever prone to change, and often tending to Disorder; these began to shew an angry Aspect, and this encouraged our dissatisfied Party to renew their Rage. When all Men ought in this Case of common Danger, to have united for the Preservation of their Country; when the Safety of all required the Assistance of all, They not only denied their own Help, but endeavoured with all their Might, to disable those whose Duty and Interest, and



zealous Care it was to save and preserve us.

In all our Disputes with Foreign Powers, they constantly espoused the Prince who acted against us: And when the Crown of *Spain* demanded GIBRALTAR of this Nation, these faithful *Englishmen* took much Pains to support those Demands; proving as far as they possibly could carry the false Pretension, that the SPANIARDS had a Right to the Place; and that a LETTER which *subjected it to the Power of Parliament*, was a *positive Promise* to give it up.

When the only Debate between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was the Affair of GIBRALTAR: When the *Spaniards* declared that they would observe no Terms of Peace or Friendship with us; unless we surrendered it to them: When the King, and his Administration, resolutely bent to maintain the Possession, refused to hearken to those Demands, fortified the Place, supported it against the Siege, and stood the Hazard of all Events, rather than lose it: At that very Time did these Men foment a most unnatural Jealousy, that the Ministry secretly designed to surrender it: And at the same Instant that they themselves vigorously supported the *Spanish Claim*,

*Claim*, they charged it as a Crime on the Administration, that they privately favoured that Claim, although the Ministers openly maintained our Possession against the *whole Power of Spain*.

When the King, and his Administration, had shewed the firmest Resolution in preserving that important Place: When both Houses of Parliament had, on the Motion of the Ministry, solemnly laid before His Majesty their concurring Resolutions, declaring their entire Dependance on him, that he would preserve his undoubted Right to that Place: When his present most Sacred Majesty had pledged his Royal Faith to both Houses, in Answer to that Address: Yet did these Men proceed even to suggest, that notwithstanding this most solemn Act of the whole Legislature, and against the Declarations of KING, *Lords* and *Commons*, the Ministers had by a SECRET ARTICLE, agreed to give up *Gibraltar*.

In Relation to the OSTEND COMPANY, which drew the *Imperial Court* into the Quarrel, they who before that Misunderstanding, treated it as Criminal in the Administration to sit still, and suffer that Company to trade in the *Indies*, even *They* made it criminal in the Ministers to differ

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differ with the *Imperialists* about that Company: And what they had insisted on as a Duty, became a Misdemeanor when it was complied with. We of all Nations; *they said*, ought to prevent Interlopers from running away with our Trade; and yet presently after we were taught a new Lesson: The DUTCH, *they told us*, were the Parties more properly concerned to oppose such Interlopers; and we, *it seems*, had little or no Concern in the Case.

As all the Princes who had any Misunderstanding with us, were sure of their Countenance and good Offices; so whatever Nation continued in Alliance and Friendship with us, was the Subject of perpetual Invective. Their fiercest Rage turned against *France*, whilst the *French* were supposed to be cordially in our Interests. They were continually abusing and reviling that Court, and their Ministry, whilst they acted in Conjunction with ours. They alarmed the whole Nation about the Repairs of DUNKIRK, in hopes of distressing our Councils by that Means. They raised a Clamour, even that Seven hundred and fifty *Irish Recruits* should be desired by the *French*, whilst they had Fears that any good Offices on either Side, might contribute to the Harmony between the two Nations. But as soon as ever they

they saw the Scene of Negotiation changed, and that the *French* would be no longer necessary or useful to the *British* Interests, their Fury against the *French* Ministry immediately relented, the *Cardinal* had Peace from that Moment; and from thenceforth they never so much as asked one Question about the *State of Dunkirk*, because their Clamours against the *French* could have no further Tendency to hurt the *British* Administration.

The GERMANS were their great Favourites, as long as the *Imperialists* were at Variance with the *British* Nation. The Agreement with that Court was mightily pressed by them, whilst they thought it was impracticable. They represented it as our only *natural Alliance*, as the only Accommodation that could save us from Ruin. They boasted it as their *darling Measure*. The Ministers were most insolently told by a *certain* worthy Person in Publick, that if they would at last come into this Measure; if they would comply with those Terms which HE had so long DICTATED to them; why then he would answer for all his Friends, that they would support the Administration. And how did these Gentlemen behave, when the first Reports were spread Abroad of this Accommodation? Why, they published a HAGUE  
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LETTER, representing this Accommodation as *Perfidious, Scandalous* and *Dangerous*, as a Breach of Treaties, a Compact that would unite *France* and *Spain* against us; a Project that would involve us in a bloody and expensive War; so that what they had pressed upon the Ministers as absolutely necessary to save us all from Ruin, when it was comply'd with, was treated by them, as what would involve us all in Ruin: What they recommended as a most *natural, prudent, and honourable Alliance*, became, in their Opinions, when it was concluded, a most *perfidious, villainous, dangerous Measure*. And thus the Ministers were to be made not only odious, if they acted against the Advice of these Patriots, but also equally odious if they pursued that Advice. Resolved and determined to defame them in every Shape, they abused them for not doing Things, which when done, they equally abused them for doing; and such Measures as could not succeed, they made to be absolutely necessary; yet when these Measures were effected, they try'd to make them as infamous as possible.

During the Misunderstanding with **SPAIN**, the Accidents at Sea furnished them with most enflaming Topicks of Invectives, and their Harangues were employed

ployed upon these dreadful Depredations, 'till they had fired the trading Towns with Clamours against the Ministers. Though it might be proved, as it hath appeared on the Examination in Parliament, that all the Depredations since the *Cessation of Arms* preceding the *Peace of Utrecht*, never amounted, at a *Medium*, to the Value of *Five Thousand Pounds* a Year; which, if it be computed with Relation to the *Jamaica Trade*, hath not been, in the whole Time of **TWENTY YEARS**, *Twenty Shillings per Cent* upon that Trade; and in Relation to the *private Commerce* carried on with the *Spanish West-Indies*, it hath not amounted to *Two and a half per Cent*, upon the whole Value of that Trade: Yet as much Noise and Uproar hath been made on this Subject, as if the whole Trading Interest of *Britain* had been sacrificed, and all the Merchants made Bankrupts by these Depredations. At length, when nothing else was thought possible to satisfy the Clamorous and the Uneasy, the King's *Ships of War* at *Jamaica*, during this last Summer, had Instructions to make Reprizals. And what then? Why the Merchants would not consent to it. They most strenuously solicited Admiral *Stewart* against it; for that the Destruction of the *Trading Ships of Spain*, would occasion a stop to all

their PRIVATE COMMERCE in the *Spanifh* *West-Indies*: And thus ended the fierce Uproar upon that important Affair.

The Administration however have, notwithstanding these inconsistent Clamours of particular Merchants, given fresh Instructions to the same Admiral, that he fhall make Reprizals with all poffible Vigor. Nor hath their Care been wanting at the *Court of Seville*, where to their Zeal it hath been owing, that the Governors of *Porto Rico* and *San Domingo* have been difgraced, for having countenanced fuch Depredations on our Commerce. Thofe Governors have been fent for Home in Irons, to anfwer the Charge. Strict Orders have been fent to *New Spain* by his *Catholick Majefty*, for the Prevention of thefe Grievances and Complaints for the future. Commiffaries have alfo been appointed on his Part, to treat with ours, in order to make Satisfaction for all former Loffes of this Kind: And as a Beginning of the Reparations which they are to make the *Subjects of Britain*, the *Spanifh Court* have already paid a large Sum of Money to the *South Sea Company*, in Retribution of fome former Seizures.

Can any Man conceive that all this Hurricane of Opposition hath not cost the Nation immense Sums ; that foreign Princes have not been obstinate in Proportion to the Difficulties and Distress of the Administration at Home ; that the Courts Abroad did not perceive that the longer they delayed an Accommodation with us, the more uneasy these Patriots would make the People ; and that the Ministers were under the stronger Necessity of Peace Abroad, in Proportion to these Feuds at Home ? Let any Man who doubts this, read Lord LEXINGTON'S Letter from MADRID in the latter Part of the late Queen's Time, where he gives an Account of his Conversation with King PHILIP, about the Catalans. *We know*, says that Prince, *-that the Peace is as necessary to you as it is to us, and that you will not break off the Negotiations for a Trifle.* This was the Language of that Time, and there can be no doubt that the same Logick hath been made use of since, though there is a most material Difference between the Necessity of Peace under the two several Administrations. The then Ministers made a Peace necessary to themselves, by betraying all the Advantages of a long and glorious War into the Hands of the Common Enemy. The present Ministers



sters found it necessary, not from any Advantages which they had given to Princes in Enmity with us, but from the restless Strife of Parties at Home, continually working in Favour of those Powers against the Peace and Government of their Country. Is this Patriotism, this the Cause of the People? Who can we charge with the Expence of *Additional Troops and extraordinary Supplies*, but those who have espoused, and even encouraged foreign Courts in their Quarrels with *Britain*? And yet these Men call themselves *Servants of the Publick* — Persons who have drawn the Resentments of the Ministers upon themselves, by the *mighty Good* which they have done to the People.

Whilst they have thus been carrying on this Work of Division among the People, it may deserve our Attention to reflect how they have hated the *Prince on the Throne*. No Man can forget their early Professions of Duty and Devotion to all the Royal Family. Their Quarrel was, they told us, altogether with the Ministers; and they have the highest Sense of his Majesty's Goodness, tho' they had the utmost Abhorrence of his wicked Ministry. At his present Majesty's Accession, they offered up their Vows of Service and Fidelity to the World's End; they consented to  
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all that could be desired in Behalf of his *Civil List*; and were so very yielding, that, as it has been said, without any Denial or Contradiction, they offered His Majesty more than He thought good to accept: They would, we are told, have given Him THIRTY THOUSAND Pounds *per Annum*, even out of the SINKING FUND itself. But because this very reasonable Proposition had no Countenance, and their Schemes no Credit or Success, a formal War must forthwith be proclaimed with the Throne. The KING must be libelled in *abusive Parallels*, His *Royal Consort*, without any Regard to the Privilege of her Sex, most infamously insulted and the same violent Defamation made use of against *Majesty*, as had been so long and so liberally thrown out at the Persons in his Administration.

Had this been all that was attempted against the Person and the Family of our sacred Sovereign, nothing could excuse even this, but all must have treated it as a most wild and frantick Part, the idle Rage of a Lunatick. But when we saw the same Malice and Violence, which had appeared under the dark Coverts of libellous Parallels, throw itself into a much more formidable Shape, openly invading the ROYAL TITLE to the Crown, disputing

ting the Terms of Allegiance, striking at the Ties between the Sovereign and Subjects of this Kingdom, denying the Prince on the Throne the common Supplies for the Service of the current Year, defaming *indiscriminately* all the Measures of Sixteen Years past; asserting, that in all the Managements of so long a Space of Time, there had not even once been *the least Intention of regarding the Good of the Publick*; and thus in all things aiming the Blow at the Foundations of our Happiness; what Words can express the Indignation and Amazement which such Proceedings as these must create in those who were Witnesses to them!

Yet whilst they have thought themselves at liberty to vilify all Men after this manner, who had either a Share in the Administration, or any Attachment to it, not sparing even the King and Royal Family, merely for approving it; hath there at the same time been a *corrupt Projector* or a *proscribed Criminal* with whom they would not associate themselves, and whom they have not taken into their most intimate Councils? Whoever hath heretofore betrayed or sold his Country, hath been entitled to a full Share of their Favour and Confidence, provided he would but once come into their Scheme of *destroying the*  
*Admi-*

*Administration.* Nay, the Merits of all such Attempts were so considerable, that in meer consideration of this, they undertook to justify *B*——'s Character; maintaining the Honour and good Faith of his Dealings, the Integrity of his Heart, and the spotless Innocence of his Life; whilst the same Hand that had defamed the KING, the *Royal Family*, and *whole Administration*, became the honest, modest, and consistent Advocate for *B* ——'s *virtuous Reputation*.

It hath often been echoed in our Ears, that these noble *confederated* Patriots have made a most glorious Stand against Corruption; I cannot therefore neglect some Notice of their great Services in relation to the Bill which was obtained against that Practice. They have themselves in one single Corporation, since that Bill passed into a Law, spent above *Ten Thousand Pounds* to turn the Election; I mean the Town of *B* —— *d.* In the *City of LONDON* itself a very notable Attempt hath lately succeeded to improve the *Tory Influence*; and they have taken the Nomination of all *Workmen, Artificers, &c.* from the Court of Aldermen, where the Majority are *Whigs*, transferring this Right of Nomination to the Committee  
for

for letting the City Lands, where the Majority are *Tories*. I could name numberless Instances of Profusion and Management in the great Work of *new modelling* Corporations; but I will not forget that of *L——le*, where *Fifteen Guineas* a Vote were given in the Election of a Mayor. Who then can doubt the Sincerity of our good Patriots in their Declamations against Corruption, or their sincere Designs in framing Laws to prevent it?

These, no doubt of it, are Instances, in their Apprehension, of the great Good which they have done to the People; and perhaps they will take it ill of me should I neglect the Wonders which they have done in defeating Evils and preventing Grievances which never would have happened. It hath fallen to the Lot of the present Administration, that they have been obliged to answer, not only for things *which they have done*, but also for Things *which they have not done*. Whenever any dreadful and provoking Chimæra presented itself to the visionary Minds of these Men, instantly the Ministry were to be as much abused and vilified, upon the Supposition of their making unjust Attempts, as if they had actually made them. What is there that is wicked or monstrous, which  
hath

hath not been imputed to their Designs? And when the Ministers have cleared themselves from the Imputation, these worthy Persons have still pretended to justify the Suspicion. *Restraints of the Press* have sometimes been attempted, and therefore the Administration have been charged with Designs to obtain such a Law. *Acts of Grace* have been sometimes obtained, and therefore the Ministry are to be charged with a View of procuring themselves this Indemnity. *Members of the House of Commons* have been sometimes EXPELLED for being disagreeable to former Ministers, and therefore the present Ministers are to be charged with Designs to expel whom they do not like. All these Accusations have no other Support, than what can be drawn from this notable Reasoning, *that the worst Ministers have made such Attempts,* and therefore we are to believe the *worst* of the *present Ministers*, though they never shewed in their Lives any such Dispositions, but always acted diametrically opposite to them. Nay, though they do this, though they act ever so uprightly, yet still the just Reward of Integrity is denied them. They are said to have no good Meaning even in good Actions. They are charged with all the Guilt of bad Designs, which never were in their Hearts; and

that those Designs which never existed, have not been attempted, is wholly ascribed to the Discoveries of those who found them out before they had a Being.

Will the *People of England* think that these Proceedings are meant for their Good? Or that those who carry them on are their Friends? Will they hold and maintain, that all this Outrage and Violence hath no other Source than the Love of their dear Country? Or that it hath no other End than the Happiness of us, and of our Posterity? That there is no Ambition or Avarice in this mighty Hunt after Power and Wealth? That there is no Revenge in all this Flame of Passion? No arbitrary and tyrannical Nature to be seen in so much lawless riotous Uproar? Will the People think that THIRTY THOUSAND Pounds *per Annum* was offered out of the SINKING FUND, purely for their Advantage and Benefit? That Applications and Negotiations were carried on in *Courts* and *Closets* by these *Country Patriots*, merely for the Sakes of their beloved Friends the People? That *Vows of Destruction*, SOLEMN LEAGUES and COVENANTS, *bloody Associations*, and *horrid Imprecations*, were made from a Passion of serving the Publick

lick, from no private Rancour of Heart, or from no bitter and vindictive Spirit? That Conversations *Eleven Years* old were trumped up and published for the Good of Mankind, and infamous *private Scandal* vented for the Welfare of the Publick? That Domestick Life, and the little Affairs of Neighbourhoods, have been drawn into Print for the Service of a Nation? Or that those Men who acted in this Manner merit their Affection, or have shewn them any Marks of Love? Whose Cause then have they carried on, but their own *little dirty partial Strife*? Or what Adherents ought they to have, but their *Tools and Mercenaries* only?

When they made Alliances with the *Patrons of the Peace of Utrecht*, and put themselves under the Direction of those able Statesmen, did they do this for the Reformation of our Councils, and for the Refinement of our Negotiations? When they took to their Assistance the *worthy Projector and Conductor of the South-Sea Scheme*, did they mean by his Advice to *better regulate the Finances*? Did they enter into this Union with the Author of the CANADA EXPEDITION, out of Indignation against the *Contract of Forage*? Or did they make their Peace with the  
 Author



Author of the *Third and Fourth Subscriptions*, from Abhorrence of the *Bank Contract*? When they entered the Lists to plead for B———'s Fame, was it meant for the Good of the Nation? Or had they the Interests of the People at Heart, when they lamented the Spirit of Party, which kept that just and upright Man out of the Administration? These are the Men who have been the *Servants of the Publick* for *Five Years* past; now let the People judge themselves what *Wages* they ought to give them.

But since they have pleaded their *SerVICES to LIBERTY*, as the shining Merit of their Opposition, I will give some Account of their *Political Creed*, concerning the *Freedom of the Press*. It is, in their Opinion, an unbounded License to abuse all Persons, and all Things; to blast the fair Reputation of any Man; and to asperse the best Councils of any Ministry, without being made accountable for any Means, right or wrong, which they think fit to make Use of, and without being obliged to answer for the Truth or Justice, or Equity of their Proceedings. It is a Liberty to publish, or if proper Occasion require it, to invent any PRIVATE CONVERSATION, however distant  
in

in Time, or scandalous in its Nature, or useleſs or foreign to the Publick. It is a Liberty to print *Family* and *Domestick* Tranſactions ; the *Tittle Tattle* of *Neighbourhoods*, and the *Scandal* of *Tea Tables*. It is a Liberty of Writing, without being confined to Truth ; a Liberty of Lying, without being liable to Reſtraint or Punishment ; and a Liberty of deſaming, without being obliged to make Reparation for any Wrong, or Satisfaction for any Injury.

By their Deſcriptions and Definitions of Liberty, Injuries done to a Nation by Writing are not criminal, nor ought to be accounted for ; the Publick hath not the Right of a private Man, and a Miniſter's Fame is in a worſe Condition than that of the meaneſt Subject ; any deſamatory Lies may be circulated againſt him, any odious Deſigns falſly laid to his Charge. It is honeſt, great and laudable to deſtroy his good Name by any Means, merely becauſe he diſcharges Truſts of a high Nature. He may be abuſed innocently for what he is innocent of. Juſtice is to correct all the Members of the Body but the Tongue, all the Inſtruments of Action but the Pen, and all the Vehicles of Scandal but the Preſs. No Diſtinction is to be made  
be-

between the Use and Abuse of popular Rights: So that by this Doctrine, Liberty, like a Sword, is put into Mens Hands, not only *for Defence*, but even for *Destruction*; and whatever Havock is made, wickedly or wantonly made, it is not to be accounted for.

Anyone, unacquainted with these worthy Persons, would think from their large Demands of Liberty, and the vast Extent to which they stretch it, that they make mighty Allowance to other Men. But they are as narrow in their Notions on one Side, as they are boundless and unconfined on the other. Those who sometimes have incurred their Displeasure, have occasionally felt the *Weight of Cudgels*, even almost to ASSASSINATION. Those who have severely enquired into their Conduct, and thought fit to appear against their Proceedings, have been threatned and menaced with ANOTHER KIND OF ANSWER. When their publick Attempts have been debated, they have made Reprizals on the imputed Author, by attacking his private Circumstances; inso-  
much that his Dress, his Air, his Gestures and personal Characteristicks have been made the Subject of publick Ridicule; nay, whenever any Pamphlet  
or

or Paper hath appeared, which either provoked their Spleen or their Malice, they have used it as a constant Pretence to abuse whomsoever they wanted to revile ; and whether the Persons attacked were Authors of the Writings, imputed to them, or otherwise, they constantly reviled and defamed them, as the Authors, in many Cases too, where they knew of a Certainty that such Persons had no manner of Concern in the Writings of which they were accused ; so that Ministers of State, Lords of Parliament, Prelates of the Church, and Members of the Privy Council, have been treated in this most infamous Manner, meerly to gratify the wanton and base Resentment of those, who had no other Way to vent their Rage and Scurrility against them, than by abusing them for Writings which they did not write, and sometimes never read. The *Christianity* of an *illustrious Prelate* was drawn into Question, meerly for writing a Defence of Measures which they were pleased to condemn ; and they evidenced his *Writings for Liberty of Conscience*, as a Proof *that would make his Christianity suspicious*. Monstrous Immorality, and prodigious Inconsistency, for Men who pretended to assert

the Rights of Mankind! Whatever Liberty was taken against them, hath met with a constant Return of all the Violence which they could exert. They have even injured the Liberties of their Country, by overstraining and abusing them. They have made the great Privilege of a free Press almost a common Nuisance, by their vile Prostitutions, and their unbounded Licentiousness. To the most cruel Defamation, they have constantly added the most abandoned Scurrility. And when they had laboured for so many Years to write out of Doors all Reverence for lawful Government, they wondered how any Man could think that they deserved to be punished; they appealed to the People as Servants of the Publick, and complained of Proceedings against their defamatory Libels, as drawn down upon them by Services done to their Country.

No Man who loves the Liberties or Happiness of his Country, can delight in Proceedings even against Lies and Defamation, which may be equally turned in evil Days against the Voice of Truth and Integrity. But as to these Men who have wantonly drawn them down on themselves, Who can they expect should

should pity them? Did those among them who have been Ministers, ever shew the least Regard to the *Liberty of the Press*? Were they even satisfied with the *Common Laws* of the Kingdom? Were they not solicitous, eagerly solicitous for new Restraints? Let these *Friends of the People*, as they call themselves, ask their great Leader, *Lord B——KE*, how indulgent he was to popular Liberty during his Time of Authority? Let us judge from thence, what a tender *Guardian of our Rights* we have lost through that *Spirit of Party* so much complained of, *which hath excluded him from a Share in the Administration*: Let us judge too, how our Rights and Liberties are likely to be protected, should they ever restore him to that share of Power which he so worthily lost. But I fear they will not be so kind as to inform us of the Proceedings against the Press in his Time; nay, I am afraid that they will not admit the Charge, and therefore I am under the greater Necessity to explain it in a particular Manner.

The CRAFTSMAN, in his Paper  
 N<sup>o</sup> 4. Friday, December 16. 1726. Five  
 F 2 Years

Years ago, when he first devoted himself a *Servant of the People*, set out with this modest faithful Account of Lord *B——ke's* Administration.

“ I must, *says he*, do the Persons  
 “ then in Power the Justice to own,  
 “ that they generally suffered Writings  
 “ against them to be published with  
 “ Impunity, and contented themselves  
 “ with applying Argument to Argu-  
 “ ment, and answering one Piece of  
 “ Wit and Satire with another. The  
 “ only Instances of any Severity which  
 “ we meet with, are burning the Bi-  
 “ shop of *St. Asaph's* immortal Pre-  
 “ face, and expelling *Sir Richard*  
 “ *Steele* the House of Commons; but  
 “ we meet with no *grievous Imprison-*  
 “ *ments*, no *expensive Prosecutions* or  
 “ *burthensome Fines*, in the History of  
 “ that Administration.”

I could not forbear citing this Paragraph, as I am a great Lover of Impartiality, and abhor to suppress any Part of the *L—— B——ke's* Praise: Having done this, I will now shew the Proceedings in *Westminster-Hall*, to punish the Writers of those  
 Times,

Times, and the Attempts in the *House of Commons* to restrain them.

*February 1710-11.* In the Infancy of that Administration, Mr. *Benson* having wrote a Letter to Sir *Jacob Bancks*, against the Doctrine of the *Minehead* Address, *that Kings are accountable to none but God; and Subjects bound to obey, notwithstanding any Oppression or Tyranny*: A Prosecution was ordered against Him, grounded upon the Pretence of some free Reflections on the late *Humane King of Sweden's* Clemency to Count *PATKUL*. Vid. *Pol. State of Great Britain*, Vol. I. p. 373.

*October 23. 1711.* being the First Day of *Michaemas Term*, *FOURTEEN Booksellers, Printers and Publishers*, who had then been lately taken up, and committed to the Custody of Messengers by Mr. *Secretary St. JOHN*, for printing and publishing, appeared at the Bar of the Court of *Queen's-Bench*. Mr. *Darby* was among them, committed only for printing an Account of a Translation of that Passage in *Tacitus*, which relates how *Cesellius Bassus* deceived the Emperor *Nero* with the Promise of an immense



menſe, but imaginary Treafure. This, it ſeems, was interpreted as a Libel upon the then new Project of the *South-Sea Scheme*. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. II. p. 388.

On the third of *December*, 1711, Mrs. *Popping*, a Publisher, was committed to NEWGATE, by a Warrant from Mr. *Secretary St. JOHN*, for publishing a Paper, called the *Proteſtant Poſt-Boy*, and the Printer thereof was taken into Cuſtody of a Meſſenger. Vid. *the ſame Vol.* p. 488.

*September 4.* 1712. *Hurt* the Printer was committed to NEWGATE, by a Warrant from the *Lord Viſcount BOLINGBROKE*, for printing and publishing the *Flying-Poſt*.

*September* the eighth following, *George Ridpatb* was committed to NEWGATE on the ſame Account, by Warrant from the *ſame indulgent Miniſter*. Vid. *Pol. State*. Vol. IV. p. 214.

*January* the 15. 1712-13, *Baker* the Publisher was ſummoned to the *Lord BOLINGBROKE's* Office, on Account of a ludicrous Pamphlet, on which Occaſion

sion discovering that the Author was *Thomas Burnet*, Esq; he was discharged. But on the 24th of the same Month, his Lordship issued his Warrant against *Mr. Burnet*, and obliged him to give Bail for his Appearance at the *Queen's-Bench Bar*. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. V. p. 63, 64.

*February* the 21st, 1712-13, *George Ridpath* was try'd and convicted at *Guildhall* on the Attorney-General's Information for three Libels, published in the *Flying-Post*; which Information set forth, *that a Negotiation of Peace being on Foot, the Defendant, (being a notorious Inventor, and Framer of Libels) did publish those laid in the Information, to stir up the People to a seditious Dislike of the said Negotiations.* Vid. *the same Vol.* p. 155, &c.

*April 27.* 1713. A Rule of Court being made, that the said *George Ridpath* should appear in the *Queen's-Bench* on the *First of May* following; he withdrew from the Violence of that Prosecution, and his Recognizances being to the Value of SIX HUNDRED POUNDS, were estreated, and paid. Vid. *the same Vol.* p. 377.

*May*

May 19. following, an Advertisement was inserted in the *London Gazette*, signed BÖLINGBROKE, promising a Reward of *One Hundred Pounds*, for the Discovering and Apprehending of the said *George Ridpath*.

June 24, 1713. *Hurt* the Printer received Sentence for printing the *British Ambassadors's Speech to the French King*, and was adjudged to stand *three times in the Pillory*, to pay a *Fine of 50 l.* to be imprisoned for *Two Years*, and until he could find sufficient *Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life*; all which he suffered accordingly. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. 6. p. 79.

Such were the Proceedings of an Administration, in whose Time the CRAFTSMAN tells us that we meet with no *grievous Imprisonments*, no *expensive Prosecutions* or *burthensome Fines*. These few Specimens of their Lenity and Indulgence will therefore equally serve to shew the Mercies of those Ministers, and the Modesty of the Craftsman.

About the latter End of *July*, 1713. Three Messengers and a Constable apprehended

prehended *Baker* the Publisher by Warrant from the *Secretary of State*, for a Pamphlet concerning the *French Commerce Bill*; but when this *impartial Minister* was convinced that the Author was a *Tory*, he very candidly discharged the Publisher, and dropt the Prosecution. Vide *the same Vol.* p. 118.

A like Instance of his Lordship's excessive Lenity and Moderation may be seen in *BEDFORD's* Affair. He was prosecuted by the *Whigs* for writing against the *Protestant Succession*, in that well known Book entitled, *The Hereditary Right to the Crown of England asserted*: Part of his Sentence was *to walk round Westminster-Hall with a Paper on his Forehead*: His Lordship on this Occasion sent the *Queen's Warrant*, countersigned by himself, and directed to the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench*, requiring them to spare the *ignominious Part of the Punishment*, in tender regard to his sacred Function, as a Minister of the *Church of England*. Vide *Pol. State*, Vol. 7. p. 167, 362; 462.

*DANIEL DE FOE* was another Object of his Pity and Mercy. He had only wrote *Three treasonable Pamphlets* against

gainst the *Protestant Succession*, and in favour of the *Pretender's Claim*. A private Gentleman (Mr. *Benson*) thought the Matter of so great Importance, that he begun a Prosecution against him on the Statute which made it HIGH TREASON to write against the Succession. On this the *Attorney-General* had Orders to take the Prosecution out of this Gentleman's Hands, under pretence of carrying it on at the Queen's Charge. But instead of prosecuting him on the Statute which made it HIGH TREASON, he very charitably changed the Indictment into an *Information*, grounded on the *Common Law*. DANIEL was then tried, and found guilty; but solemnly professing that he had *no ill Meaning* in writing against the Succession, he was favoured with the *Queen's Pardon*, and thought a proper Advocate for the *French Commerce Bill*: So that his Lordship very judiciously saved him *from the Gallows*, to write in defence of that *useful Project*; which accordingly he did in a Paper called the MERCATOR.

It will equally surprize the World to read the *Craftsman's* Panegyrick on the *tender Mercies* of that Administration, and his Complaints against the Proceedings

ings of the present. Why, the very least Favour *Ld B—KE* shewed to a Publisher, who had at any time happened to offend him, was to commit him immediately to *NEWGATE*. Have any of the *Craftsman's* Agents ever suffered any Severity like this? But had his Lordship confined his Resentment within the Bounds of *Westminster-Hall*, less might have been said of his Kindness to the Press, and his great Indulgence to Authors.

There is no Clamour that hath been more violently raised against the Ministers, or with less Truth, than the Design of *restraining the Press by Act of Parliament*; a Design which they always abhorred, and most solemnly disavowed, and which they have never attempted in any Shape, or by any Means. But what will the World say, if they find these very Men who have aspersed the Ministry *falsely* with this odious Design, attempting this Restraint themselves, and labouring it with all their Might, during their Time of Power? This let the *Journals of both Houses* testify for our more certain Information.

January 17. 1711-12, (as I observed in another Point very early in the Administration) Mr. *Secretary* St. JOHN delivered to the House of Commons a Message from the QUEEN, under the *Royal Sign Manual*, the Eighth Paragraph of which was this:

ANNE REG.

*HER Majesty finds it necessary to observe, how great License is taken in publishing false and scandalous Libels, such as are a Reproach to any Government. This Evil seems to be grown too strong for the Laws now in Force. It is therefore recommended to you to find a Remedy equal to the Mischief.*

St. James's, Jan. 17, 1711.

Upon the reading this Message, it was among other Things resolved, *That this House will take the most effectual Course to put a stop to the publishing those false and dangerous Libels, which have exposed her Majesty's Government to Danger and Reproach.*

The next Day Sir *Gilbert Dolben* reported to the House, the Address drawn up in Answer to her Majesty's Message; which Address concludes in this remarkable Manner. " We

“ We are very sensible how much the  
 “ Liberty of the Press is abused, by  
 “ turning it into such a Licentiousness  
 “ as is a just Reproach to the Nation;  
 “ since not only False and Scandalous  
 “ Libels are printed and published a-  
 “ gainst your Majesty’s Government,  
 “ but the *most horrid Blasphemies* against  
 “ GOD and *Religion*. And we beg Leave  
 “ humbly to assure your Majesty, that  
 “ we will do our utmost to find a Reme-  
 “ dy equal to this Mischief, and that  
 “ may effectually cure it.

The same Message was sent to the  
*Lords*; but in their Address to the  
 Queen, they very wisely took no Notice  
 of the Matter.

The next Step was to go into a *Com-  
 mittee* on that *gracious Part* of the  
 Queen’s Message thus brought into the  
*House of Commons* by Mr. Secretary St.  
 JOHN.

Accordingly *June* the third, 1712.  
 Sir *Gilbert Dolben* reported from that  
 Committee, the Resolutions which had  
 been taken, and they were as follows.



## RESOLVED,

1. “ That the great Liberty taken  
 “ in printing and publishing false, scan-  
 “ dalous and impious Libels, creates  
 “ Divisions among her Majesty’s Sub-  
 “ jects, tends to the Disturbance of the  
 “ Publick Peace, to the Increase of Im-  
 “ morality, Profaneness, and Irreli-  
 “ gion, and is highly prejudicial to her  
 “ Majesty, and her Government.

2. “ That the want of a due Regula-  
 “ tion of the Prefs is a great Occasion of  
 “ this Mischief.

3. “ That all Printing Presses be re-  
 “ gistered with the Names of the Own-  
 “ ers, and their Places of Abode.

4. “ That to every Book, Pamphlet  
 “ and Paper, which shall be printed,  
 “ there shall be set the Name, and Place  
 “ of Abode of the Author, Printer and  
 “ Publisher thereof.

5. “ That no Bookseller, or other  
 “ Person, shall sell or disperse any Book,  
 “ Pamphlet or Paper, to which the  
 “ Name, and Place of Abode of the  
 “ Author, Printer and Publisher, shall  
 “ not be set.

Those

Those Resolutions were read, and agreed to, and a BILL was ordered to be brought in pursuant to the same.

To the matchless Honour of the same *House of Commons* I must also remember, that on the 11th Day of *April* they voted the *Memorial of the States General*, in Vindication of themselves from a Censure passed on their Conduct, to be a *pretended Memorial*, as also a *false, scandalous, and malicious Libel*; for which they ordered Mr. BUCKLEY, who translated and printed it, into the Custody of the *Serjeant at Arms* attending their House.

In the Month of *June*, an *Order of Council* was made at *Kensington*, offering a Reward of *Fifty Pounds* for discovering the *Printers and Publishers* of the Reasons, which *Twenty Four* of the *Lords* had entered on the *Journals* of their House against the *PEACE OF UTRECHT*; so that the then Ministry would not even suffer the *common Protests* to be printed.

On *Tuesday* the 10th of *June*, the *House of Commons* read a *first time* the Bill for *restraining the great Licentiousness of the Press*, and ordered it to be read a second time.

After

After which they voted the BISHOP of ST. ASAPH's *immortal Preface* malicious and factious, ordering that it should be burnt by the *common Hangman*; which was done accordingly.

The Business of Parliament being put an End to on the 21st of *June*, the laudable Project of *restraining the Press* dropt for that Year; but it was too much at the Hearts of its Patrons to be quite laid aside.

*April 9, 1713*, the Parliament again assembled, and to convince the World that the *Restraint of the Press* was neither to be deferred nor forgot, the QUEEN in her *Speech* was advised to express herself thus:

“ Several Matters were laid before  
 “ you last Session, which the Weight  
 “ and Multiplicity of other Business  
 “ would not allow you to perfect; I  
 “ hope you will take a proper Oppor-  
 “ tunity to give them due Considera-  
 “ tion.

“ I cannot however but expressly men-  
 “ tion my Displeasure at the unparal-  
 “ lelled Licentiousness in publishing se-  
 “ ditious and scandalous Libels.

“ The

“ The Impunity such Practices have  
 “ met with, encourage the Blasphem-  
 “ ing every thing Sacred, and the  
 “ Overthrow of all Religion and Go-  
 “ vernment.

“ Prosecutions have been ordered ;  
 “ but it will require some new Law to  
 “ put a stop to this growing Evil, and  
 “ your best Endeavours in your respec-  
 “ tive Stations to discourage it.”

The Lords with the same good Sense  
 as before, avoided making any Answer  
 in their Address to this Part of the  
 Speech.

But the COMMONS, *April 18th.*  
 Ordered a BILL to be brought in, *to*  
*prevent the Printing and Publishing of*  
*blasphemous, treasonable, seditious and*  
*scandalous Libels, and for the better Re-*  
*gulation of the Press.*

What now was the Consequence of  
 all this laborious Enterprize to restrain  
 the Press? Why after Lord B——KE  
 and his Collegues in Power had done all  
 that they could, had engaged the  
 QUEEN in pressing this Point for two

Sessions successively, and had persuaded the *House of Commons* to order in *two several Bills* for that Purpose: Their own Party mutiny'd against them, and their own Friends obliged them to give it up. In the End an Expedient was agreed upon; they refer'd the Bill to a *Committee of Supply*, where it being taken into Consideration, they imposed the *Duty on all printed Papers*; and this they hoped would serve to *restrain the Press* in some Measure, by loading it with a new Charge. So that the **Tax** which we pay at this Instant for **STAMPS** on all *single Sheets and Half-Sheets* of Paper, this *very Tax* is the Effect of **Lord B——KE's** Zeal against the *Liberty of the Press*, and every *Stamp* impressed on our Papers, is a *Memorial of his Labours to take away that Privilege.*

Nor was this Restraint a sufficient Satisfaction to the then Ministry; but the **QUEEN** by their Advice almost directly *reproached* both Houses of Parliament with having defeated Her *gracious Intentions to restrain the Liberty of the Press*. Thus Her Majesty expressed Herself in Her Speech to Parliament, *March 2. 1713-14. I wish, said She, that effectual Care had been taken as I have*

*have often desir'd, to suppress those seditious Papers and factious Rumours, by which designing Men have been able to sink Credit, and the Innocent have suffer'd.* So we see that this *Restraint of the Press* was the constant View of those Ministers, from the Beginning to the End of their Time of Power. There was scarcely a Session, there was hardly one Speech from the Throne but what was employ'd to this Purpose. And yet what makes the Matter more astonishing, is that these very Ministers *begun the Work of Abuse*, carried it on in the most *outrageous* Manner, and countenanced more *Licentiousness on their own side*, than ever had been known in the Kingdom.

I had not been so particular in this Detail of those Measures, if those Men who clamour against the present Government for proceeding against Libels, had not set them the *strongest* Examples in every shape, for punishing and restraining all such Writings; some Examples indeed which they never were inclined, and I am assured never will be prevail'd on to follow. God forbid that the present Administration should pursue any such wicked Scheme of restraining the Press; nor am I fond of recommending

*Pains and Penalties* against any Man; but when these Men complain of Punishments which arise only from the *known Laws* of their Country, they Clamour against that very Usage which they have inflicted upon other Men, and declaim at Proceedings which they continually made use of whilst they were in Power, and had the Laws on their side. Is it not monstrous that B——— should censure Prosecutions against *his own Libels*, who prosecuted all the Writers against him *as Libellers*; and that he should appeal against the ordinary course of Justice, who not only proceeded against his Adversaries in that way, but even in the *House of Commons* procuring MEMBERS to be expell'd for having wrote *against his Measures*: And not content even with these Severities, endeavoured with all his might to obtain a TOTAL RESTRAINT OF PRINTING, by proposing that all *Presses* should be *register'd*, as also that all *Writers, Printers and Publishers* should be obliged to publish their *Names and Places of Abode*. Had this worthy Scheme taken Place, what a blessed Situation would this *Servant of the People* have found himself in on his removal from the Administration? And how uneasy would his

his Condition have been as a *Libeller* against this Ministry? He must have exposed himself *personally* to the Power of rigorous Laws, and have set his Name to *all his Invectives* against those Persons *whom he hath libelled.*

Let me ask at the same Time, what hath this *present Ministry* done in the course of a *ten Years Administration* to prejudice the Freedom of the Press, or to leave the Liberties of their Country in a worse Condition than they found them? Prosecutions grounded on the *common Law* have been the only ones attempted, and those but seldom, nor directed at all but on great Provocation; nor hath any Paper been proceeded against as a *Libel* but what was really *wicked* and *immoral* in itself; nor hath any Violence been used in Trials of this nature, nor any but *fair* and *impartial* Juries returned, nor any Method made use of to *byass* and *corrupt* them; no Punishments against *Libellers* have been carried on out of the ordinary course of Justice. Have any Applications been made to Parliament, any Restraints on the Press recommended *from the Throne*, any *Bills* brought in, any *Resolutions* taken, or even moved for against the Press?

No,



No, the present Ministers have scorned and abhorred to make any extraordinary Attempt against their Enemies, whatever extraordinary Attempts may have been made by their Enemies against them. They have *burnt no Prefaces*: They have *expelled no Members* for Writing against them: They have desired no *Committees* in either House of Parliament to enquire after the Writers against them: They have *Imprisoned no Persons on Suspicion by the Power of Parliament*, nor taken any Measures inconsistent with the *legal Rights of the People*.

Can any one conceive, that those Men who have wholly devoted themselves to a *Contention for Power*, would if their Schemes took effect give any *Indulgence to Liberty*; that they who have on all Occasions wherever they had Power *punish'd every Writer against them*; would if ever they should be reinvested with Power, *tolerate any Writer against them*, or that they mean any thing by their Demands of free unpunished Licentiousness, but to have Scope for their own Malice against all Men who do not concur with their Views. Who then can lament that they have received a  
Check

Check from those Laws which they have offended; or who can think it absurd that they should be caught in their own Toils?

Have their Proceedings in any Case been meant or conducted for the good of the People? How then are the People affected by their particular Complaints? Did the People ever hear of these Men as *Servants of the Publick* till they could serve their own private Views in no other way? And how is it that they have served the Publick? They have taken all possible Means to *distress* it in the Hands of the present Ministers, that they might become able to *devour* it, by getting it into their own.

What I have here offered to the World hath been drawn from me by their *invidious* APPEAL. And since they could not be content to abide a *legal Decision*, without provoking a *popular Enquiry* at the same Time; I have joined Issue with them; far from any view of insulting them, and wholly with an Intention to shew those Merits in a true Light which they have misrepresented, that they might raise unjust Pity and Concern. I am not ashamed to own, that I have employed these

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Pains

Pains for the sake of those Ministers whom they defame; and whilst any Ministers are to my Apprehension sincerely embarked in the Interest of their Country, I shall always account it *honest* and *laudable* to do them justice against their common Enemies. Let others falsely imagine, that *Popular Liberty* hath no better Employment than to *defame*, to *injure* and *wound* the dearest Reputation of those whom *private dislike* may have destined the Victims of *Publick Destruction*. Be it my Part, and on this Foundation let me ground my Pretensions to Praise, by appearing on the Side of injured Fame, and Men unrighteously vilify'd. Whilst others arm the Hand of Freedom with the Arrows of back-wounding Calumny, give me the Privilege to shield the Innocent from wrong, and upright Men from false Reproach; nor ever let me think this Part *ungenerous*, nor ever let me think it unworthy of an ENGLISHMAN.

F I N I S.

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E R R A T A.

**P**age 6. l. 14. for Right *r.* Rights. P. 16. l. 14. for Conceit *r.* Concert. P. 18. l. 18. after the Words fell us *put a Colon instead of a Full Point; and instead of Whilst the Abilities, read Whilst, as the Abilities.* And l. 21. add the Word *so* before the Words their Rage. P. 23. l. 4. from the bottom, for treated it, *r.* had reated it. P. 30. l. 21. for hated *r.* treated. And l. 26. for they have, *r.* they professed themselves to have.









