A letter to the Craftsmen : upon the change of affairs in Europe by the war that is begun against the Emperour.

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# LETTER

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TO THE CRAFTSMEN,

UPON THE CHANGE OF AFFAIRS

IN

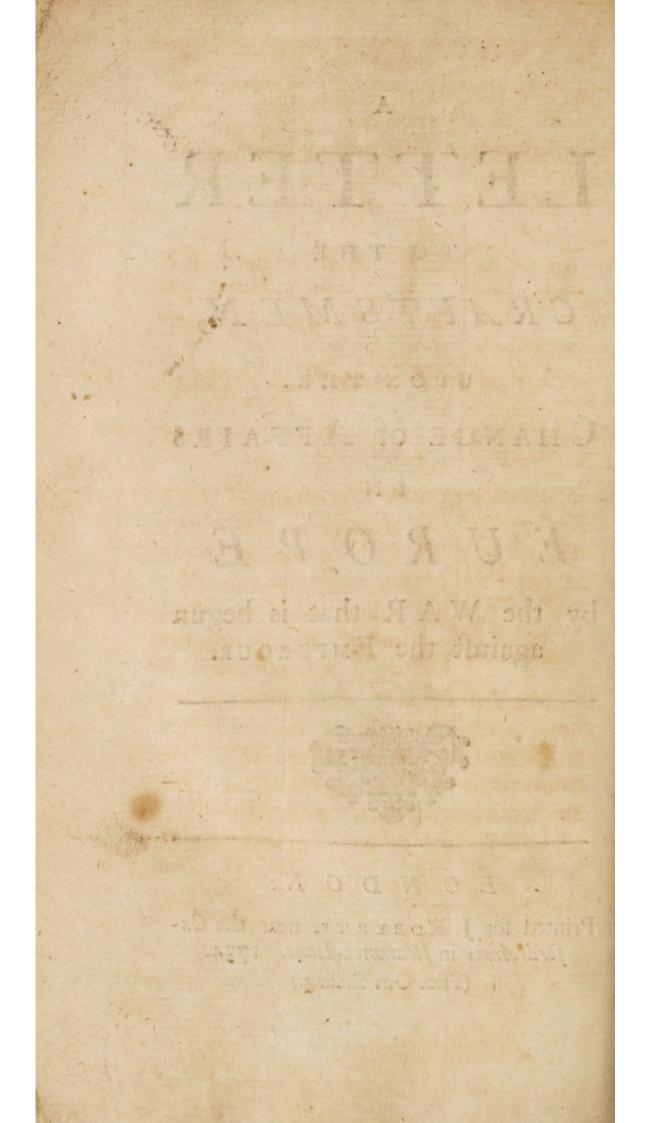
## EUROPE

by the WAR that is begun against the EMPEROUR.



LONDON:

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### LETTER TOTHE CRAFTSMEN, &c.

A

### GENTLEMEN,



H E great and fudden Change we fee in the Face of the Affairs of *Europe*, by the War made upon the Emperor, being become the Subject of all

Conversation, you will eafily believe me, when I tell you it was lately my Fortune to be engaged in a Difcourte upon that Subject, with fome Gentlemen who happened to be all Friends to the prefent Administration befides myfelf.

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On these Occasions the Craft/men feldom fail to be brought in, from the Character they have long affumed to themselves, of true Patriots, And fo it hapand able Politician's. pen'd now : Upon my faying fomething I had learned from you, whom they knew I was a great Admirer of, they asked me, What was the Meaning that my Friends the Craft/men were fo filent upon this great Occafion? Why, if they were fuch Patriots as they pretended to be, they did not affift their Country with fome good Advice, when it would be fo feasonable ? Why, if they were such able Politicians, they did not fhew it upon fo critical a Conjuncture, when they might do it with fo much Advantage to the Publick, and fo much Reputation to themfelves ? That while Negociations on fome late Occasions hung in Suspence, they pretended to treat the Ministers as mere Blunderers in Politicks; that during the Negociations, as the Face of Things feemed to alter, they had changed Sides, and had taken the

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the Part of France, or Spain, or the Emperor, as they thought would most embarrass Affairs ; that when the Treaty of Seville was at length concluded, by which our Commerce was reftored and fecured, then they pretended, the Ministers had begun at the wrong End, and fhould have treated with the Emperor first: And when that Difficulty was got over, and Friendship was reftored with the Court of Vienna (which the Ministry knew they always had in their Power, if they could once separate the Spanish Court from them, and for that Reafon very wifely began there, and attempted that first,) when the Ministry had happily extricated themfelves out of these Difficulties, which their Enemies had flattered themfelves they would not be able to do, what Part, fay they, did the Craftfmen take then? Why truly, they modeftly affumed the whole Credit of it to themfelves ; they told the World, that the Ministers had at last blundered into what was right, by fubmitting to follow their Directions and Advice. Now, fay these Gentlemen,

tlemen, if the *Craftsmen* really are the great Politicians they would be thought to be, what means this affected Silence at prefent? Why don't they speak out, and tell us what they think is the Interest of *Great Britain* in this nice and difficult Conjuncture?

I confess, I felt my felf here under a very great Difficulty, and had often wonder'd within my felf, why Gentlemen of fuch great Abilities chose to be fo much upon the Referve; and wanted exceedingly fome of their Instructions, to know what Part I should take, and how I might best fupport it in the Sequel of this Conversation.

But that I might feem to fay fomething, I told them, you did not think it decent to preferibe to the Administration, and that it was Time enough to interpose, when you faw them taking wrong Measures. But this Answer would not pass; what do you talk of Decency, fay they, in Men, who have for so many Years shewn, that they have thrown off all Regard, not only to the Ministry, but to the Crown itfelf? felf ? And how trifling is it to fay, 'tis Time enough to interpose with their Advice when the Ministers are entring into wrong Measures? This might pass in the Mouths of Men, who have a better Opinion of those in the Administration ; but in Men who pretend the Ministers are always in the wrong, and are fuch Blunderers that they hardly ever deviate into what is right; for Men of fuch confummate Wildom as the Craft/men, and who can do their Country fuch fignal Service by their early Advice; for fuch Men to fit filent and fay nothing, when a few Words spoken in Time, might perhaps be the faving of their Country from infinite Mischief; this furely nothing can excufe: And after this they must either renounce their Patriotifm, and pretended Love to their Country, or give up their Claim to a superior Skill in Politicks; or confess that they mean Themselves more than their Country, and live still in Hopes, that the Diffreffes which may poffibly be brought upon the Go-

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To this, I told them, That I did indeed wonder as well as they, at the Silence you had kept, when I thought it of fo much Confequence for Men of your Abilities to give the World your Senfe of Things, but that I could by no Means allow of the Conftruction they put upon it; that it could not be expected you should affift with your Advice Men you fo much difliked, before it appeared to the World by their wrong Conduct, how much they wanted it; and that if you did propose to ferve your felves by it, that was not in my Opinion at all to be wondered at, or blamed: That it was a laudable Ambition in Men of fo much Merit, to defire to be in a Condition to ferve their Country by being in a publick Station; and that it was but a just Reward to fuch fuperior Abilities, to be put in the Places of greatest Trust and Distinction; but that I was perfuaded you would 4023

would upon no Confideration fuffer your Country to be ruined, but time= ly interpose, and by your wise Counfels fave even these Ministers, rather than not fave a Country, for which you had so much Love and so warm a Zeal.

But these Answers would not be accepted; they infifted on it, that you had neither the Honefty of Patriots, nor the Wifdom of Politicians; and that the whole Secret was nothing more than this: That you were refolved, at any Rate, to diffrefs the Ministry all you could, in Hopes of getting into their Places; that all your Politicks confifted only in this fingle Point, to take, in all Cafes, the opposite Side to the Miniftry, whatever it were; that your paft Conduct fhewed the Truth of this in a Manner that made it undeniable; and that your pretended Skill in Politicks, was nothing more than to declaim plaufibly for and against any Thing you pleafed; which, fay they, in Questions of a complicated Nature, as political ones always are, is at any Time a very eafy Thing. B For

For in Cafes of this kind, there are always Conveniences and Inconveniences on every Side: What then has a Declaimer to do? but to multiply and magnify the Inconveniences of the Meafures he would oppose, and to leffen, if not conceal entirely, the Things that are to be faid for them. And how very eafy this is, we will fhew you, fay they, in the very Cafe now before us. Whereas true Wifdom confifts in weighing carefully one Thing against another, and judging well on which Side the greater Probability lies, for in political Affairs, Matters will not admit of Demonstration ; he is the ablest Man that makes the fhrewdeft Conjectures, and takes his Measures accordingly : But as it is at most but Conjecture, many Things may happen to defeat the wifest Measures; which is the Reafon why all the World are fenfible of the Folly and Iniquity of judging of Meafures meerly by Events.

These Gentlemen being so confident of their own Abilities, and pretending with so much Assurance that that all your boafted Skill in Politicks was nothing but Declamation, I had a Mind to make the Experiment: Pray, Gentlemen, faid I, if it be 10 eafy to give Opinions, and fupport them by plaufible Reafonings in Things of this intricate Nature, be pleafed to favour me fo far as to tell me what you think is moft for the Intereft of *England* at this Time; for I muft own I am entirely at a Lofs what Judgment to make in the prefent Situation of Affairs.

You mistake us, replyed one of the Gentlemen; We don't pretend to fay, what Measures it is most expedient for the Government to take in the present critical Juncture; that we leave to our Superiors, to those, whofe known Abilities, and long Experience in Bufinefs, and whofe Knowledge of many Things which are and must needs be Secrets to Persons of our private Station, enable them to make a much truer Judgment than any of us can pretend to, and whole Interest it is to do what is best for the Nation, as much as it can be of any Men in the whole Kingdom, let them B 2

them be who they will. We fhall therefore not eafily fufpect the Prudence of the Meafures they fhall think fit to take, or fancy, if we were in their Places, we could do better; all we fay is, that it is eafy to declaim on either Side of a political Queftion, from the complex Nature of it; and this we will under-

take to fhew you prefently, take which Side you will. I was not enough prepared to take any Side in fo difficult a Point, and

any Side in fo difficult a Point, and upon which fo little has been faid as yet in Print; and therefore defired to be excufed from taking a Part, and that they who feemed to have confider'd the Matter more a great deal than I had done, would chufe what Side they pleafed.

Upon this one of them began thus: We did not expect you fhould take a Side as your full Judgment and Opinion, but only for Argument's Sake, and to fhew you how cafily many fpecious Things might be faid against it; but fince you decline the taking one Side rather than another, another, let us put, says he, all the several Sides in which this Affair can be confidered.

A War is, you fee, begun in Europe by a powerful Alliance against the Emperor; What now shall England do? There is but one of thefe three Ways the Government can poffibly take: Either to observe a Neutrality between the contending Powers; or to enter briskly into the War in Support of the Emperor; or to fuspend a little, and remain for fome time in a State of Inaction, in order to fee what Turn Things will take, and concert with our Allies the likelieft Measures for restoring the Peace of Europe, with a due Attention and Regard to our own particular Interefts, by proper Stipulations before we engage too far. Which ever of these Sides the Government shall think it most for our Interest to take, I will answer for it the Craftsmen will take the Contrary, and will find a great many Reasons to shew 'tis wrong. We will try this, if you please, in each Case.

Let

Let us fuppose, first, the Government chuses to observe a Neutrality. A great deal may be eafily faid against this: It is to fit still, and to fee that Balance of Power deftroyed, which we have procured at the Expence of fo much Blood and Treafure; that it is throwing up at once all the Fruits of the last glorious War; that France will foon be as formidable as it was in the Time of Lewis the Fourteenth, and prepare Fetters for all Europe; that if the House of Austria be forced to truckle to France, it may be driven to purchafe its Peace by Conceffions and Agreements very prejudicial to the maritime Powers, and to England in particular; that if the Emperor be forced into an ignominious Peace, there will not be any where a fufficient Power left to make head against France, especially with all the Weight of Spain on its Side, and in Poffeffion 'of all the Strength and Trade of Italy and the Mediterranean. In short, that if by our Neutrality

trality we fuffer the Emperor to be ruined or brought too low, our Commerce, our Liberties, our Religion will be precarious, or rather fure to be loft in a very few Years. To chufe therefore a Neutrality, would be an Argument of a weak and cowardly Ministry, who had neither the Wifdom nor the Courage to take vigorous Measures in a Conjuncture where they were fo neceffary; and that they facrificed their Country, to purchase their own Ease and Continuance in Power, for want either of Forefight to fee the Confequences of fo wrong a Conduct, or of Honefty to purfue the Meafures they faw were right.

Well; now, if you pleafe, we will fuppofe the Government, for thefe or other Reafons, to reject a Neutrality, and enter briskly and vigoroufly, without lofing time, into the Defence of the Emperor : Will the *Craftfmen* allow this to be right? By no means, they will tell us it was our Intereft to keep neuter; that we have no Concern in the Quarrel into which the Emperor has has brought himfelf; that England has nothing to do with Poland; that the Emperor might have still enjoyed his Dominions in Peace, if he would have let the Poles alone, and permitted a free People to pleafe themfelves with a Choice of the King they liked beft; that he knew how much France would refent his Opposition to Staniflaus, and yet would venture to provoke, without providing against the Confequences it would probably expose him to, or being in a Condition to defend his own Territories. That England has very little Obligation to the Emperor, who for Twenty Years paft has shewn not the least Complaifance to Powers he is fo much obliged to, as all the World knows he is to us and the States; witness his Oftend Trade, and his Treaty with Spain : that the very Country we recovered at fo vaft an Expence of Blood and Treafure for him, he turned against us as foon as he could, and endeavoured to hurt us in fo effential a Point as that of our Commerce, by which alone it is that we have been able to do the great

great Things we did in his Defence : That while he has the Dominion of these Countries, the Defence of them is left to us; that he has not a fingle Town in a proper Condition of Defence in all Flanders, with Respect either to the Fortifications, Troops, Ammunition, or Magazines for their Subfistance ; that the Weight and Expence of all this is left to England and Holland, whofe Interest the Emperor knows it is, that these Countries should not fall into the Hands of France; that this is most ungrateful and most unjustifiable Usage, after what we have done for him; and therefore the Dutch have taken the only wife Part in coming into a Treaty of Neutrality with France for the Low-Countries; and that if the Englif Ministry had the Integrity, the Wifdom, and Prudence of theirs, we fhould have gone into the fame Meafures: That the Balance of Power is a chimerical Bufineis, and is every Day fhifting; and that if we must be drawn into a War every Time a weak or ambitious Prince will provoke a fuperior Power, we shall never

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ver be at Peace, but every Day be exposed to fuffer by the Folly of others, though our own Conduct, with refpect to other Princes, be never fo upright and inoffenfive; that no body can answer for the Events of War, or be fure what may be the Iffue of it; that many Incidents may happen to prevent, or bring things back into the State we would have them, without our engaging ; that the good Effects of a Neutrality are immediate and visible to every body, by the great Increase of our Trade, which is already fo fenfibly felt by the Demands for our Corn, and other Exportations; and that it is always the Interest of a trading Nation, if poffible, to keep in Peace ; whereas the Inconveniences of a War are fure to be feverely felt, while the Conveniences are remote and very uncertain.

This is what may be faid at first Sight in favour of a Neutrality; and I doubt not the *Craftfmen* would be able to fay a great deal more when they have laid their Heads together, and have whetted their Wits how to oppose

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oppose, in the keenest Manner, the Part the Ministry shall have advised against it. Besides many things they will have to fay against entring vigoroufly into the War, they will tell us, that we had no Hand in what gave Birth to this War, and that we shall in the Conclusion reap no Advantage from it; that the Burden of it therefore ought to lye upon those whom it most concerns; that England is already fo exhausted, fo involved in Debt, and fo loaded with Taxes, that it is impoffible to find sufficient Resources for a vigorous War; and that we are reduced to this Condition by the Part we took in the two laft Wars for the Defence of the House of Austria, and in Support of the Revolution; and partly by the ill Returns the Emperor has made us fince, by his fetting up the Oftend Company, and his unnatural Engagements with Spain, in prejudice of his old fast Friends and Allies ; and therefore a vigorous War is neither reafonable, nor poffible to be expected from us, by a Prince to whom we have fo little Obligation. ibomin. Let

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Let us now fuppofe, in the laft Place, that the Ministry take the third Way I mention'd, and decline not only a Neutrality, but also to take Part with the Emperor immediately, and chuse rather to continue for some time in a State of Inaction and Sufpence, till they fee what other Powers will do who are more nearly and immediately concerned, and particularly our Neighbours the Dutch, with whom it is to be supposed that England will always act in perfect Harmony and Concert : Besides, fince if we engage, we can't engage by halves, they may think it proper to fee what the Emperor is able to do himfelf, and how far he will undertake in Defence of his own Quarrel, and upon what Terms we can enter into it, with most Advantage to ourfelves. But is there nothing to be faid against this? Will not the Graftsmen tell us, that the longer we delay, the more difficult the Work will grow; that by fufpending thus between a Neutrality and a vigorous Profecution of the War immediately, we lofe the Benefit of both

both; that our Help will come too late, if we flay till the French and their Allies have made themfelves Masters of all Italy : But that if we immediately take a Part, that will cool their Courage, and make them flacken the Vigour with which they push on the War at prefent; that the Apprehension of a British Fleet in the Mediterranean would make them not fo forward in gaining Conquests they would find it fo difficult to maintain, when the Sea was thut up to them, fo that no Troops or warlike Stores could come that Way from Spain; and that no Door would be open but thro' the Territories of the King of Sardinia. But while by our Suspence that Apprehenfion is removed, and they fee they shall for another Year be Masters of those Seas, we may be fure they will improve the Opportunities we give them, to the utmost. And our Inaction will not only put it in their Power to push fuccessfully their Conquests in those Parts; but will be an Encouragement to them to make a more vigorous Effort on the Rhine, than they would

would otherwise think it safe for them to attempt: Or at least, the less Opposition they will find there, the more Troops they will be at Liberty to pour into Italy. In short, 'tis always easier to prevent Mischiefs than to retrieve them; to keep Places out of an Enemy's Hands, than to retake them; and

therefore if a vigorous War muft, in the last Refult of Things, be entred into, the sooner the better.

At this Rate we may be fure the Craftfmen would talk, if the Ministry should go into this Measure. Thus you see, upon all Suppositions, the Craft fmen will not be at a Lofs for Matter to declaim upon. There is indeed a fourth Way may be taken, but which is at first Sight fo manifeltly wrong, that if the Craftsmen should espouse it, I think it would not be very eafy even for fuch able Demagogues to gain the People to their Side; and that is to take a Part in the War, but not to engage deep in it : 'tis impossible the Ministry should make fo abfurd a Choice; and therefore there is no great need of confidering what these Gentlemen would fay frow

fay against it. But for Argument's Sake, let us for once suppose it, that the Ministry should in the present Condition of the Nation, and in Refentment of the Ufage we have met with from the Emperor, take a Middle Way between a Neutrality and a vigorous War; and in Defence of fuch a Measure tell us, that we ought not to engage in it as Principals, but as Accessories only, fince we are not the Parties immediately concerned. Who docs not see what the Craft men would then fay? that the Point to be confidered is not what the Emperor has deferved of the British Nation, but what it is our Interest to do; that that is the only Confideration should govern Princes in the Meafures they take with refpect to War or Peace, and not Likes or Diflikes to this or that Prince, and how he has behaved on this or that Occasion : That the Queftion is, What is now proper to be done? Whether becaufe we are out of Humour with the Emperor, and he has given perhaps but too just Cause for it; we shall, to shew our Rebegildo

Resentment, go into Measures destructive to our own real Interefts? That the Diffinction of Principal and Acceffory looks like fomething, but often at the Bottom is really nothing but Words: That in a Confederacy it must be confidered, not only how far the feveral Parties are interested, but what the real Strength of each respectively is; and how much Power, upon the whole, is neceffary to be a Match for the Power they unite against. For Example, If twenty Degrees of Strength are neceffary to support the Emperor in the prefent War, let us fuppofe the Powers we would join with, can together make up fourteen Parts; that England, either in purfuance of Treaties, or upon a Proportion of Interefts in the War, ought to furnish only three Parts; fo that in the whole here will be feventeen; what fhall we do? 'tis plain here are three Degrees of Strength wanting to enable the Confederacy to carry on the War with Vigour, and reafonable Hopes of Succefs : England won't furnish them, because it is beyond their Proportion, and they are obliged

obliged to furnish only pro rata; and the other Allies can't: Why, if we perfist in this Resolution of engaging no farther, the Confederacy must break, the weakest Parties will separate, and make their Peace first at the Expence of the rest, and the War must needs end unhappily; and therefore we had better not have entred into the War at all.

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And as for the Plea of not being able to carry on a vigorous War; tho' I do allow there is but too much Truth in it, I believe the *Craft/men* would treat that as a very ridiculous Pretence, and would argue from the Luxury of the Nation, and the extravagant expensive Way we are run into, in Buildings, Gardenings, Pictures, Jewels, Plate, Equipage, and Tables, that it is in vain to pretend Inability in fo good a Caufe, when fo much Money might be raifed by retrenching our Expences in these and the like Articles.

The Example of Holland, I don't know what they would fay to, but I know what they fhould fay to it; D they they should fay, that in the last War the States engaged greatly beyond their Strength, upon the Faith of England; and that after a most expenfive and fuccefsful War, they were fcandaloufly abandon'd by a Ministry, whofe Memory will be had in everlafting Abhorrence by all good Englifb as well as Dutch Men; that this fatal Issue of the last War, whose Glory and Fruits were all thrown away by not an inglorious, but ignominious Treaty, has both difabled and frightned them from entring far into another War, till their Safety shall render it absolutely unavoidable.

But if we really are in fo exhaufted a Condition, they will fay 'tis owing to the vaft Debts contracted in Support of the Revolution, which we have paid dearly for, and to the ill Conduct of the Miniftry, who have done fo little in fo many Years of Peace to leffen that heavy Load of Debts, which wife, and frugal, and honeft Minifters would before now have made a great Progrefs in ; and to enter into any Method of War under the the Management of fuch Ministers is a vain Attempt, and from which no Good can ever be expected.

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Thus, Sir, we have fhewn you, that let the Ministry take what Part they will, their Enemies can never be at a Loss for Topicks to urge against it, and talk plausibly at least to the Populace, who must needs be very ill Judges of fuch difficult and intricate Affairs, fince 'tis fo little they know to form a Judgment by; however, the *Graftsmen* have taken great Pains to read weekly long Lectures to them, and make them fancy themfelves to be able Politicians.

I could not but allow thefe Gentlemen to be fo far in the right, as to admit, that any Side in political Queftions may, by Men of tolerable Abilities, be made to appear either very fpecious and plaufible, or ridiculed and exploded, as may beft anfwer their particular Views : But I flatter myfelf, you Gentlemen whom I addrefs this to, have that Penetration, that you know what is really for the Intereft of your Coun-D 2 try, try, and that you have too much Regard to it, to act against your Confcience and Judgment, in espousing, at this important Juncture, a Side you think to be wrong.

But the Gentlemen I was arguing with would by no Means allow this: They faid, that if you espoused even the right Side, you would do it for a wrong Reafon, and be mixing falfe Colours in every Argument with Truth; that you would by a pretended Enquiry into the Caufes and Occafion of this War, tho' fuch an Enquiry be, as to the Ministry, altogether useless and unneceffary, endeavour to throw it upon them; that they had not by proper Reprefentations to the Court of Vienna prevented the Handle they have given for it; and that'tis originally owing to ٩ć. the Quadruple Alliance that the Emperor is in Danger of lofing all his Dominions in Italy. If you tell them they were not the Ministers that made that Alliance; and that therefore if it twas wrong, the Blame should not be laid on them; the Craftsmen will tell

tell us, that the prefent Ministry rendred that Treaty effectual by that of Seville. Admit this: Shall a King of England make Treaties, and not preferve his Honour in performing them? Had not Spain a Right to the Performance of it, in Confideration of giving up Sicily to the Emperor? And had not ten Years shewn, that nothing could render the Quadruple Alliance effectual, but the Variation made in it by that of Seville, by fubflituting Spanish instead of Neutral Troops ? But how is this the Caufe of the War in Italy? How has this occafion'd the Danger the Emperor is in ? Did France enter Italy by the Dominions yielded to Don Carlos, by Parma or Florence? No, 'tis manifeftly otherwife. 'Tis the King of Sardinia has let France in to fwallow up Italy; that was the Door which was opened for the War that has already devoured the Milanefe, by the Entrance of French Troops without the least Affistance from the Spanis Garrifons in Tuscany, or any Forces that came that Way. Had that Door been

been kept fhut, the Emperor would have been in as little Danger on that Side as on any other. And why was it not kept fhut? Is the English Miniftry to anfwer for that? Had they the keeping of the Key? If the Emperor, by any ill Ufage provoked the King of Sardinia into this extraordinary Step, or if he took it without fufficient Provocation, how are the Miniftry to blame?

The Part the King of Sardinia has taken, was fo unexpected, and is fo extremely hazardous to his own Interefts, that the Emperor, the Power infinitely most concerned to have a watchful Eye upon him, could not be made to enter in earnest into a real Apprehension or Belief of it; if he had, he would not have left his Italian Dominions fo defenceles. I am afraid wife Princes fometimes make very wrong Judgments of their Neighbours, in thinking that they certainly will not do fo or fo, because in Wisdom and good Policy they ought not. But perhaps upon Enquiry it may be found, that the English Minifters

nisters did apprehend this fatal Step in the King of Sardinia, and did all they could to prevent it, but to no Purpofe. They who are acquainted with the Hiftory of the Houfe of Savoy, know, their Play has long been to embroil the Affairs of Europe, and blow up into a War the Sparks of Diffention that from Time to Time they have difcovered between the two great Powers, of Austria and Bourbon. This they have practifed with Succefs for feveral Generations, and in all Wars, however they have ended as to the other Parties engaged in them, have found their own Account; as we all know they remarkably did in the Conclusion of the laft. If the King of Sardinia was flattered into Hopes of the like Succefs from fresh Troubles, 'tis eafy to fee how difficult or rather impoffible it was to keep him, actuated with great Expectations and ftrong Refentments, from entring into the Views of France, without fuch Expedients as it was not in the Power of the English Ministry to give or procure for him. Such a Prince will be fatisfied with nothing,

thing, but what England must either give itself, or be Guarantee for, if promifed by the Emperor. This was in Fact the Cafe in the two laft Wars, in which this Houfe would got engage on the Side of the Allies upon any other Terms. In short, 'tis plain from the Conduct of this Prince, that nothing could engage him to come into a Treaty to prevent a War; but either our giving to him large Subfidies, or procuring to him an Addition of Territories. But how was this last to be done? Must we compel the Emperor to give him Part of his Dominions, or Poffeffions belonging to others, to keep him quiet, and bring him into reafonable Measures? Is this just? And if it were, is it in our Power? And as to Subfidies to be given to an Ally in Time of Peace, to prevent his engaging in Defigns that may involve Europe in a War, we already know the Sense of the Craftsmen upon this Point too well, to make it needful to ask how they would approve it. There is no Point they would be able to declaim upon with more Fire, or with more

more Success on the Minds of those they would inflame. Unless therefore fome other Expedient could be found, by which the English Ministry might effectually have prevailed with the King of Sardinia to keep in the Interests of the Emperor, and not throw himfelf, as he has done, into the Arms of France, and let fo formidable a Power into Italy; the Craft men must allow, that the French have entred by this Way, and that it was not in the Power of the Ministry to hinder it; and that therefore, whoever is to blame, the Fault cannot, with the least Pretence or Colour of Truth be charged on them : and yet you may depend upon it, the Quadruple Alliance, and the fubfequent Treaties which have been made to perfect it and render it effectual, will be the Burden of the Song, and we shall have endlefs Peels rung upon them, as the Caufe of the Italian War, though nothing be more evident than the contrary; and it may as well be faid, that Savoy is Tuscany, or Piedmont Parma, or the King of Sardinia is Don Carlos, as that these Treaties have been the E

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All the Influence those Treaties have had, I think, is this, that they have kept off this War for fome Years, which would otherwife probably have broken out much fooner. If Spain has been drawn into this War upon the Emperor's Non-compliance with fome Particulars infifted on by Spain in Favour of Don Carlos, which they would have thought to be Appendages of those Treaties, how would they have refented it, if England had concurred with the Emperor to defeat the whole defign of them? But 'tis not impoffible but the Craft men may charge this Quarrel also upon the Ministry; notwithftanding the King of Spain has in his Memorial done the Crown of Great Britain and its Ministers fo much Juffice, as to acknowledge, in the amplest Manner, their prudent, honeft and unwearied Endeavours to prevent a Breach between that Crown and the Emperor on that Account. Another thing we fhall, as I have Sila observed,

obferved, be fure to hear of from the Craft men, whatever Side they take as to the War, is the Debts of the Nation, which they are not content to lay upon the Ministry, but upon the Revolution ; to render that odious, and make the prefent Generation weary of it, who did not feel the Dangers from which we were delivered by it. This is grown very fafhionable with thefe Gentlemen, and yet I must take the Liberty to fay, nothing can be more falfe or wicked; and there is nothing in which they fhew themfelves more truly Traytors to their Country, than by this vile Imputation thrown upon the Revolution. The Debts of the Nation, as they flood at the Death of the late Queen, were owing to the two laft Wars; which Wars were not entred into to fupport merely the Revolution, but in Defence of the Proteftant Religion, and the Liberties of Europe, against the Power and Ambition of Lewis the Fourteeth, and his Attempts of Universal Monarchy. For let us, fays he, confider what

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would have been the Cafe, if the Revolution had never happened, or rather, that there had been no Occasion for it: Had King Charles the Second been fucceeded by a Protestant Prince, and who was hearty in the Interests of his People, would he have fat ftill, and fuffered France to extend its Conquests in Flanders and on the Rhine? Or would he have taken Part with: the House of Austria, and entred vigoroufly into the Confederacy against the exorbitant Power of France? I think it can be no Queftion, what Part a wife and good King would have taken: Here then would unavoidably have been a bloody and expenfive War, though the Revolution had never happened.

And had a Popifh Prince been on the Throne, which indeed proved to be our Fate, Things muft have been much worfe, fince he would have gone, as in fact he did, into the Meafures of *France*; to whofe ambitious Views, had not the Revolution happened, it would have been impoffible to have fet any Bounds, and Great. Britain Britain had certainly been made a Province to the Grand Monarch, and we had been Slaves to Popery and all the Evils of Arbitrary Power.

If the War that followed upon the Heels of the Revolution was more expensive or less fuccessful than it might have been, had it been entred into by a Protestant King of *British* Birth, that must not be imputed to our glorious Deliverer; but to the Rubs, Difficulties and Impediments thrown in his Way by a Sett of Men, that never understood the Interest of *England*, or at least were never true to it.

And as to the fecond War, With what Face can that be imputed to the Revolution? 'Tis true indeed that *France* gave but too juft Caufe for it by the Affront put upon King William and the British Nation, in declaring and acknowledging the Pretender, upon the Death of King James, King of Great Britain: But if that Provocation had not been given, would any Protestant English King have tamely fuffered the Spanish Crown, with all its Dominions on the Continent, and the

## the Riches of the Indies, to fall into French Hands? Or was it poffible to hinder it without a War? Certainly not; a War was become abfolutely neceffary; it was accordingly entred into with Vigour, and carried on with a Succefs anfwerable to the wife and powerful Measures concerted for the Support of it. This War, therefore, is no more chargeable on the Revolution than the first.

If England did not reap the Fruits they had fo much Reason to expect. from fo glorious a War, this is not chargeable on the Revolution, or its Friends; but on its avowed Enemies. on those who prevailed on the late Queen to remove the Treasurer and the General, who had with fuch wonderful Success, and to their own immortal Honour, diffinguished themselves in her's and their Country's Service. Had they been continued in Power but one Year longer, France must have given the Allies Carte blanche; the Way had been open for our Armies to the very Gates of Paris. This is too well known to be denied. But. this was a Happiness too great for us;

us; we had it in View only. Thefe great Men, thefe Pillars of the State, thefe Supports of the grand Alliance, in whole Wildom and Integrity every Part of the Confederacy had an entire Confidence, were removed, to make Way for Men, whole Ignorance in foreign Affairs, and Iniquity in all, whole Perfidioufnels and Treachery to their Country and its Allies, are not to be expressed by any Words, or to be matched in any Hiftory.

These Men put the most infamous End to the most glorious War, to the infinite Difhonour and Prejudice of their Country; and in lieu of all we had Reafon to expect, and even themfelves had promifed for the Security and Advantage of Commerce, they hoped to delude the Nation with the two glorious Acquisitions of Gibraltar, and the Affiento Contract; the last of which was by no means equivalent to the Benefits of Trade we might have infifted upon, and could not have been denied by a Prince who owed the peaceable Poffession of his Crown to the English Ministry: But the main thing proposed to be got by it, was a round Sum

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Sum of Money for themfelves; tho' by their dilatory Management, and the Quarrels which arofe between themfelves, even that, if I miftake not, in the end was loft. And as to Gibraltar, what did they obtain? Why, that we fhould keep what we had been near ten Years in Poffeffion of, and which all the Power of Spain could not take from us. But did they obtain any Point, whereby to render the Poffeffion of it either more indifputable, or more peaceable? Nothing like it.

I heard indeed, fays one of the Gentlemen, a noble L---d, who was deep in the Measures of that Miniftry, not many Years ago, fay with a very grave Face in a certain Place, that there was no other Fault to be found with the Treaty of Utrecht, but that fingle Omiffion or Overfight, for fo he would have it thought, that a proper Diffrict was not flipulated on the Land Side of Gibraltar for its Defence; and that it was a great Fault in the Seville Treaty, that that Defect was not fupplied. But ed to be got by it, was a round

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But this was strange Reasoning in that noble L--d, as well as a ftrange Affertion. Had not his Memory greatly failed him, he could not have forgot that that Fault in the Treaty of Utrecht was not a Slip or Overfight ; quite otherwise ; it was seen and confidered by those who made that Treaty, and yet tamely gave it up. This may be seen in the Appendix to the Report of the House of Commons, upon the Impeachment of those Ministers in 1715. There it appears in a Paper in three Columns, that in one of them a Diffrict is demanded; in another is the Anfwer of France, that they durft not propose fuch a Demand to Spain, and that the King of Spain would never yield to it; and in the third Column, the English Ministers acquiesce in this Refutal. And this is now pretended to be an Omiffion and an Over-fight, and the prefent Ministers are to be blamed for not fupplying this Defect in the Treaty of Seville. What, are these Ministers to blame for not infifting peremptorily on a Demand they had no Right to make, make, when they were at Peace with Spain, and its King in quiet Poffession of the Crown, and in a Condition to support any just Pretensions; when their Predecessors, at the End of a glorious War, Arms in their Hands, and Spain at the lowess Ebb, and its King in no Condition to refuse any thing that could with any Colour of Justice or Reason be asked, had given it up, and ignominiously receded from it with their Eyes open, and when they were themselves fensible how

reafonable and neceffary the Demand was? Strange Reafoning furely this!

Thefe two noble Articles were the Reward of all the Blood and Treafure England spent in that War; unless perhaps they will claim some Addition of Merit from the Demolition of Dunkirk. But in that Article also they did their Business so by halves, and suffered the Articles to be so loosely drawn, as to leave Room for fresh Disputes, and Power to France to put it at any Time in a Condition to annoy our Commerce, (as they did in the former Wars) in the Compass of a very very few Months, and at a very small Expence, when they ought to have infifted on its being absolutely refigned up to them.

But according to the ufual Juflice of the *Craft/men*, the prefent Ministers must be answerable for all the Consequences of the ill Meafures then pursued, and of the Blunders made in the Settling so important Articles; they must quarrel with *France*, and involve the Nation in a new War, to rectify the Mistakes of these great Ministers, and make *France* do, what by that Treaty they fay they are not obliged to.

These are all the Advantages it is fo much as pretended that England got by the Treaty of Utrecht, which, were they as great as themselves would have them thought, were purchased at vastly too dear a Rate, when the publick Fasth and Honour of the Nation, and the Security it had in the Friendship of so powerful an Alliance, was made the Sacrifice. And what makes the bubling the Nation in this shameful Manner  $\mathbf{F}_{2}$  with

with these boasted Advantages the more fcandalous and the more provoking is, that fo confiderable an Acquisition as the Kingdom of Sicily was given away from the Emperor in manifest Violation of the Articles of the Grand Alliance, to be a Bribe to the Duke of Savoy, who was the only Prince that could, upon any Terms, be prevailed with to defert the Grand Alliance, and come into the wicked Measures of the English Ministers; and this done by the English Ministers themselves: For France and Spain, I speak it to my Knowledge, would, when they faw the Emperor fo fliff that he would come into no Treaty without Sicily, have given up that Point, tho' they were the only Powers who had any Intereft in refufing it. No, fay the English Miniflers, the Emperor shall not have it, he shall have the Mortification to fee it given to the only Ally that deferts his and the publick Caufe; becaufe he will not quietly evacuate Spain, and facrifice the Catalans, and come into their infamous Measures.

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O Catalans! a Name that can never be mention'd without remembring when and by whom a brave and faithful People were delivered up to Slaughter, and the Lofs of all their Liberties, in return for the Confidence they put in the Faith and Honour of this Nation. I wonder the Craft/men have not yet found out a Way to impute this monftrous Iniquity to the prefent Minifters; which 'tis certain, they might with as much Juftice do, as an hundred other Things, which they are no more concern'd in.

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But to return to Sicily: To give that Kingdom to a Prince to whom fo little was due, and at the fame time take fo little Care of the Honour and Intereft of their own Country, has fomething in it fo abfurd, that it can no otherwife be accounted for, than from a Defign to fubvert the Conftitution and the prefent Settlement, which a fuccefsful War and a Peace anfwerable to it, were in the Nature of them an effectual Bar to. And the Meafures they purfued at Home during these Negotiations arc are but too plain a Proof, that this was their Defign, which otherwife there was no Senfe in.

But whatever their particular Schemes were, by the good Providence of God they were in a Moment blown up, and entirely defeated, and the Prince was peaceably feated on the Throne, whom they had endeavoured to render odious to the Queen and Nation, by the vile Reprefentations they made to her and her People, as if he were preparing to invade the Kingdom, and by Force ravish from her the Crown, which fhe had, till fhe fell into these Hands, worn with so much Honour. Thefe Jealoufies were industriously infused into Queen and People; it was pretended a confiderable Fleet was ready in Holland to bring over Forces, and that all Things were prepared for a Defertion of the Troops in England. And what the Consequence of these Jealousies might have been, if they had had longer Time to fpread themfelves, and gain Credit with the People, 'tis eafy to foresee.

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But to return once more to Sicily: This infolent Treatment of the Emperor by the Ministers of a Queen in Alliance with him, in giving from him a Kingdom, which his Enemies would have yielded up to him, without fo much as pretending to make him any Compensation for it, was not only infamous to the last Degree, but most fatal in its Confequences. And 'tis for that Reafon I infift fo much upon it : For 'tis to this we owe all the Difficulties we have been fince involved in ; 'tis this flagrant Injustice to the Emperor, that has made these Years of Peace fo imperfect in the Tranquillity and Profperity which England had Reafon to promife itfelf from fuch a War.

Had this Point been yielded to the Emperor, he would have fubmitted to the reft of the ill Treatment he had from us, and have come into the Utrecht Treaty, and the Peace would have been general; whereas the Refufal of it made him ftand out till he could obtain better Terms. By this Means the Grand Alliance was broken into Pieces, Pieces, without leaving the leaft Shadow of Hopes of ever feeing fo happy an Union again; to the great Joy of the Common Enemy, who now faw they had nothing to fear in hafte from a Confederacy that had been fo formidable; fince every Part of it, except the Duke of Savoy, was, by the fhameful Conduct of the English Ministry, disobliged to the last degree ; but above all, the States-General, who are our nearest, and best. and most natural Allies; and the Emperor, without whom 'tis impoffible for the other Powers of Europe to be a Match for the Houfe of Bourbon, poffeffed as it is of the Crowns of France and Spain.

By the Negotiations at Utrecht ending as they did, France and Spain were at Liberty to diffrefs the Emperor and force him into their Meafures by the Continuance of the War, which being too unequal to be long born, was ended as to France by the Treaty of Baden. But still with respect to the Emperor and Spain, instead of a solid Peace which should have extinguished their respective Claims by mutual Renunciations,

nunciations, of Spain and the Indies. to King Philip, and of the Italian. Dominions, and the Low Countries to the Emperor, Hoftilities were fuspended only by a bare Neutrality, conceived in fuch doubtful and precarious Terms, that, as no Friendship was restor'd, but their former Animofities and Pretenfions still subfisted, it was plain from the Nature of the Thing, as in fact it happen'd, that it would no longer be obferved, than till a proper Opportunity or Prospect of Advantage offered for either Side to break it. This made the Quadruple Alliance, and the Treaties fince made to render that effectual, absolutely neceffary,

Were this Detail to be drawn out into its full Length, it would be easy to shew, by the clearest Connexion of Things one with another, that all the Inconveniences the Nation has set fince the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne, (excepting only the Troubles that have hapned in the North, through the Obstinacy of the late King of Sweden, and the dangerous Schemes of the late Czar) all the Disputes we have had with Spain, and all the Evils our G Trade Trade has fuffered from the Treaty of Utrecht to that of Seville, are owing to the unhappy Situation in which that Treaty left the Affairs of Europe; or, to fpeak more juftly, put them ; and

that Treaty, as to every thing bad in it, is the Treaty of the then English Ministers; and particularly of the present Arch-Crastsman.

Let not then the Craftsmen load the prefent Ministry with continual Invectives, on Account of Debts and Taxes, which they and their Friends have been the fole Caufe of, for fo much at least as has been occasioned by our Mifunderstandings with the Emperor and Spain. 'Tis eafy to declaim against Debts and Taxes, but the true Queftion will always be, Were the Services that occasion'd them neceffary or not? If they were, 'tis ridiculous to impute them as a Crime to these or any other Ministers. That they were not, is a Supposition I can't eafily come into, fince they were all laid before the Parliament, and allowed by them, and the Money given appropriated to the respective Services. But here the Craft men have the -Modefty

Modesty to tell us, that the Matter is not at all mended by the Confent of a Parliament, which they more than infinuate is as corrupt as the Chief Minister. But how does that appear? becaufe the Minority is not the Majority : Which if it had been, and they had adhered to the fame Sentiments, this Nation had been long fince ruined : But I own I have a better Opinion of them, and that if they could have the good Fortune to get Places and Power into their own Hands, they would have acted in the main just as the present Ministers have done; unless so much worse, as they had lefs Capacity from their Inexperience, and lefs Knowledge of Bufinefs.

But 'tis in vain to offer Reafons to Gentlemen who muft not be filent, and therefore muft not be convinced, as long as they are out of Place : They are confident they fhall at length talk and write themfelves into Power, and therefore muft be Proof against all Conviction : Therefore Debts and Taxes muft still be the Theme, and these muft be imputed to the ill Con- $G_2$  duct duct of the Minifury: And fo must all the Difficulties our Trade is under in the West-Indies; tho' this also be manifestly owing to the Utrecht Treaty, by which Ships are declared to be good Prize, tho' they be guilty of no illicite Trade, but barely upon being found in any part of the forbidden Seas, tho' driven thither by Stress of Weather: A most absurd Concession to a Power that lay at Mercy at the Time that Treaty was begun.

In fhort the Inconveniences of almoft every Kind, which we have fuffer'd for these twenty Years past, and still fuffer, are evidently owing to that diffionourable Treaty; and had all been avoided, if the English Ministers had, on that great Occasion, acted as they ought to have done, and as their Predeceffors most certainly would have done, who were honeft, and wife, and able Men. Had that War ended in a fafe and honourable Peace, and to the Satisfaction of the Emperor and the reft of our Allies, the good Harmony that had reigned to long, had still subsisted; - France and Spain would have been out

out of a Condition to hurt us; no Seeds of Quarrels, no Jealoufies had been left to diffurb the Peace of Europe afresh : We should have enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity, and a flourishing Trade; and a great Progress would have been made in discharging the publick Debts; and the Nation by Consequence would have been in Condition, upon a new Emergency, to have gone with Vigour into the neceffary Measures in Defence of itself and its Allies; or rather, no fuch Emergency would have arifen. We fhould have kept those who have Illwill to us in Respect, and they would not have been forward to disturb the. Peace of Europe, when they found, by the good Condition the principal Allies were in, and the perfect Harmony that would have fubfifted among them, that they could not attempt it without the utmost Danger of again undergoing the Calamities they brought on themfelves by the last unrighteous War. This would have been our Cafe, had the last War ended in an honourable Peace ; and the Condition we are at present in, is what it is in confequence quence of its not having ended fo; and we all know who we are to thank for it. To this we owe the Troubles that have put us under a Neceffity of contracting fresh Debts, and of continuing heavy Taxes, and not of being in a Condition to carry on a new War with that Vigour we did the last. This we see and seel, and too well know to be true, to be by any Harangues persuaded out of it, let the *Craftsimen* and their Advocates say what they will.

But we know, no Arguments, no Force of Truth, will filence them; they will ftill declaim, and complain of want of frugal Management and good Husbandry in the Miniftry; that they have not retrenched the publick Expences as they fhould have done, but have very unneceffarily increafed them, particularly in two Articles, the Heffian Troops, and a Standing Army; by which laft our Liberties alfo are in perpetual Danger of being loft.

There are few Topicks on which more Nonfense has been talked, than this of a Standing Army. 'Tis easy to declaim upon this Head, and cook up up History about the Liberties of other Nations, and how they were loft, to the Tafte of Readers, who do not know whether a Syllable of what is faid be true. They don't care to come to the fingle Point, that in this Question is to be confider'd : The Queftion is not, whether it be neceffary a Body of Troops should be kept up or not; that no body disputes, but whether it shall be 3 or 4000 Men more, or lefs: This is the Queftion; and the Refolution of it depends fingly upon this, Whether the Situation of Affairs we each Year happen to be in, make fuch a Number necessary or not. If they are necessary for our Safety, we must have them whatever the Expence be, or whatever Inconvenience may be apprehended from them : If they are not necessary, they fhould not be kept up, tho' they cost nothing, or the least possible Danger could happen from them.

But if this be the fingle Queftion, whether fuch a Body of Troops be neceffary or not; who fhall be Judge, but the King and his Parliament? No, fay the Craft fmen, Kings love Power and Troops,

Troops, and Members of Parliament, are but the Creatures of his Ministers. But what is this but declaring for the Diffolution of the Government, and fetting up a Faction in the Place of our proper Governors, and the Populace instead of a House of Commons? Upon these Occasions the Craft smen think it a sufficient Answer to any Arguments that are alledged in Print, to cry out Ministerial Writers. But I could never comprehend, why Ministerial Writer should be a Term of Reproach more than Antiministerial Writer. I remember indeed a certain Gentleman fays in a Letter to a Friend, that Ministry hunting is a noble Pleasure; but when I read it, I thought it a very flupid Saying, as well as a very unjuft one, and concluded the Author was of a Republican Spirit, as I foon found. upon looking farther into his Works : For what Senfe is there in thinking ill of Ministers in general and of Course? Why is it not as just to fuppose the Measures the Government pursues are right, as that they are wrong? The Prefumption fure lies ftrongly in Favour of them, unless we suppose a Prince Troops,

Prince fo weak and fo infenfible of his own and his Peoples Interefts, as to be uncapable of making a right Choice: Or is there fuch Witchcraft in Power, that the Minute a Man is made a Minister, he becomes a Knave and a Fool, tho' before he was confeffed to be both honeft and able? If this be the unhappy Cafe of Ministers, I must in Kindness to these worthy Gentlemen the Craft smen, with they may be always out of Power; which, I confefs, I at prefent do most heartily upon other Reafons. But however that be, in a Writer, Ministerial, or Antiministerial, is nothing to the Purpole; the only Confideration with Men of Senfe will be, Has he Reason on his Side, or not? Does he argue fairly? Are the Facts he alledges or appeals to, true? Has he made good his Premises, and does he make right Conclusions from them? If he does, fuch a Writer will deserve to be attended to ; if not, it is of no Importance what Epithet he is diftinguished by.

But I must not forget that other favourite Topick of theirs, the Hessian Troops: Upon this they tell us, that H either either fuch a Body of Troops was not neceffary to be kept in Pay; or if it was, that it ought to have been of our own Troops, and not Foreigners: But as to the first, Whether they should have been kept or not, that depended upon the then State of our Affairs, and the Obligations we were by Treaty under with our Allies, and particularly the States General; and the keeping of them was not only allowed and provided for by Parliament, but has been explained and defended in Print, with that Perspicuity and Strength of Argu+ ment as will admit of no Anfwer. And as to the other Part of the Objection, that it fhould have been a Body of our own Troops, and not of Foreigners; do they mean we should have sent abroad, 10 of the 18000 Men we have at Home and at Gibraltar, or an additional Body of new raifed Troops? They will not openly fay the first, becaufe that would be too plainly declaring, they want to fee the Nation left defenceless and unguarded, that it may be open to perpetual Infurrections at Home, and Invalions of Scotch and Irish Jacobites and Papists from Abroad : Which Declaration would

would at this time be the more fhocking to their Readers, in Proportion to the feditious Liberty they take to foment Infurrections, and invite Invafions, which we fee they daily do : For that would be faying in plain Words, that the more need there is to be in a State of Defence, the lefs we ought to be fo.

The Truth is, the Liberties they take to bring the prefent Establishment into Danger, are fuch as every Day tend to weaken what, in great Love to their Country, they fay with fo much Zeal against Standing Armies! But we will fuppose they are not so unreasonable, or at least would not as yet appear fo, but that they would have fuch a Body of new Troops raifed. Very well, what will you do with them when raifed ? Will you fend the raw Men, who know nothing yet of their Trade abroad, or fend the old Troops and replace them by these? If the first, they who know any thing of Troops, know they will be of little Service; and in a foreign Country, by Sicknefs, Defertion, and Want of Discipline, in one Year would dwindle away into half the Number, and perhaps moulder into H 2 nothing

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nothing in a Year or two more; and fresh Numbers of Recruits would be always wanted to be fent over, to a great Diftance, and at a very great Expence. On the other fide, If you keep these new Men at Home, and fend the Veterans abroad, we fhall in Confequence be fo much weaker at Home, as a Body of fuch Troops is inferior to an equal Number of the other. But in either Cafe, to fend a Body of English Troops, into fuch distant Parts as the Nature of the Service might require, what with the Expence of Transports, and other Charges that would be unavoidable, would coft the Nation twice the Money it would do, to take into our Service a like Body of foreign Troops that are already in the Country where they are to be employ'd : And yet this the Craftfmen advise by way of good Husbandry.

I mention this the rather, becaufe if in the prefent Conjuncture it fhould be thought advisable to take a Number of Foreign Troops into our Pay, to answer the Contingent we are by Treaty obliged to furnish the Emperor whenever it is casus foederis, we may be sure the Crastismen will be again at the same Play, and we shall have have all the old popular Cant trump'd up again, of providing for our own People, and not fending our Money abroad, and the Goodnefs of *Englifb* Troops : Which in the Upfhot is no more, than if they fhould fay, that Half a Crown is more than Five Shillings; but in Truth, that they are refolved to diffrefs the Government all they can, and to make the Defence of it as expensive, as burdensome, and as difficult as possible.

But however popular these Gentlemen may fancy their Writings have made them with the lower Sort, who naturally love Satyr and Scandal; when the Nation comes to be alarmed with a real Senfe of Danger, they will find themfelves deceived in their Hopes of having effectually fcattered Difunion and Division among us; and that we shall return to our Senses, and unite with our wonted Vigour and Courage in Defence of our Religion and Liberties, our Trade and Rights, that were fecured to us by the Revolution, and confequently in Defence of the prefent happy Settlement in the Houfe of Hanover, from which our Security,

ty, humanly speaking, is inseparable. Here the Gentleman left off, having worked himfelf into fome Warmth, and his Companions look'd with an Air of Satisfaction upon me, as if they were fure I had nothing to reply. I told them, Gentlemen, I have heard you with great Patience, and without Interruption, but must beg to be excufed if I can't acquiesce in all that has been faid; I shall not enter into all the Particulars of fo long a Difcourse now; I am sensible I shall speak at too great a Difadvantage, being not fufficiently prepared for it ; befides, I know how difficult it is to maintain almost any Point, when one Man is to argue against many; but I must take the Liberty to observe, that I think a great deal of what has been faid is liable to confiderable Objections; that many things you have charged on the Craft (men are what I don't remember to have read in them, and are rather the unfair Constructions their Enemies put upon their Words, than what they have faid themfelves : In fome other Things I can't but think they are much in the right; and in this Point

Point I don't rely on my own Judgment, and if I am mistaken, I am mistaken in good Company. I am very fensible, Persons in private Stations have not the proper Lights, and the Knowledge neceffary to form a true Judgment in Things of this high Nature ; but we can feel Burdens and Taxes, and should be glad to be convinced they are neceffary; and no body can blame us if we are not very eafy to be convinced of it, and liften to those Writers, who espouse the Cause of the People against the Oppressions of Men in Power. But as to what has been infinuated, as if the Craftfmen were Enemies to the prefent Establishment, I can't eafily come into the Belief of that ; take out one or two whom we all know, and I am perfuaded the reft, in the cafe of common Danger, would unite as heartily as any other of the King's Subjects, in Defence of his Person and Government, upon which we don't want to be told that our own Security depends. One of the Gentlemen was going to reply, but I was obliged to interrupt him, and begging his Pardon for for it, told him, I must be gone upon fome necessary Business, that would not permit me to stay longer, and so we parted.

This, Gentlemen, is the Substance of a Conversation I lately happened to have with fome Acquaintance who are in the Interest of the Ministry. I faid what I could in your Defence, and wish'd I had been sufficiently instructed to fay more. But you are abundantly able to fupply my Defects, and can fpeak much better in your own Defence than I can pretend to ; I can fuggest no Hints to Persons of your Superior Skill in Politicks, and therefore don't trouble you with the Particulars of what I faid; but thought it for your Service to fend you this Account, that you may take Notice of fuch Parts of it as you think proper, which will be of great Use to many who want your Instructions upon these Subjects as much as my felf, who have no other Way of Information in political Affairs, and therefore am,

> Gentlemen, Tour constant Reader, &c.

> > A. B.