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A

DEFENCE

OF THE

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

Reasons of the Conduct

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

Occasioned by the PAPER published in
the COUNTRY-JOURNAL OF CRAFTS-
MAN on *Saturday, Jan. 4, 1728-9.*

By the Author of the *ENQUIRY.*

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D E F E N C E

O F T H E

E N Q U I R Y , & c .

ABOUT two Years ago, I laid before the World *an Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain*, with relation to the State of Affairs then in *Europe*. In writing this, I had the strictest Regard to Truth and Decency. I had no Motive to engage me in such a Work, but the Importance of the Subject to my Native Country; and in the Prosecution of it, I can truly say, I did not stir one Step without being thoroughly satisfied of the Truth of what I asserted. If I have mistaken, or misrepresented, any one single Point, through the Whole; it must have proceeded from an Inadvertency or Weakness not always to be guarded against: Because I am as sure, as I am that I am now alive, that it could not proceed from any wilful Design, or Inclination, to put any false Colours upon a Cause in which the whole Nation was so deeply interested. I could not think it unbecoming any

Member of a Society, let his peculiar Profession be what it will, to be solicitous to have Satisfaction Himself about the Dearest Interests of that Society ; or, afterwards, to lay before Others what He sincerely thought He had found to be the *State* of their Case. If this be a Crime, I own myself guilty ; and to have deserved the Usage I have met with.

In the *Manner* of representing to the World what appeared plain to me, I pleased myself with the thought that I had preserved a Temper which at least could not offend any *English Gentleman*, how different soever his Sentiments might be from mine. I entered not into past Scenes of Action ; I reproached no One of Those who ever had Power in this Nation at any Period of Time heretofore. I reviled no *Dead Ministers* ; nor flattered any *Living*. To do the *One* I esteemed inglorious ; and the *Other*, base and servile. Let their *Deeds* only, *praise* or *dispraise* Them ; is, as I think, the Right Rule to go by.

What then is it I have done ? To express it in a very few Words --- I shewed that the *Vienna Treaties* between the *Emperour* and *Spain*, were entered into for Purposes of the Worst Consequence to Ourselves and Other Nations of *Europe* : That such a *Conjunction*, to such Purposes, ought to be guarded against ; and that the Measures *Great Britain* had *then* taken ; the *Alliances then* entered into ; the sending out Fleets, and preparing Forces to act in Consequence of such *Alliances* ; were just and prudent upon this Occasion. Could it possibly be imagined

gined that this Attempt should meet with the Returns it has, from some Persons? But so it is. The personal Severities upon the *Author*, were presently such, as I believe, can hardly be equalled. I willingly pass them over. The Manner of Writing, and the Style, were the Subject of much Wit and Pleasantry: This too is of small Importance. Nor shall I attempt to lessen the Satisfaction any Persons may have, in their own *better* Manner of writing, or their mean Opinion of mine. My Business was, in a plain Way, to convey to the Understanding of others, what was Evident to my own. If I did this, I had my End. I easily leave it to *Others*, to write better. It never hurts me at all; but always gives me a sensible Pleasure. This therefore, I am little concerned about. Let the Book be *Dull* and *Languid*: Yet, in Fact, it awaken'd Multitudes out of a *Dull* and *Languid* State, into *Life* and *Vigour*. Let it be *Heavy*, as *Sleep* itself: Yet, it was not found to *prossure* *Slumbers* either to those who liked it, or to those who disliked it. Let it be as *mean* and *despicable*, as it has been pronounced: yet, more than once, the same Mouths that pronounced it so, have expressed in Print their earnest Desire that some *able Hand* would Answer it. But too much of this.

The only Points of Importance are, Whether the *Facts* I have alledged *there*, are *True*, or not: And, whether my *Reasonings* from Them are just and conclusive; or not. With Regard to *Facts*; if I were sensible that I had in any one
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Instance, affirmed what is *Not True* ; I should esteem myself obliged to be the First to undeceive Any of Those whom I had unwillingly led into a Mistake. With regard to *Reasonings* ; There will often be a Difference amongst Persons who honestly mean the same Good to their Country. On one Side or the other, in such Cases, there must be an Error. And in all intricate Cases ; and particularly in all *Political* Transactions, which are ever capable of various Turns in the Minds of Men, no Wise or Good-natured Man will wonder at such Difference of Opinion ; and no Honest Man can do any thing more, but receive Light when it offers itself to his Eyes ; and alter his Opinion, upon sufficient new Evidence laid before him.

I have long waited for something of this Sort relating to the *Great Points* in the *Enquiry* ; resolved hitherto, to be silent under *personal*, or *little* Imputations ; but thinking it my Duty to answer, when the *main Facts* or *Reasonings* in that Treatise should be attacked with any Appearance of Strength. At length, I find a very elaborate Piece, printed in one of the *Weekly Papers*, on *Saturday* Jan 4, 1728-9. in which We may expect the Strength of what can be said. It comes from a Person, who appears Not to be a Stranger to the Contests and Interests of the *Princes of Europe*. And I like it much the better for this ; because I am now sure, as far as I am concern'd, I shall be instructed in so masterly a Manner, as to leave me inexcusable, if I do not yield my self captive to such Instruction ;

tion; or give the strongest Reasons, why I do not. But before I begin to examine, I must beg Leave to premise, that I shall take Notice of Nothing in this Piece but what is of Weight, and what concerns *Myself*, and the Cause in which I appear'd before.

In the Prosecution of my Design, I will, agreeably to what this Gentleman directs, go no farther back than to the King of *Spain's* Accession to the *Quadruple Alliance*. I will just state the Case, as I did in the *Enquiry*: And the rather, because many Persons seem to have forgot the principal Facts and Reasonings, upon which the Strength of all that can be said must be founded. I will take a short Notice of what has followed since the Date of that Book. I will then faithfully represent and consider what this *Gentleman* has advanced, either against any thing in which I can be supposed to be concerned; or upon any *Subject* of *Debate* which appears to me to be of Importance.

The King of *Spain* acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, Jan. 20, *N. S.* 1720, into which the *Emperour* had before enter'd. By an express Article of that Alliance, these two Powers had engaged themselves to refer their remaining Differences to a *Congress*, under the *Mediation* of *Great Britain* and *France*. In the Midst of this Congress, and whilst some Differences were very hotly agitated between these two Princes, relating to the Pretensions of the Duke of *Farma*,
which

which the Mediators were attempting with all their Skill and Temper to make up; Without the least Provocation, on the Part of the *Mediators*, the King of *Spain* sent a Minister clandestinely to *Vienna*; who there entered into, and perfected, Treaties of Peace and Commerce with the Emperour, in Violation of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and of the Honour of the Mediating Powers.

This justly allarm'd the two Courts of *Great Britain* and *France*. They presently discover'd the Nature and pernicious Consequences of this Peace thus concluded; and of a *Treaty of Commerce* plainly founded upon the Violation of former Treaties of Commerce, and threatening Ruine to the Trade of *Great Britain* to the *Indies*, hitherto enjoyed exclusively of the *Austrian Netherlands*, under all the Sanctions that Princes and States can give to one another. And they were not long unapprized of Other, more secret, Engagements between the two Powers of *Germany* and *Spain*.

The Courts of *Britain* and *France* therefore, upon this sudden and unexpected Turn of Affairs, renewed their former Treaties with one another; enter'd into fresh Engagements for their mutual Defence; and thought it Time to provide seriously for their own Preservation, by a *New Alliance*, which was sign'd in Form at *Hanover*, September 3d, 1725. They then invited other Powers into this Alliance. The *United Provinces* evidently saw the Ruin of their whole Trade, and of their whole Republick (which depends
upon

upon that Trade) to be inevitable, if the new Treaty of *Commerce* entered into at *Vienna*, should be put in Execution. And accordingly, They acceded to the *Hanover Alliance* : [As afterwards the Kingdom of *Sweden* did.] In Prosecution of the Great End of this *Alliance*, Squadrons of Ships were sent out to several Parts of the World : New Levies of Soldiers were made : and every thing prepared for open War ; if reasonable Propositions of Accommodation should not be listen'd to by Those who had broke in upon the Rights of their Neighbours, established by repeated Conventions and Treaties. This was thought a more prudent Method, than to come immediately to the last Extremities : Which, it would afterwards be said, might have been prevented, had a little Patience been applied to the Evil ; and a little Time allowed to the Allies of *Vienna* to consider the Consequences of Things. Thus Things stood at the Time the *Enquiry* was publish'd.

As these Preparations went on, it soon appear'd plainly to the World, what the Nature of the *Vienna-Alliance* was. For, though the Right of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar* was founded upon Treaties sign'd by his *Catholick Majesty* himself ; Yet, in Defiance of such Obligations, This was made the first Handle for an open Rupture ; and *Gibraltar* was in Form besieged. It became necessary therefore, to send a sufficient Supply of Troops, and all Warlike Stores, for the Defence of a Place thus violently attack'd ; and a strong Fleet to act, as Occasion should require, in those Parts.

Upon these undisguis'd Proceedings of *Spain*, which were owing to the *Vienna-Alliance*, the Allies of *Hanover* found themselves obliged to think more in Earnest of every thing necessary to their mutual Defence. But at the same Time they did not abate of their sincere Efforts for a reasonable Accommodation. Plans were formed for this Purpose ; and *Preliminary Articles* drawn up, agreeably to the Sentiments of *Great Britain*, *France*, the *Emperour*, and the *States-General* : *Spain* still shewing a Backwardness to comply with what seem'd satisfactory to all the other Powers concern'd ; and continuing to act the Part of an *Enemy*. The *Measures* therefore enter'd into, did not produce so much Good, nor so soon, as might reasonably have been expected : And all Men must judge to whose Account this is to be charged. But then, We must not forget, what their immediate good Effects were. Their preventing the Execution of the worst Designs against Ourselves ; The Protection and Encouragement given by them to those Powers abroad, whose Preservation nearly touches our own National Interest : And the like. But at length, they operated farther ; and produced what was the main Thing aim'd at by them, *viz.* a sufficient *Basis* for a *General Pacification* ; and what must and would in Fact have proved so before this Time, had not the Conduct of *Spain*, which could not be foreseen, prevented the natural and effectual Operation of Things. I mean that these Measures, after some Delays, produced and effected the *signing* of such *Preliminaries*, as in their plain literal Sense, and in that Sense of which

which alone they are capable, contain in them the principal Points aimed at by *Great Britain, France, and Holland*, with Regard to their *Interests, Trade, and Possessions*; and consequently, a solid and just Foundation for the resettling the Peace of *Europe*, as it stood before these last Quarrels began.

These *Preliminary Articles* for a general *Pacification*, were signed *May* $\frac{19}{30}$ 1727, at *Paris*, by the Ministers of *Great Britain, France, the Emperour, and the States General*; as they were soon afterwards at *Vienna* by the Minister of *Spain*. And they were in due Time, ratified by the *Emperour, the Kings of Great Britain and France*; and by the *States General*. But, on the Part of the King of *Spain*, Difficulties began soon to be started; and such Interpretations to be put upon the Words of these Articles, as utterly destroyed the real Intent and Design of them.

The *Two Points* insisted on, by the King of *Spain*, were, “ That the *Preliminary Articles*, signed by his Ministers, did not oblige him to raise the Siege of *Gibraltar* intirely: And, that the *South-Sea-Ship*, with her *Cargo*, could not of Right be now demanded upon the Foot of these Articles.” And with relation to these *Two Points*, it being declared, That his *Catholick Majesty* insisted upon his own Explications; it became impossible for the King of *Great Britain* to accept of a *Ratification* founded upon such an Interpretation, as would turn the *Articles* sign’d into *Articles* of Advantage only to those who had attack’d the Trade and Possessions of his Sub-
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jects;

jects; but of very great and sensible Damage to his own People.

Here then once more we see a Stop was put to the happy Procedure of Affairs, by the *Court of Spain*. It took up some Time to get rid of this Difficulty. But in the mean while, effectual Care was taken that our Fleet should not leave *Porto Bello*, till the *Preliminaries* should be ratified by the *King of Spain*, in their true and full Meaning. Finding therefore no Hopes of the Return of the *Galleons*, upon any other Foot than the plain Execution of his Part in the *Preliminary Articles*; He at length consented that, according to the plain Meaning of the *fifth Article* of the *Preliminaries*, all *Hostilities of whatsoever sort*, should cease; and that in Consequence of the third *Article*, which restores *Commerce* upon the Foot of Treaties antecedent to the Year 1725, the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and its Effects, should be restored according to the *Asiento-Treaty*. Accordingly, He ratified the *Articles*; He put an End to all hostile Appearances before *Gibraltar*; He sent Orders to the *West-Indies* for the Restitution of the *South-Sea Ship*, with her Cargo: And, in Consequence of the same *Articles*, Orders were dispatched from hence for the *British Fleet* to leave those Parts, and return Home. Thus far, by Degrees, the *Measures* taken by *Great Britain*, had brought Affairs, at the Beginning of this Year 1728: All Appearances of War, by universal Consent, were removed: The *Ostend-Trade* renounced by the Emperour for seven Years; Every *Right* and

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Possession belonging to any of the Powers concerned, put upon the same Foot upon which Things stood according to the *Treaties* in force before this Rupture: And a *Congress* agreed to, not to dispute Points settled in these *Preliminaries*; but to adjust Disputes, and Matters of lesser Consideration; and to proceed still farther in the establishing of the *Peace of Europe*. Certainly, this is something. Here are *Preliminary Articles*, signed and *ratified*, which must be of Force for *some Years*; unless any of the Powers concerned, against their own *Stipulations*, break into them; or refuse to let them have their natural and proposed Effect. And in Consequence of these *Preliminary Articles*, a Congress was appointed: And in this Congress, a *Provisional Treaty*, for securing and extending a *General Pacification* was drawn up; of which a Copy was soon printed in one of our *News-Papers*; and since that, reprinted in a *Treatise* entitled *Observations upon the Conduct of Great Britain, &c.* which gives a full Account of it: And this *Treaty* now waits the *Resolution* of the *Courts of Vienna and Spain*. This is the present State of the *Affair*, conducted thus far by the *Patience* of *Some* bearing with the *Delays* of *Others*; not without Inconveniencies (it must be own'd) attending such a State of Uncertainty, and naturally creating Uneasiness in the Breasts of an Active and Brave Nation. These Inconveniencies being present and felt, make many apt to think that *another* and better Method might have been chosen; of
which

which not feeling the *Effects* at present, they judge the more favourably. But however They may judge of What They do not feel ; This is Evident, That the *Measures* entered into by *Great Britain*, have hitherto put a Stop to the Effect of the *Vienna Alliance*, in it's Design very destructive to our Possessions ; and to *our Trade*, as well as that of the *Dutch* ; have prevented the Return of the *Galleons*, till such *Preliminary Articles* were signed and ratified, as put Affairs into their former Condition ; and have in Consequence of them procured a *Congress*, in which a *Provisional Treaty* has been drawn up for a *General Pacification*.

Having just recapitulated what I had before said, and brought our Affairs down to their present State ; I must now consider what has been advanced on the contrary Side, and particularly in the *Paper* I have now mentioned.

The first Thing I must take Notice of, is the Turn this *Writer* has given to the very Beginning of this whole Scene ; I mean the *Vienna Alliance*. In the *Enquiry*, p. 16, 17. an Argument is formed, not from Surmises, or mere Imagination, but from *Dates* and *Facts* ; that the sending back the *Infanta* from France, and the *King* of *Great Britain's* Refusal of the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray*, could not possibly be the Grounds of that Transaction. Upon this Subject, I think, this *Writer* has produced every thing that could be said. The Sum of it, in his own Words, is, “ That from the “ Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and about “ a Year at least before the *Vienna-Treaty* was
“ con-

“ concluded, the *Spanish Ministers* were full
 “ of FEARS and JEALOUSIES about
 “ the completing the *Infanta's* Marriage with
 “ the *King of France.*” And again, as posi-
 tively as if he had known it to be so, “ The
 “ *Spaniards* began to treat at *Vienna*, that They
 “ might prepare for the worst : And they de-
 “ layed concluding their Treaty, till what they
 “ feared happened. ” And again, “ As send-
 “ ing back the *Infanta* was the certain and
 “ immediate Cause of throwing *Spain* into the
 “ Arms of the *Emperour* ; so, our Refusal of
 “ the sole Mediation, may justly be deemed
 “ an *Accessory Cause* of it. ” And upon this
Article of the *Mediation*, we are entertained
 with a Variety of Suppositions, and are let to
 understand, how good a Game *Britain* might
 have played at *Madrid*, had this *sole Mediation*
 been accepted : And all urged with great Ear-
 nestness. But let us now Answer, or yield.

It would be a full and sufficient Reply to
 all this, to frame a *Scheme* on the other Side ;
 and to oppose *Supposition* to *Supposition* ; and
one arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances to
another. I will say then, (deny it who can)
 that *France* and *Great Britain* knew of *Ripper-
 da's* leaving *Madrid*, to go to *Vienna* in order to
 treat ; that they knew the very Time of his
 Arrival there ; the clandestine Manner of his
 acting ; the feigned Name he went by ; the
 Resolution taken by the *Court of Spain* to en-
 ter into Measures with the *Emperour*, and to
 act there without the Mediation of *France* and
Britain, or of either of them : That this was
 the

the greatest Affront which could be put upon the Crown of *France*, as well as of *Great-Britain*. I will go on, and from my own Invention, will add that, Moved by this *Affront*, which preceded, in Time, the Resolution about the *Infanta*; the *Court of France* could not think fit to submit to the Inconveniencies of the *Spanish Match*, for the Sake of a *Court*, which was now deeply engaged in a Project of a greater and stricter Alliance with the powerful and inveterate Enemy of *France*: And upon this I will affirm, that the Resolution of sending back the *Infanta* from *France*, was occasion'd by the certain Knowledge of the *Transactions* between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, which were in great Forwardness, before this Resolution of *France* was sent to *Madrid*. I will use the same Sort of Expression I have now quoted. “ The “ *French* delay'd giving a positive Answer about “ the *Fiançailles*, till they could be certain, the “ *Negotiations* at *Vienna* were going on in Earnest. As soon as they knew that, they sent “ their Resolution about the *Infanta* to *Madrid*”. And what End of *Debates*; or what *Volumes* may we not write, if *Fancy* be indulged in this Manner? But would not any Man of Sense think it more than sufficient to answer to all this, that tho' It may seem plausible, yet it is plainly groundless, because the *Court of France* never once hinted at this *Affront* of a *Negotiation* set on foot at *Vienna*, as the least Inducement to that Step of sending back the *Infanta*, when there was most Occasion for some Excuse to soften the *Court of Spain*. ‘ It is Reason
‘ *son*

‘*son of State*, in his own Words, and not *Passion*, which governs in these Cases.

In the *Case of the sole Mediation* indeed, It might seriously be said, that the certain Knowledge of the Negotiations going on at *Vienna*, furnished one just Reason to the King of *Great Britain* to decline an *Offer* which he could not but know from thence, was a mere Piece of Mockery; at best only contriv'd to divide *Him* from *France*, whilst *Spain* was making sure of the *Emperour*. And without this, a Due Regard to his Alliance with *France*, and particularly to the *Quadruple Alliance*, by which he was constituted Joint-Mediator with the most *Christian King*; will ever be thought Just Reasons against accepting the *sole Mediation*, by All who do not think the *Breach of Faith*, and the Violation of *Treaties*, Matters of no Concern. And this Writer himself seems sensible of this, by his attempting to shew, that the Acceptance of this *sole Mediation* by *Britain*, could not but be extremely acceptable to *France* itself; against the most publick Facts, and the plainest Appearances. To all which it is enough to answer, that as *France* knew better than *He* can, what was, or was not, at that Time agreeable to *France*: So *Spain* knew better than *He* can, what were, and what were not, the real Motives to *Spain* for entering into such Negotiations at *Vienna*.

I now therefore go on, and observe that the *Court of Spain* never, in any *Memorial* sent to our Court, or in any *Audience* given to our *Embassador* at *Madrid*, so much as mentioned this

Affront from *France*, as any Inducement to the Transaction at *Vienna*; or any the least Excuse for it. And how indeed could it have been done, at all Consistently with Other Declarations made to Mr. *Stanhope* at *Madrid*, and with those made at *London*; viz. ' That Nothing had been done at *Vienna*, but upon the Foot of the *Quadruple Alliance*; Nothing against any former Treaties; Nothing that could justly offend any of the Allies; Nothing in short that wanted any Excuse.' Violent Passions indeed were stirred up at *Madrid*, and exerted themselves openly, at the coming of the Resolution from *France*. This shews that it was not so certainly expected there, as this *Gentleman* thinks. But at the same Time there was too much Sense mix'd with this Anger, to suffer such an Inconsistency to come out, as the making This the *Motive* to what had been long before set on Foot. And then, as to the King of *Great Britain's* Refusal of the *sole Mediation*, the King of *Spain* did not only not once complain of this; or lay any Part of his Proceedings upon it; but declared to Mr. *Stanhope* that there was Reason in what was urg'd for His Majesty's declining it; and that it should never make the least Alteration in his Regards to *Great Britain*. So that here we have on one Hand, effectual Proof from the Court of *Spain* itself, that they did not look upon the *Affront* from *France*, so much as fit to be mentioned as an Excuse or Pretence for their Transaction at *Vienna*; or upon the King of *Great Britain's* Refusal of the *sole Mediation*, as having any Part in it: And on the

the other Hand, the luxuriant Fancy of a *Gentleman*, furnishing Motives and Reasons for *Spain*, which *Spain* itself was always ashamed to make use of.

Besides, so great a Master in *Politicks*, as this Writer, must know, that *Princes* do not enter so heartily into such clandestine *Negotiations* as this, upon mere *Suspicion* or *Fear* that something may be done by another Power : which may afterwards serve for an Excuse for it. Yet the Light this Writer has placed the *Vienna-Alliance* in, is this. It was feared that something would one Day be done, which the *Spaniards* could make an Apology for their Proceedings. Therefore, they agreed with the *Emperour* upon every Thing they had in view : but did not (says he) execute their Agreements till what they fear'd happen'd. Now, it appears that, as the Treaty of Peace was agreed to, at *Vienna*, before what *Spain* fear'd from *France* was known at *Vienna* to have happen'd ; so, it was sign'd before the Refusal of *Britain* could be known there. True, he says, " Not known at " *Vienna, in Form, at that Time* : But, the Certain " Knowledge of the Refusal of the *Mediation* might " be arrived there by that Time ; nay, the Treaty " might be signed upon this Knowledge, by virtue of Instructions given with this *Contingency* " specified in them." It might be so, He says, And therefore, I think it evident, He means the Reader should conclude, *It was so*. For, tho' He carries it not so far, in this Passage ; yet, He afterwards makes an *Apology* for *Spain*, from this *Refusal*, which, according to his own Notions of the *Affair*, cannot be an *Apology*, unless He himself believes, and would lead others to conclude,

that the *Certain Knowledge* of this *Refusal* actually came to *Vienna*, BEFORE the signing of the Treaty; and that the *Instructions* by which the *Spanish Minister* was then to act, had this *Contingency* specified in them: Of the *Certainty* or *Probability* of which, there is *no Proof*; but the *Bare Possibility* here insisted on. If this be the Strength of the *Apology*; I think it enough to say, That, according to all the Rules of judging in such Cases, it is plain, That if the *Refusal* of the *Sole Mediation* had been One of the Causes of this *Transaction*, and to be owned as such; the *Minister of Spain* would have been instructed to defer signing at *Vienna*, till the *Intelligence* of this *Fact* should come to Him, by *Authority* and in *Form*. The Delay of a *very few Days* would have been compensated by some little *Grace* this would have added to the *Apology*.

I will now go farther, and suppose much more than this *Gentleman* himself has supposed: That the *sending back* the *Infanta*, and the *Resolution* not to accept the *sole Mediation*, had both in *form* arrived at *Madrid*, before *Ripperda* was sent from thence. And I say, even upon this large Supposition, these two *Facts* could not really have been, and would not have been pretended to have been, the *Motives* of what was afterwards done at *Vienna*. I grant that the *Former* of these might have raised a present *Resentment* against *France*. I grant that the *latter* might have yielded a *Pretext* for saying that *Spain* was left without any *Friend* at *Cambrai*; if it had been resolv'd by *Spain* to break with *France*, upon that *Affront*. But in the *Light* in which the *Court of Spain* itself

self saw this *Refusal*, of the *sole Mediation*, when it did come; it never was pretended to be an *Affront*, or *Injury*, but indeed acknowledg'd to be a reasonable Proceeding. This being supposed the Case; what follows? The Court of *Spain*, I will not deny, might, by such Circumstances, be induced to try what honourable Terms the *Emperour* would come to; without hurting the Interests of those who never had hurt them. But let us see what an excellent Argument *this* would be for *Spain* to use. ' *France* has affronted us: ' Therefore, we will enter into a Treaty with ' the *Emperour*, not to hurt *France* principally, ' but to hurt *Holland*, which has never offended ' us, in the most important Branches of Trade; ' and to injure *Britain* from which we have received no Affront or Offence, both in its *Trade*, ' and *Possessions*.' Much more, let us observe how this Argument would become the *Emperour*, without whose Concurrence *Spain* could have done nothing at *Vienna*. ' *France* has affronted *Spain*: ' Therefore, the *Emperour* who is not affronted, ' enters into a Treaty with *Spain*, to the great Prejudice of the *Dutch*, and *English*, who had no part ' in this Affront to *Spain*, and never injured the ' *Emperour*.' But it seems, not a Word is to be said for his *Imperial Majesty*: And yet the *Vienna-Treaty* can never be justified, or excused; unless the *Emperour*, as well as the *King* of *Spain*, can be justified, or excused. In short, my Intent in the Supposition I have made, was to shew, That putting the Case of the *Infanta* as high as possible, on the Side of *Spain*; it could not have been the

Motive,

Motive, nor would ever have been alledg'd as the *Motive*, to the entering into Treaties, to the great Detriment of *other Nations*, which had no Part in that Affront. Much less, therefore, will the *bare Suspicion* of an Affront to be given some time or other, be of any such weight: Which is all that is now under Consideration. Let it be tried —

“ The *King* of *Spain* suspects that *France* will
 “ hereafter displease and affront him by sending
 “ back the *Infanta*: And therefore, four Months
 “ before this appears, sends a *Minister* to *Vienna*,
 “ to enter into and finish Treaties, which shall
 “ hurt *other Nations*, who can have no Part in
 “ this Affront, in their dearest Interests.” But
 this Justice I must do to the *Court* of *Spain*, that
 this Apology never came with any Shadow of
 Authority from thence: And tho' at first it was
 a little whisper'd about by some of their Agents;
 it was never afterwards own'd by them; but im-
 mediately shamed into silence, in which it re-
 main'd, till this Gentleman has put it again in-
 to the Mouths of Men, with his own Embellish-
 ments about it.

Nor can I, upon this Gentleman's own No-
 tions in this Paper, at all account for the *King*
 of *Spain*'s resolute flying from the *Mediator-*
ship of *France*; and carrying all his Affairs to
Vienna, upon this Provocation. For he himself
 observes how very easy and speedy a Matter, a
Reconciliation between *France* and *Spain* was, af-
 ter this Affront. *Never Resentment ran higher*,
 says he, *and yet one or two Sacrifices, a little*
Address, and a little Management pacified all; uni-
ted

ted the two Courts; and restored to the French, in a short Time, such an Influence over Spain, &c. that, it seems, many more Marks of Favour were soon bestowed upon *France* which had given this Affront to *Spain*, than upon *Britain* which had had no Part in it. And indeed, to prove that this Affront was not the Cause of such a Proceeding at *Vienna*, He himself furnishes a very good Maxim in this Paper, ‘ That Reason of State will determine the “ Conduct of Princes; not Old, Stale, Resentments ”: I only add, exactly upon the same Grounds, “ Nor New, Fresh, Resentments; especially such as the Princes in whom they are “ raised, know, can be easily, and presently re- “ moved, in another and a better Way ”.

I will say no more upon this Head, but that he is exceedingly mistaken in thinking, (as one would imagine him to do, from many of his Arguments) that the Court of *Britain* did not very soon know, and very soon endeavour to guard against, the designed Alliance at *Vienna*. For, as the Best Intelligence gave them *Early Accounts* of what was doing, so no Measures were neglected, Except *Breach of Faith*, and Violation of that very Alliance by which *Britain* was made *Joint-Mediator* with *France*. I thought my self obliged to consider at some length, what this Writer has framed for the first Ground of the *Vienna-Alliance*. I have found it, I think, and shewn it, to be utterly unsupported by *Fact*, as well as by that Court upon which he fixes it: And by this have sufficiently vindicated the *Enquiry* for having rejected this Account of the Affair at first.

I will now try his Reasonings and Imputations upon one or two *other Heads*, which are the Consequences of the *Measures* defended in that *Book*.

The most *material Point*, as he often professes, is that of *Gibraltar*: Concerning which, we know what Accusations and Outcries were raised around us: And all to this Purpose; That it was to be given up, or to be artfully betrayed, into the *Spaniards* Hands: And all Professions to the contrary were in vain. But now it has been seen how vigorous a Defence was made of it, against the *Spaniards*; and that *Preliminaries* have been sign'd, in which *Spain* was obliged to acknowledge the withdrawing all Hostilities from that Place to be included; and accordingly to withdraw all Appearances of them: What doth all this avail? This *Gentleman* declares now that the *Demand* of this Place is not put out of *Question* by the *Preliminaries*; which *Demand* he founds very strongly and positively thus: [and I will go no farther back than He does.] “ The *Spaniards*,
 “ (*says He*) ground their Expectations, and
 “ what they call their *Right*, on a *New Engage-*
 “ *ment* taken by us, as they say, since all the
 “ *Transactions* (mention'd by *Him*) were over; on
 “ a *Private Article*, in a *Treaty* made with them
 “ in 1721 stipulating the Contents of a *LET-*
 “ *TER* to be written by the *Late King*; and on
 “ the *Letter* written in Pursuance of this *Article*,
 “ the *Original* of which they offer to produce;
 “ and which they pretend to be a *positive En-*
 “ *gagement*

“ *gement* to restore *Gibraltar* to them. ” The *Writer* of this Paper is, I am confident, a Person of very great Intelligence. Years have now pass’d, in which He might have satisfied Himself of the *Certain Truth* or *Certain Falshood* of what He here puts into the Mouth of *Spain*. There is no Excuse for such a Representation as this is, made in the Face of the whole Nation, unless it appears at last to be True. It is not enough for a Man of Honour, to say, He took it from the Discourse of some *Spaniards* somewhere or other. He knows many, I dare say, who have seen the very *Treaty*, here mention’d; and the Authentick Copy of that very *Letter* which alone can be here meant. They all know it to be *True*, that there is no such *Article* belonging to the *Treaty* mentioned. I have myself read the *Treaty*: and find no one *Article* belonging to it, which has the least Relation to this Subject. The *Treaty* is that of a *Defensive Alliance* between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, sign’d *June 13, 1721*, in which *Treaty* the very *contrary* indeed, to the present Suggestion, appears to the Eyes of all who read it, *viz.* That the Preservation and Observation of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* (which asserts the Right,) and of the *Treaty* of *London* (which confirms the Right of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar*,) are particularly declared to be the *Principal Object* of this *Alliance*. And as there is no such *Article*, in this *Treaty*, stipulating any *Letter* of any sort; so neither is there any such *Letter* in

being, as That here represented to be a *Positive Engagement to restore Gibraltar to Spain*. I appeal to the *Lowest* Observer of the World, as well as the *Highest*, whether it be credible, that if any *such Article* were in being, or any *such Letter*, *Spain* would not long ago have produced them. The *Spaniards* are ready (*it seems*) to produce the *Original* of such a *Letter*. Who, or *what* has hinder'd them from doing it all this time? The real Impediment is, that they know there is no such *Article* in any Treaty; and that therefore, this could not be made a *National Concern to Great-Britain*: and that there is no *Letter* with such a *positive Engagement*. The *Letter* referr'd to, was written in 1721. Many have seen the *Copy* of it, and must acknowledge that it would not have been of any Moment to the *Spaniards* to have produced it, and that This alone could be the Reason why they did not, even in the Life of the *late King*. For, whether a *Letter*, in the Tenor of which it is plainly implied, that the *Parliament of Britain* must judge of that Matter; and the utmost *Engagement* in which is, *To take a favourable Opportunity to regulate that Matter with the Consent of His Parliament*, can be, with any Justice, a *positive Engagement* to restore that Place to *Spain*, I may leave to the meanest Judge of Language and Expression.

To proceed, It was *After* the *Death* of the *late King*, that *Spain* ratified the *Preliminaries*; and in these *Preliminaries*, I say, the Right and Possession

Possession of *Gibraltar* is ascertain'd to *Great Britain*; and consequently all Claim of *Spain* to it again extinguish'd. This *Gentleman* denies this, and calls for the *Words* that contain this. I appeal to the *Second Article*, which says, in express *Words*, "Rights, or those things which are possess'd by ANY of the Contracting Powers, by Virtue of the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and the *Quadruple Alliance*, &c, shall remain untouch'd." Now the Right to *Gibraltar* was fix'd to *Great Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and confirm'd by the *Quadruple Alliance*. Both the *Utrecht Treaty* and *Quadruple Alliance* are sign'd in effect, by signing this *Preliminary Article*. Therefore (it follows) *Spain*, which has sign'd and ratified this *Article*, has once more not only confirm'd and allowed the Right to *Gibraltar* to be in *Britain*, but consented that it shall remain *Untouch'd*. And as the Possession of it could not be said to be *Untouched*, as long as *Any Hostile Appearances* were about it; so the Right to it cannot be said to be *Untouch'd*, whilst any Demand of another Power upon it subsists. *Spain* therefore, having long since that *Letter*, ratified this *Article*, which declares that the Right to *Gibraltar* shall remain *Untouch'd*; has plainly given up all Demand upon it which could have accrued from such a *Letter*, even if it had contain'd a *positive*, absolute Promise.

Whoever may not see the Force of this *Argument*, I am very sure this *Gentleman* will see it and own it; because he argues strongly, in

this very Paper, that, supposing *any Promise* made to the *Spaniards* of *restoring Gibraltar* to them, before the *Accession* of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, That *Accession* effectually vacated the *Promise*. His Reasoning is this. " That All Possessions are mutually confirm'd by that *Treaty*, cannot be denied. The Possession of *Gibraltar* was therefore, again, confirm'd to us by the King of *Spain* when he acceded to that *Treaty*, unless he can shew that our *Possession* of it was *excepted*, or can produce any *private Article*, or *Declaration*, which made a *Reservation* of his Right to this Place, notwithstanding the *Cession* of it made at *Utrecht*. But nothing of this can be shewn, &c. " I desire no more, but that This, which is certainly *Right Reasoning*, may in all like Cases be equally allowed and approved. I have shewn that there was no such *private Article*, or *Promise*, as this Writer mentions, even *before* the *Preliminaries* were ratified by *Spain*. And supposing there had been (which is putting it with all the Advantage to himself) I have now specified the very Words, in which *Spain* has again engaged that the *Right* to *Gibraltar* shall remain *Untouch'd*, by confirming the *Quadruple Alliance*; the *Accession* to which at first, this Author rightly assures us, ascertain'd that *Fortress* to *Britain*. Having done this, change but the Words *Quadruple Alliance*, in his Argument, into the *Second Preliminary Article*, and it must stand in full Force to prove that Care has been taken, as far, as the Words of *Treaties* can do it, to ascertain this again

again to *Britain*, so that our Right to it shall remain UNTOUCH'D; unless he can prove that either in this *Treaty* itself, or by any *proper Act* of *Authority* since the *Ratification* of these *Preliminaries*, any *Reservation* has been made contrary to this *Article*.

And, as I have now answered *his Demand*, and shew'd him, in the *Preliminaries*, an *Article* which is indeed as express, and as effectual a Confirmation of our *Right* to *Gibraltar*, as if the Word *Gibraltar* had been put into it; and must be allowed by himself to be so, according to his own *Argument* about the *Quadruple Alliance*, viz. because it confirms the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*; in which *Gibraltar* is named, and our *Right* established; it lies upon him, either to give up this Part of his Charge, or as he has undertaken, to shew those *General Words*, in these *Preliminaries*, upon which any *Pretence* can be founded for the reviving any *Demand* of it, either at the present *Congress*, or any where else. I seriously profess, that after my utmost Search, I can find none. On the contrary, I will observe farther, that the *Latter Part* of this *Second Article*, greatly strengthens the *Former*; and, being designed to declare expressly what IS to be left to the *Congress*, effectually declares what is NOT to be left to it. The Terms of it are these. " But if any Thing shall " be found to have been ALTERED therein, " [speaking with Respect to the *Rights* and *Possessions* established in those *Treaties*;) " or any " Thing NOT TO HAVE BEEN PUT IN " EXE-

“ EXECUTION ; the ALTERATION Made,
 “ or The Thing NOT EXECUTED shall in
 “ the *Congress* to be held, be Discussed and
 “ DECIDED according to the TENOR of the
 “ SAID TREATIES and CONVENTIONS. ”

Now, Nothing either as to the *Right* of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar*, or to the Possession of it, has been at all *altered*: Nor has there been any *Non-Execution*, as to that *Right* and *Possession*. *Great Britain* has a *Right* to it by *Treaties*, uncontested: And has been long in Possession of it; and that *Possession*, tho' not quite unmolested, yet still *unchanged*. Therefore neither the *Right* to, nor the *Possession* of, *Gibraltar*, can be possibly included in this Description of such *Points* as are left to be discussed in the *Congress*.

As I was obliged in the *Enquiry* to Mention the *Squadron* of Ships sent to the *West Indies*, in order to block up the *Galleons*, &c. this makes it almost unavoidable to me, to take a little Notice of what is said upon that Matter, in the Paper now before us. As to this Writer's *Scheme* for the taking all their Riches at first, into our own Power, and becoming the Distributors of them to all their Proprietors; (which, by the Way, appears to have been impossible, by Admiral *Hofier*'s first Letter just now published;) it is enough to say to it, that such an Order as *that*, given by the Court of *Great Britain*, at a Time when the *Allies* of *Hanover* professed only to act upon the *Defensive*, and before any open Hostilities had been committed on the part of *Spain*, must have put *Europe* into a Flame,
 by

by putting all the *Proprietors* of those Riches, whether *French, Dutch, or Spanish*, into the greatest Uneasiness. This Method indeed, if the *Galleons* with their Riches, had attempted by Force or Stealth, to come out, had been reasonable; in order to prevent those Riches falling into the Hands of *Spain*, and being made use of to prosecute the Designs projected by the Treaties of *Vienna*; and Justice must have been done in that Case to all concern'd, as well as it could. And this was Part of the Admiral's Orders, upon that Supposition. The *Orders* given to the *Admirals* in those Parts, are now printed; and an Account given of that whole Affair, in a Book entitled "*Observations on the Conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the Negotiations and other Transactions abroad;*" to which I refer the Reader. But I will not neglect a very material *Question*, ask'd by this *Gentleman*, upon this Subject. "*The Galleons, says he, were block'd up for a great while, at our Expenses and with the Loss of many Lives. They are now come or coming home. But has Spain renounced those Designs which our Fleet was sent thither to prevent, by preventing the Supply of that Treasure?*" Truly, I can't tell; nor can any one in the World, who is not in the Secrets of the *Court of Spain*. But I see no good Argument in this. "*A Fleet is ordered to the West-Indies, to prevent the coming away of so much Riches; which is a probable Method of preventing the carrying on the bad Designs we were in fear of.*" The unhappy

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Consequence of this is, That *Ships* decay, and many Lives are lost, in that Climate; which is as much an *Argument* against any Equipment of this sort, as against *this*. What is the Consequence? *Spain* is brought by these Measures to ratify the *Preliminaries*: in consequence of which, he raises the Siege of *Gibraltar*; sends Orders to restore the *South-Sea Ship*; and promises that the Effects of the *Galleons*, upon their Return Home, shall be deliver'd, as in 'Time of Freedom and full Peace. The Court of *Britain*, upon this, act the part which the *Law of Nations* requires, and honestly perform their Duty, by ordering away their *Fleet*, as they were strictly obliged to do. The *Galleons*, as it was articled, are now come, or coming. But has the King of *Spain* renounced his Projects? Yes, undoubtedly, as far as *Articles* ratified by him can bind; and as far as any contracting Powers can be bound by *Treaty* to one another. But whether he will go on to act an open and honest part, to secure still farther the Peace of *Europe*, and the Interests of *Great-Britain*: Nay, whether the Riches of the *Galleons* will be distributed, as is expressly stipulated; All this is just as *uncertain*, (neither more nor less) as it always was, and always will be, Whether any *Treaty* in the World will be observed by All concerned in it. This does not argue, that *Treaties* must not be made; or, when they are made, not *honestly* performed by us: Neither does it at all derogate from any *Articles*, or any *Treaty*, that there are Princes in the World
 who

who may break through them, when they have obtained any End of their own by signing them.

I can think but of one thing more, in which I am concern'd, and that is, the polite Triumph over the *Author* of the *Enquiry*, " That he has
 " now the Mortification to see himself given up
 " in EVERY *material* Article, by *both Parties*,
 " even by Those who set him to work." How easy are such Words as these? But how hard to support them? All the *material Articles* of the *Enquiry*, take their Rise from the Evils threaten'd by the *Vienna-Alliance*. The Importance of *Gibraltar* is one of the *material* Articles. This *Gentleman* himself thinks it the *most material*, perhaps. And who of Those he opposes, has declared against me in it? So that instead of being *given up*, I am *supported* on *both Sides* in it. The *Ostend-Trade* is another; and I cannot think that he himself can be against me in *this*, unless in the Degree of the *Importance* of it. But *who* of those he opposes, has declared against me in *this*? And as to the other two main Articles; This *Gentleman* does not contradict them; nor have Those he opposes. Thus true, it is that in EVERY ONE of them, *I have been given up*. As to the *Ostend-Trade*, and the evil Consequences in Time to ourselves from it, it is not the least Contradiction to what I have advanced, that it primarily affects the *Dutch*, and is therefore principally *their* Concern. This does not hinder but that the Ill Effect of it will as certainly *end* with *our Trade*, as it *begins* with *theirs*. Nor did I ever see the least Answer to what I ad-
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vanced upon *that Head*, chiefly from a Treatise upon that Subject, which, I acknowledged, then lay before me. But supposing any Person who writes his private Thoughts in *one Paper*, as this Gentleman writes his own Sentiments in *another*, had contradicted *every material Article* of the *Enquiry*: Is this, in Honour, to be laid upon *those* who never saw, nor heard of the *Paper* before it appear'd in the World? And, above All, shall even this supposed *Contradiction* to the *Enquiry*, pass for an Argument that this very Paper was writ by the *Author* of the *Enquiry* himself, or by those who approved of it?

I thought it a Point of Duty, once to *review* the *Enquiry*, after it has been long enough publish'd to have the *Falshoods* it contains, either in its *Facts* or *Reasonings*, laid open. I could by no Means be willing to appear to the World under the Character some have pleas'd to give me upon this Occasion. I say again, I had sufficient Conviction of the *Facts* I have set forth. It was *this Conviction* that *set me to work*; and I assure this Gentleman, that nothing but *that*, was ever proposed to me as a *Motive* to what I did; and that All that this World could propose to me, could not *have set me to work* without that Conviction. And, whatever has been done since the publishing of that *Book*, I have not hitherto stir'd one Step beyond that Period of Time. I have now gone a little farther, and just mentioned what has follow'd upon the *Measures* laid before the World in that *Book*, and the present *State*
in

in which the *Negotiations* abroad are : Of which the *Observations* I have before cited, give the World a more particular Account.

I am not now going to fet myself up for a Judge of the Fitness and Wisdom of all the Steps that have been, or might have been taken, for the settling the Affairs of *Europe*. I think myself incapable of such a Province. The Judgment from *the Event* of Things merely, is not the Judgment of Reason ; but it is that which is easiest and most pleasing to the Generality of Mankind. But the true Judgment can arise from nothing but a comprehensive Knowledge of that Variety of Circumstances which always surrounds an Affair of this Nature, in which the *Interests* of almost all the Nations of *Europe* are concern'd. In the present Case, They who judge only by the *Event* of Things, must wait a little longer ; or must judge partially by what they now feel of *Inconveniencies* from the present State of Things only, whilst they cannot feel the *Inconveniencies* of what has not been tried. They may think the *State* of an *universal War* in *Europe*, should have been some time ago chosen, before the *present State*. They who are at the Helm, it is evident, have thought otherwise. In this View, the *worst* that can be said of them is, That they have been *too* unwilling, and *too* backward, to bring all *Europe* into a *State*, which, even when absolutely unavoidable, is in itself the most terrible, and in its Event the most uncertain of all States ; and that they have rather chose, for *too long* a Time, a *State* of some *Evils*, in order to

try to prevent that *State* which would soon bring along with it Other and Greater Evils, as well as louder *Complaints* under them. But whether *worse* than this might not have been said, before now, had the *opposite Scheme* been follow'd; let those consider, who can, with Temper and Candor, sit down and weigh all the probable Contingencies, all the good and bad Consequences of each State.

I know myself to have as good Designs, as sincere a Regard for my Country, and as uncorrupted and unbiassed a Resolution of prosecuting the Good of it, as any one of Those can have, who have been the most severe upon me. And, as I would abhor to treat the meanest of them in the Way in which I have been treated; so nothing of that Sort shall ever move me from an impartial Regard to what is offered as *Truth*, let it come to my Ears from what Mouth it will; and let it be accompanied with as much bitterness as it will. But, if upon Examination, it does not appear to be *Truth*; I must be excused. And therefore, if I *still* differ from this *Gentleman*, in all the Points before-mentioned; it is really because they *still* appear to *Me* in quite another Light than they do to *Him*. I have nothing to go by, but the *Evidence* that appears to *Myself*: Neither do I censure *Him*, or any *others* for not seeing as I see, or judging as I judge.

My *Views* in what I First wrote upon this Subject, were not those base and ignoble ones, which have been in so unkind; and unhandsome
Manner,

Manner, imputed to me ; but were really such as become a *Christian*, and a *Briton*. And that I now vindicate such Part of what I then publish'd, as I think has been greatly mistaken, or add one Word to it, is extorted from me by the Force of what seems *Truth* to me. I have no Attachment to *Ministers*, but what I should now be willing should appear naked and open to every impartial Eye. And how should I? I thank GOD, I *want* Nothing which the most *powerfull* in this World can give me ; and I appeal to GOD, I *seek after* nothing. I think myself obliged, on one hand, to like *them* better, than *Worse* ; and on the other hand, to be always ready to rejoyce to see *much better* in their Places. The *Praise* which arises from any *Fact*, or *Conduct*, beneficial to their Country, is justly due to Them : This no Man need be ashamed of offering.

Those, who think fit to oppose Them, I have not provoked by any *personal Disregard*. In what I have *agreed* with *them*, before the *Opposition* began, I trust, they cannot condemn me. In what I have *differed* from them since, I am sure I have preserv'd all Decency of Respect ; and have no *Crime* toward them, but the mere Differing from them. And for this alone, I have been treated in the manner the World has been Witness to.

The *Views* imputed to me I have said as much to, as it is fitting for *me* to say. Whatever Fault there may be in my Head ; I know my *Heart* to be *good*. But not only such *Views* have been
 been

been imputed to *me*, as have been at the same time declared to be the *Views* of the *Worst* of *Men*: But *many Papers*, either in *Matter*, or *Manner*, disagreeable to some *Persons*, have been positively laid upon *me*, and made the *Occasion* of much *Wit*, and *Satyr*, and *Triumph*. This makes it necessary for me to speak now plainly to the *World*, upon this *Subject*. I therefore declare, with all possible seriousness, That I have not writ, or dictated, or advised; or, directly or indirectly, had the least Part in the *Writing* or *Publishing* any *Paper* which has appear'd in the *World*, in any *Form*, from the *Time* of *Writing* the *Enquiry*, and for some *Time* before that, to this *Day*, *January 20, 1723*: Unless I must except *One* or *Two* upon *Subjects* in which *All* are agreed, the precise time of my seeing which I cannot now recollect. This Declaration, and for that *Space* of time, I make particularly with a *View* to *Papers* printed in the *London-Journal*; in all which I have been utterly unconcern'd either directly or indirectly. I think myself obliged, to do myself *Justice* particularly with regard to those *Papers* in the *London-Journal* which concern'd the *Liberty* of the *Press*, by declaring That I never either *saw* or *heard* of them, *before* *Publication*; or *read* them *since*, or any part of them, but what I found cited in *another Paper* which imputed them to me. And this I mention, not to censure what I have not read, unless as *Others* have represented it; but because I would not willingly suffer in the *Opinion*

nion of those whose Rights and Liberties I have studied thro' my Life to defend, as at last betraying them in a Point which ever appeared to me to be of the greatest Importance to them. My *Principles* upon this Subject, are known both to the *Highest* and *Lowest* of all I converse with. I never had any Ground to think that there was *any Design* of making the least Alteration in the Laws relating to this. Nay, I have had the Pleasure to hear it utterly *disown'd*. And, as for myself; if there be a *Point* of Liberty more than all others, my favourite Point; it still is, as it has been ever since I could think, *this* of the *Liberty* of the *Press*. I can never think it a *Reason* for laying any *Restraint*, that *Ministers* are ill-treated or abused. They that will have Power, ought to be contented with *this Perquisite*, which will always attend upon it. - And should I myself be the *Subject* of *Wit* and *Satyr* every *Saturday* throughout the Year, this shall never make any Alteration either in my *Judgment* or *Behaviour* with regard to this: But I will still support what hurts myself, because I truly think it is the Support of the whole *Liberty* we enjoy; and that the *Fall* of this *one* particuar Instance of *Liberty*, will soon be follow'd by the *Fall* of *Others*. If this be the Truth, as I know it to be; how surprizing must this be to those who have been Witnesses to the *Imputations* laid upon me, not only in publick Papers, but in the Conversation of Places of publick Resort? And, after what I have now declared,

red, how I shall be treated for the future, I must leave to the Consciences of *Others*.

I have thus once more laid before the World, what I think reasonable upon some *Important Subjects* which made part of the *Enquiry*. And I now submit all that I have said to the Judgment of every unprejudiced Lover of his Country.

F I N I S.





