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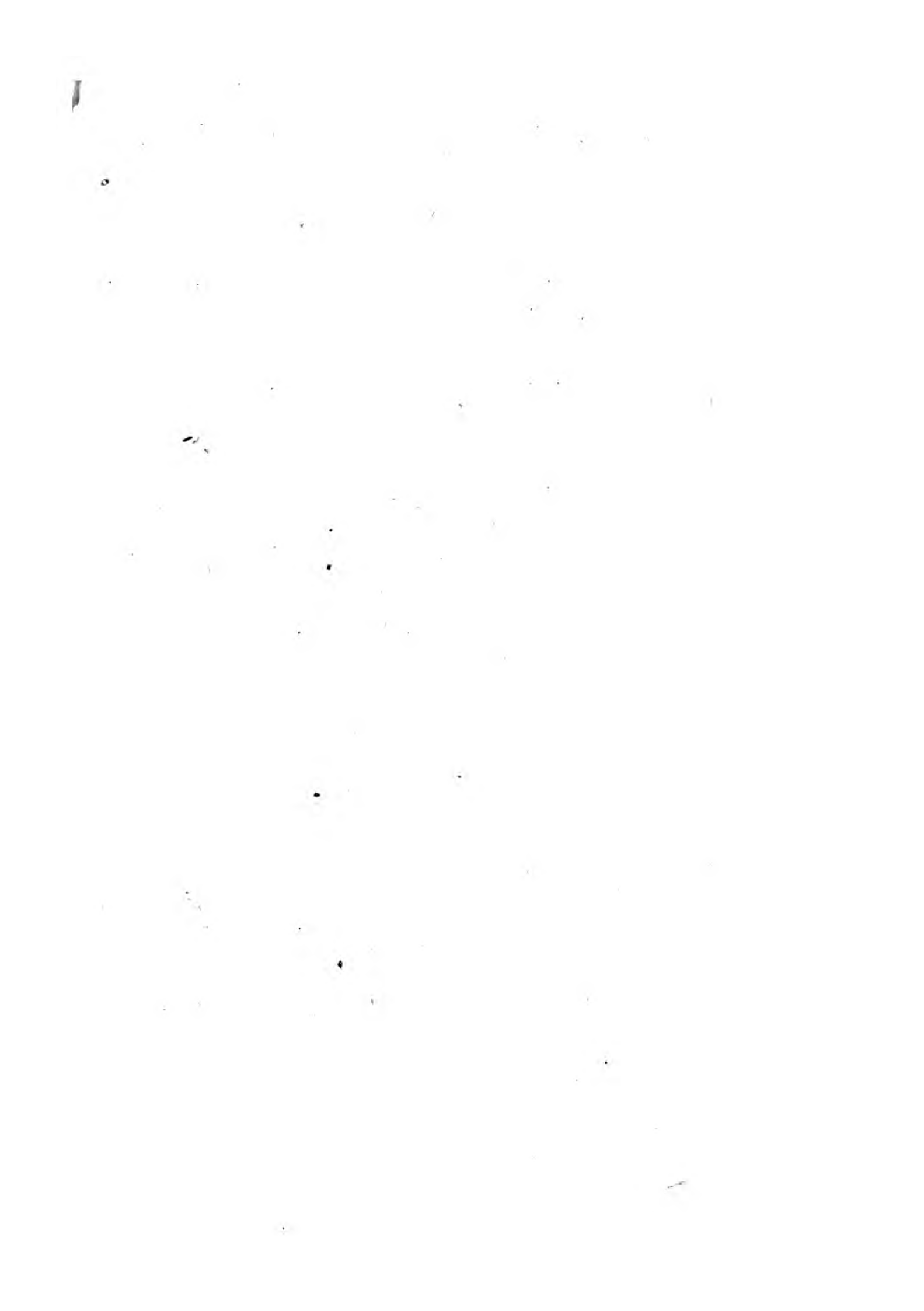


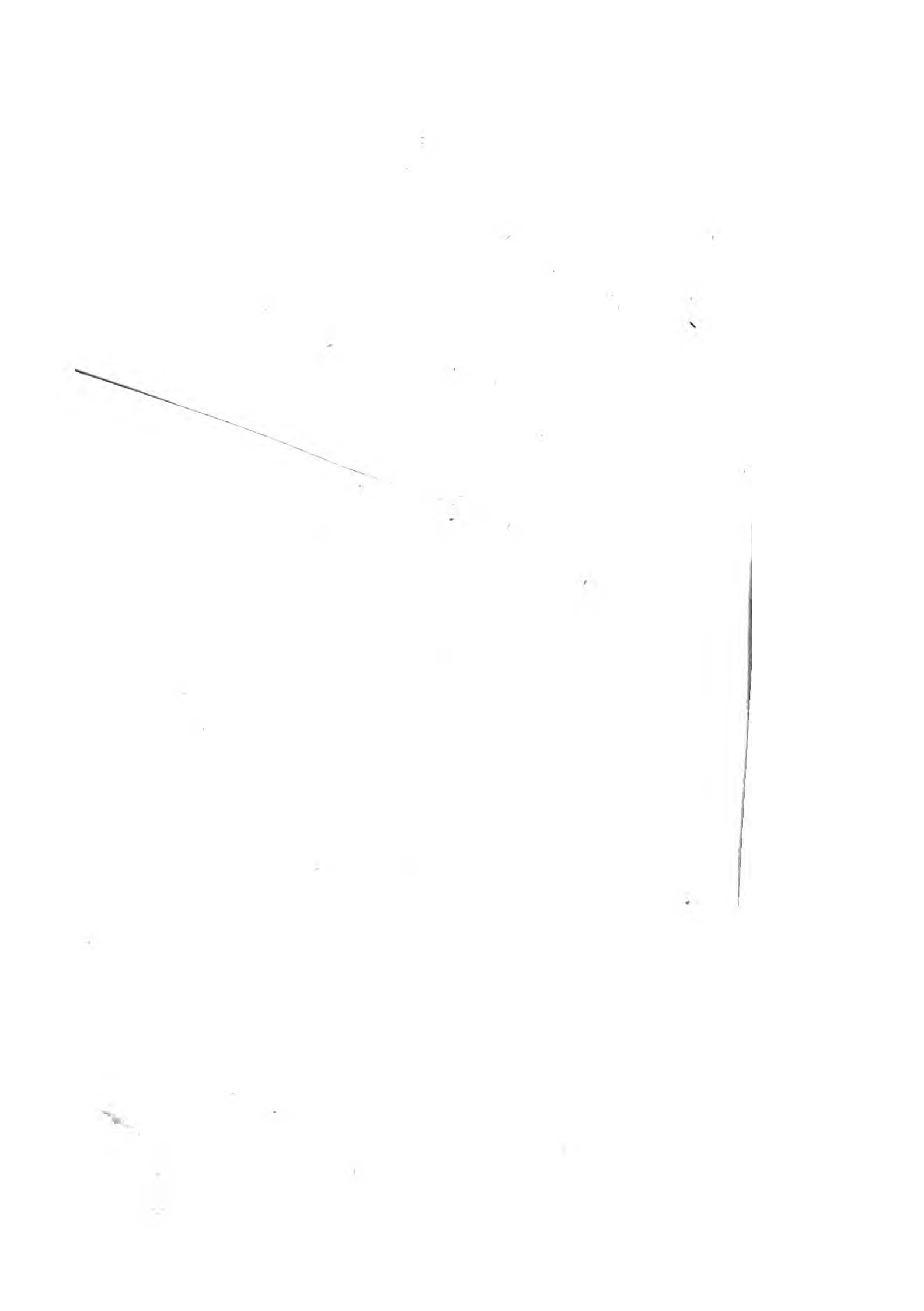
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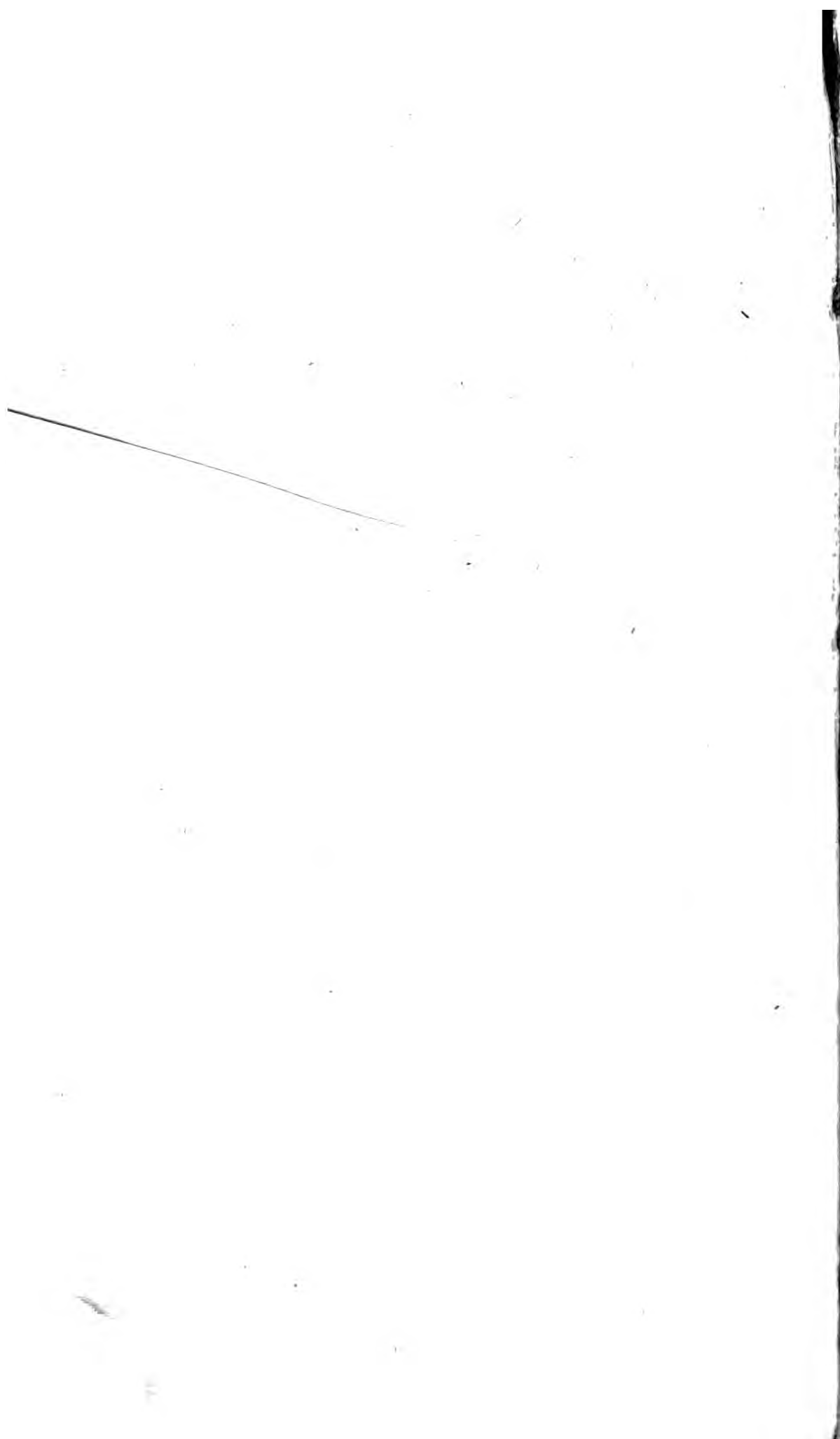


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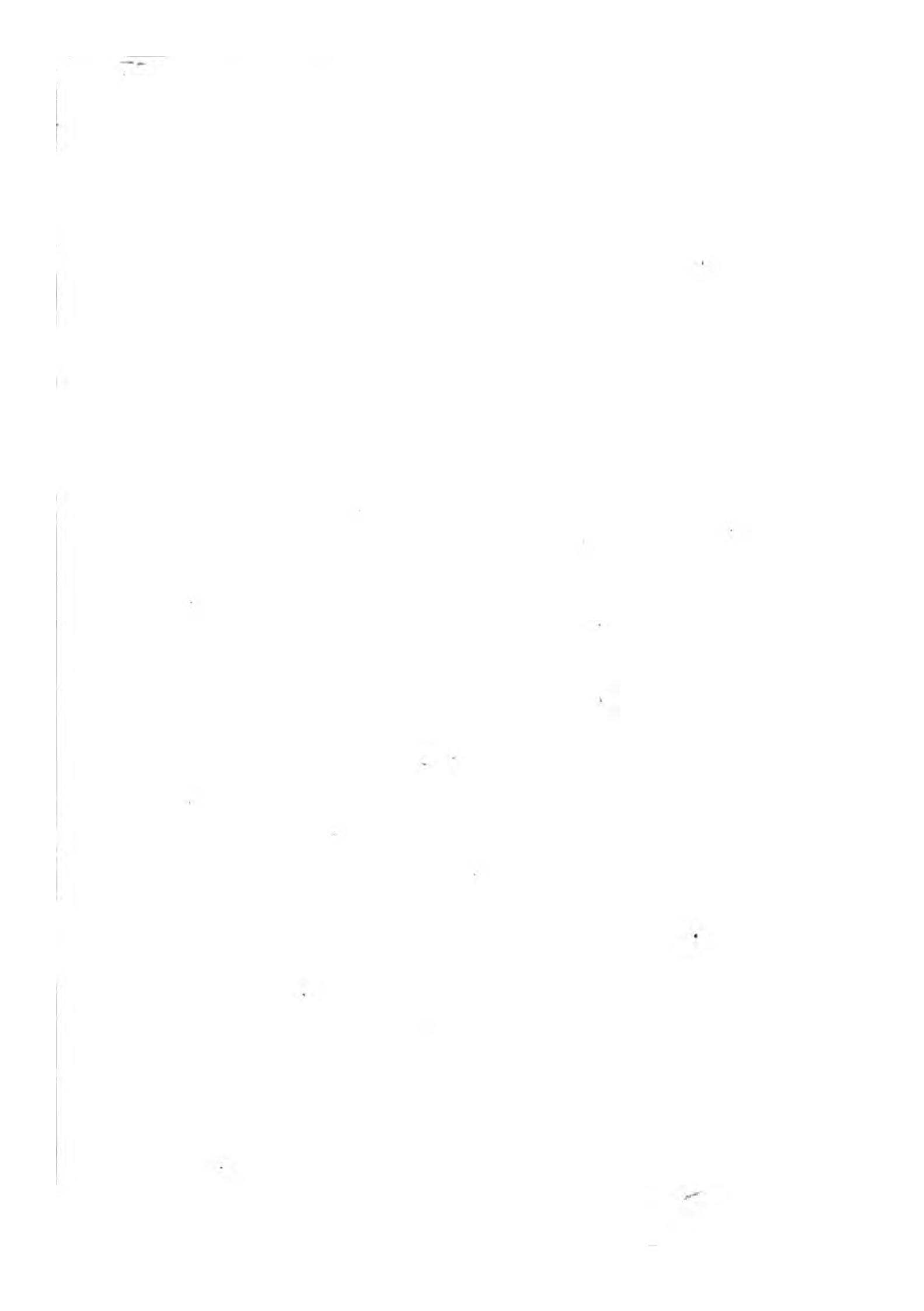
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1 a Critical Review -

2 Memoirs on y Exomines of 20

3 Northern Revolutions

THE
POLITICAL WORKS
OF
C. LUCAS.

COMPLETE.

Carefully Collected by HENRY HOLMES.
For his own Use, and to Testify his Regard
for that Eminently GREAT MAN.

Who! Take HIM for all, in all we shall not look upon his
Like again.

SHAKESPEARE.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

V O L. V.

DUBLIN Printed, by HENRY HOLMES,

M. DCC. LXXXV.



232. f. 150.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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CRITICAL REVIEW, &c.

IF an unconfined and unconstrained *Love of Liberty* constitutes the distinguishing Characteristic of a *Free Briton*, as every *Englishman* demands, and every Antagonist allows; whatever concerns Liberty, whether it tends to promote or suppress the Cause, in Nations near or remote, as well as at home, must in some degree affect every true *Englishman*, every generous Soul.

FROM this just Motive it proceeds, that every Attempt to regain, extend, or confirm Liberty, though made by our worst Enemies, has in all Ages met with universal Applause, and perhaps Succour from *England*; and every Incroachment upon the Liberty of our most remote fellow Creatures has ever been known to move a general Commiseration and Mourning in *England*, where Men of all Names and Nations, *persecuted for Righteousness*, never fail of finding an *Asylum*.

If we look back into the History of our Country, we may find many evident Proofs of the Truth of these Assertions. And it requires but a little Reflection to shew how much this Principle has proved conducive to the Honour and Interest of all the Countries, wherein it has been encouraged, especially

especially, of the *British* Nation : Wherever the true Principles of Liberty are best established, there Arts and Sciences, Trade and Commerce, refined Morality, pure Religion, wise and just Policy, all the Social Virtues, and all that tends to make length of Days desirable, or to give a prospect of a happy Futurity, are most likely to flourish and abound ; and wherever they are discouraged, there few or none of these Comforts, these Virtues, these Blessings are to be found. But, where Liberty is totally suppressed, there dark Ignorance and Error, Poverty and Wretchedness, Immorality and Irreligion, Vice and Tyranny, and every thing that tends to the temporal or eternal Infamy, Disgrace and Destruction of human Nature, always prevail.

To provide for the *Health* of the *Community* is the first principle, and the chief End of the Institution of every wise System of civil Government, and is the first Care of every just and prudent Administration : This does not so much regard the *Health* of the *Body Natural*, as that of the *Body Politic*, or the general Society : For, though the *Body Politic* be composed of divers individual *Bodies Natural*, whose Health, or Soundness of Body and Mind, requires the Care and Attention of the Legislature ; yet, a Regard to the Health and Vigour of the *Body Politic* demands the Pre-eminence ; as the *whole* is more valuable than a *part*. The principal Care of every Administration, of every good Member of the Community, then should be, providing for the general *Health*, or good of the *Body Politic*, or civil Society at large ; whence their Care should be extended to the Health of all the Limbs, Branches or Members, near and remote, without Distinction.

AND here, give me leave to observe, that an universal, strict and due Attention to this *unalterable Principle*

Principle of our Policy, must always effectually prevent Murmurings, Heart burnings, Discontents and Disaffection, the Bane of our Society ; and, in other Words, must eternally keep the *Body Politic* in an healthful and vigorous State.

A PEOPLE, thoroughly actuated by these Principles, can never be enslaved themselves, nor will they suffer any part of the rational Creation, within their Reach or Power, to be robbed of it's just Rights and Privileges ; and much less, those in Friendship and Alliance with them, and least of all, those of their Colonies or otherwise linked in the same common Bond of Affection, of Allegiance and of Interest civil and religious, though in the most remote Parts of the confederated Regions or Dominions : For, they are to be looked upon, as *Members* of the *same Community*.

It is this Principle, generally prevalent in human Nature, but remarkably predominant in the Bosoms of *free-born Britons*, that stirs up a generous Affection for all the brave Spirits, we read or hear of, who, in the most distant Corners of the World, have at any time made glorious Efforts to regain or re-establish their natural Freedom. This it is, that moves us to look with an awful Reverence on the great Struggles for Liberty in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Commonwealths, and make us greatly admire and upon occasion proudly, boldly emulate the matchless Virtues of our brave, wise and free Ancestors, who established such Barriers, and raised such Bulwarks, to our Liberties, as must prove certain and impregnable, while we have Virtue enough to maintain them. This noble Principle made Us open our Arms to receive and protect oppressed and persecuted *Wal-loons, Palatines, French* and *Dutch* : To this it is owing, that the Laws and Liberties of *Britain*, with some of her Natives, were transplanted to and estab-

blished in a neighbouring Nation, wherein it has
 ever been reckoned Justice and good Policy, to
 maintain them ; so that in Times of Rebellion and
 Troubles, in which Parliaments could not be freely
 called and assembled, or act with Freedom and Safety
 in that Kingdom, as in the Reigns of *Edward I.*
 and *EDWARD III.* and even in the Time of *Oliver*
Cromwell's Usurpation, the People had their Repre-
 sentatives called into *England* to hold Parlia-
 ments, by themselves, for their own Nation, or
 joined with the *British* and *Scots* Members for the
 three Kingdoms. And finally, this noble Princi-
 ple made *England* always ready to espouse the
 Cause of *Ireland*, of which we have many memor-
 able Instances on Record from the first *British* Set-
 tlement in that Kingdom ; but none more remark-
 able, than those in the Reigns of *Charles I.* and
James the II. By whose corrupt and iniquitous Go-
 vernments, Schemes were laid, and partly executed,
 to extirpate, if not the *English* Name, at least the
 Protestant Religion, in that Kingdom : Then it
 was, that *Britain's* Regard to Liberty was put to
 the Test ; then it was, that *British* Benevolence
 shone forth in the most resplendent Lustre : For,
 the unhappy Fugitives from lawless Oppression and
 Persecution, from the Tyranny, Rapine and Mur-
 der, that raged and ravaged, all over *Ireland*, were
 received and cherished in *England*, as in the Bosom
 of a most tender, fond and indulgent Mother ; they
 were supported by ample Presents and liberal Pub-
 lic Contributions ; and as Occasion and Opportunity
 served, the Laity were provided for in Civil or
 Military Employments, suitable to their Ranks and
 Capacities, and the Clergy were ingrafted into the
 Body of the *English* Church, and furnished with
 comfortable Benefices ; 'till in the end, a sufficient
 Military Force was raised and sent to assist the
 loyal

loyal *Irish*, whether *Natives*, or of *English* Extraction, to restore true Religion, Peace, Liberty and Property, and to re-establish the Government; which, with the Blessing of Providence, ever attendant upon such great and noble Undertakings, happily succeeded, the great King WILLIAM III. whose Memory must be held in the utmost Reverence, as long as due Regard is paid to the established Religion and Liberties of these Kingdoms, being in the Hands of the Almighty, the chief Instrument.

WHOEVER takes the Trouble of reading thus far, will probably desire to know something of the Author, his Intentions, and the Drift or Purport of this Performance; all which he is as desirous to impart.

As to the Author, he is of a very antient *English* Family, a Subject and Resident of *Great Britain*. He has not appeared conspicuous enough on the Stage of Life, to make his Name of such Consequence, as to give any Weight to his Writings; therefore, to avoid the Imputation of Vanity, he chuses at Present to conceal it. As the Knowledge of *Self* is the greatest and most useful Part, if not the Foundation of all worldly Knowledge; he has endeavoured to acquire as intimate an Acquaintance with himself, as with any Man living; and is never afraid or ashamed to converse with himself. In extending his Knowledge abroad, he began in regular Order, with his Country, and found the Subject so copious, so useful, so necessary, and withal so delightful, that he has not yet been able to prevail upon himself to travel through any Country, except in Theory, but those of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; of the Soil, Climate, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Trades, Constitutions and Interests of which, he has acquired a competent Knowledge; as well to make him useful to himself and his Country, as to enable

enable him to benefit both, by foreign Travels. With this Intent also, and for these Reasons, he has hitherto been more attentive to, and more affected by, the daily Occurrences in these Kingdoms, than by those of any Part of *Asia, Africa, America* or *Europe*, not excepting the *polite Nations*, by whose Example, those reckoned *Well-bred* among Us, have affected to change and vary the wholesome Diet, plain Dress, simple Manners, and honest, expressive Language of their Country, how much for the better, he leaves to proper Judges. He neither does nor can enjoy a Stake in either Kingdom, he prizes equal to Liberty; and is more solicitous for the Freedom and Concord of his Fellow Subjects, than for their Opulence and Grandeur. For his System of Religion and Politics, who ever thinks it worth his while to learn that, must read further; which he presumes the rational and dispassionate Lover of his Country will venture upon, without knowing the obscure Author's Name, Birth, Parentage, Education, Stature, or Complexion.

As to his Intentions and the Purport of this premature Performance, it is no less, than to rescue *Truth* out of *Darkness*; to bring *Facts* to *Light*, in the Issue of which every Subject of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is deeply interested; to assert PUBLIC LIBERTY, upon the Principles of the *British* Policy, and to vindicate *Innocence, Virtue* and *Loyalty*, most shamefully, most cruelly injured, and oppressed in the Instance of a LOYAL PROTESTANT, most remarkably spoiled of every Privilege of a *free Subject*; a Precedent, which, if not timely abolished, may one Day prove fatal to the whole Community.

WHETHER this Essay may be most likely to make it's Way into the World, under the Form and Sanction of a foreign *Novel*, or a *Romance*, or of a plain *English* Narration of Historical Facts,

Facts, is a matter which I must confess myself unable to ascertain: Tho' from the Reception, the worst Writings of the former Class, that ever sullied Types, or disgraced the *English* Language, has of late met with, I must incline to think the former would have the most Readers and Admirers. But however, as the Dignity and Importance of the Subject require another Treatment, I shall adhere to plain Narrations of incontestible Facts, with artless Reasonings and Observations; let the Fate of this Paper be what it may: For, I write for the Rational, the Free and the Dispassionate; and am not less solicitous for acquitting myself, than for the Event; the former being in some Measure in my Power, the latter solely in the Disposal of Providence.

NOTHING can be more surprizing, more distressing to a public-spirited Man, than to find such a general Inattention and Disregard to the Public Good, as almost universally prevails in these Nations. Few Individuals are to be found, who are not so entirely taken up with *Self-Love*, and so totally addicted to *Self-Interest*, that they are utterly unknowing in, and absolutely unconcerned for, the State of the COMMON WEALTH in general; nay, for the Counties, Cities, Boroughs or Companies of which they are immediate Members; and seek only to augment their own private, present Gain, without any Regard to the true Interest of the Community, whether present or future. From which Lethargy, such Men are only to be roused by an immediate Sense or Apprehension of personal Injury or imminent Danger.

As a more mistaken and destructive Principle than this does not prevail in Society, I think it necessary to a proper Understanding of the subsequent Lines, to confute this false and pernicious
Notion,

Notion, and to shew, that the true, the only Way to promote *Self-Interest*, is by establishing the *General Interest* of Society. This will clearly appear, by taking a cursory View of the Nature and End of civil Society, and forming a just Idea of our System of Policy.

MAN was formed a *rational, free, and social Animal*: By Reason, Men learned, they were *free* and *equal*, and that no Individual could subsist so well *singly*, as in *Society*; therefore, Men formed themselves into *Societies*, or Communities, which served for the good Government, Defence and Support of all the Members.

LIBERTY was the great, common BIRTH-RIGHT of all Men; and where they were formed into civil Societies, each Man's Right of Freedom was abridged, in such Proportion, as was judged expedient for the whole Community; in other Words, a *Joint Stock* was formed, into which every Member obliged himself to cast or deposit as much of his natural Liberty, as was judged necessary to raise a Fund for the mutual Ease, Strength and Security of the *whole Company*. In this State then, no Man could justly be an idle and unconcerned Spectator of what passed in Society. It was and ever must be the indispensable Duty and invariable Interest of every *Individual* to promote the Honour, Wealth and Happiness of the *whole*. Hence, every Man is to labour in his Sphere, for the good of the *Community*; if he regards his Duty, or the Interest of that *Society*, on which, that of the *Individuals* must ever necessarily depend: For, in a well governed Society, no worthy Member can possibly be unhappy.

THE chief End of the Creation of Man, as far as it can be comprehended by finite Understandings, is for the Glory of the *Creator*, and the temporal

THEY have committed into the joint Hands of three Estates, *so framed and attempered, as to be Checks, the one upon the other* ; THE KING, LORDS AND COMMONS, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED ; which constitute the GREAT CORPORATION, or BODY POLITIC of the Nation, This will appear the most wise, the most equal, the most just, the most perfect Form of Government, that now subsists upon this Globe. A glorious Constitution ! In which, all the Parts are free in their allotted Stations ! All are Members of the most happy Community, and Servants one of another ! Even the *first and great Estate*, the KING, tho' far greater than any of the known Monarchs of the Earth, in this, that HE GOVERNS FREE MEN, by *their own Election and Laws, they Rule Slaves by arbitrary Force and Violence* ; yet is HE but the FIRST and GREATEST SERVANT of the State !

THIS is that unparalleled Constitution, in which are found, all the Uses, Benefits and Excellencies of all the known Forms of Government upon Earth, without any of their Inconsistencies, Evils, or Inconveniencies. This is that wise System of Civil Society, in which the great and unalterable LAW of NATURE is enforced and established, not opposed, or contradicted ; which is the sure and certain Characteristic of a perfect Government : For, according to the above recited Author, (*p. 8.*) in the *British Polity*, previous to the Establishment of the modern Method of Parliaments, seven *original and essential* PRINCIPLES of the Constitutions, which he enumerates, were founded and established ; as the *common, inviolable BIRTH-RIGHT*, the INDEFEASIBLE HEREDITARY PRIVILEGES of the PEOPLE. In which he observes, *p. 9.*

‘ Thus

‘ THUS did the Wisdom and Virtue of our Fore-
 ‘ fathers greatly provide for the Happiness and Glo-
 ‘ ry of their Issue! Making the *absolute Safety* of
 ‘ *their Lives, the Independence and Security of their*
 ‘ *Liberty, Property, Freedom in Trade, and other*
 ‘ *common natural Rights*, not only the UNAL-
 ‘ TREABLE BASIS of the *Civil Constitution*,
 ‘ but the *Evident Cause and Intent* of it’s Institution.’

AND in the 5th Address, p. 15. He calls it, ‘ a
 ‘ Frame of Government, under which every Mem-
 ‘ ber must be *Free*, while he continues *virtuous*.’
 And again, ‘ every Member of our Community has
 ‘ an *indeafeasable, hereditary Right* to LIBERTIES
 ‘ and PRIVILEGES beyond those of any People
 ‘ upon Earth :—We are all by *Law*, as well as by
 ‘ *Nature*, as FREE and as INDEPENDENT as *Kings* ;
 ‘ while we fulfill the Duties of our respective Stations
 ‘ and Provinces in Life :—OUR KING, in the Trust
 ‘ and Dignity of his Office, transcends all other
 ‘ *Kings and Emperors* on the Globe, as far as we ex-
 ‘ cel all other Subjects in Liberty ; so, that he may,
 ‘ not unjustly, be called a KING of KINGS ; while
 ‘ most of the *mighty Monarchs* of other Nations are,
 ‘ properly, but the *Masters* of some *Herd*s of *Slaves*.’

To illustrate this most admirable Frame of Po-
 licy further, let us briefly consider the constituent
 Parts of the Government, and the Privileges and
 Advantages the Subjects enjoy under such a Consti-
 tution,

IN this then, we have first, the Advantage of all the
Monarchies or kingly Governments in the World ;
 we have most of the Excellencies, and least of the
 Evils of that Form of Government ; a *Sovereign* or
 supreme Magistrate, dignified with all the Honour,
 Pomp and just Power of *Majesty* ; a KING, not of
indeafeasable, hereditary Right and *unlimited Power*,
 as some unhappy Fools, or Slaves have contend-
 ed.

but a *limited Monarch*, created BY, and acting UNDER the AUTHORITY of LAWS, made by the *voluntary Assent* and *free Sufferance* of the PEOPLE, the *Source of Sovereign Power*. This is the *first Estate* in the COMMONWEALTH. Secondly, we have the Advantage of all the known *Aristocracies*, or Governments by *Nobles*, in an *hereditary, grand Council* of Nobles, dignified with all outward Marks and Appearances of Honour and Reverance, and as much Power, and as great Pre-eminencies and Priviledges, as are requisite to maintain that Rank, in the utmost Splendor ; but so *limited*, as to put it out of their power to injure or annoy, much less to incroach upon, or violate the Rights and Liberties of the *Commonalty*. This is the *second Estate* in our Government. But, the great Strength and Security of our Constitution consists, in our having a powerful Balance in the *third Estate*, against the Power of either the *First* or *Second*, separately, or jointly, should it ever so happen, that they should conspire and unite their Forces against the *Commonalty*. In this, we have the Happiness of all the *Benefits*, without the *Evils* of a *Democracy*, or a Government or *Commonalty*. In this great Council, every Man below a Peer, who is a *Freeman* or *Freeholder* within the Realm, is supposed to be virtually or actually present ; that is, has a Right to be present in Person, or by Representation. The COMMONS are the *Counsellors*, the *Trustees* and *Guardians* of the People, their *Representatives*, and *stipulated Servants*.

THESE *three Estates* constitute one Body intrusted and invested with all the Powers and Priviledges of the People. But, as each was instituted, not for it's private Emolument, but for the common Good of the whole ; so, neither can be supposed to be actuated by, or to regard or know any Interest, distinct

tingt or seperate from that of the *Community* : Therefore, they are jointly and severally presumed to have no Passions, but to square their Actions by the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the KING or LEGISLATURE and the PEOPLE, or the known Laws ; so as most effectually to promote and secure to the *whole Community*, and to *every individual Member* thereof, PEACE, LIBERTY, and PROPERTY ; in other Words, to establish *general Order* and *good Government*, agreeable to the *original essential Principles* of our Policy, which is the sole Intent and End of the Institution.

It would be tedious, if not endless to recount the manifold Advantages accruing to the Subjects of this most excellent Government. I shall therefore, only recite a few of the most pertinent to my present Purpose ; to shew how happily and effectually the *Lives, Liberties, and Properties* of the Subjects are secured, under this great and unparalleled Constitution.

No Power exists in the State, that may destroy the *Life*, invade the *Liberties*, seize or diminish the *Property* of the meanest Individual ; unless he has forfeited them by Law, or has given up his *Liberty* or *Property*, or some Portion of them, for the *general Good* of the *whole Society*, to which the Interest of every *Member* is to be always subservient.

THE Life of a Member is never to be endangered, but upon his being guilty of, or chargeable with a *capital Crime* ; such as *Treason, Murder, Felony*, or some *Fact* dangerous to, or destructive of Society. Even such an obnoxious Offender is Subject to *no arbitrary Power*. He cannot be even deprived of his Liberty, till some Proofs of the criminal Fact be offered upon the Oath of a credible Witness before a known Magistrate. Upon such Testimony alone, he may be confined ; but,
he

he has a Right to demand being brought to a fair, open Trial, *before indifferent Judges*, the very first Opportunity, or admitted to his *Liberty* upon Bail; and it is not lawful to refuse him either.

THE Indulgence on such Trials, are known only under this Government. A Man charged with a Capital Crime, is not to be brought to a Trial, till the Information offered against him be laid before the *Grand Jury* of the County, wherein the Fact is alledged to be committed; and upon *twelve* of them agreeing, to find a Bill of Indictment against him, not otherwise, he is to stand a second Trial; by *twelve* Men more, which is Definitive. To prepare for this, he is, in some Cases, furnished with a Copy of the Indictment, that he may make his Objections and take his Defence. And he is likewise furnished with the *Pannel*, or list of those Men out of whom he is to *choose* his Judges, to enable him to take his Exceptions at his Trial. Of these, a sufficient Number is to be summoned of the Neighbourhood, wherein the Fact is charged to be committed. The supposed Criminal is brought into an open Court, free of all Bonds, Fetters, or other painful Dureffe. Tho' the *Judges* are supposed to be of *Council* for the Criminal, yet other Council learned in the Law are assigned him. He has a Right to try the Legality and Validity of the Indictment, and, if he can shew Cause, to quash it, or set it aside. If the Indictment be found just, he stands his Trial. The *Pannel* of the Jury, of which he has been furnished with a Copy, is called over. He has a Right to challenge or object peremptorily to *twenty* of the Number, and to as many more, as he can assign just cause why they should not be admitted *his Judges*. Twelve unexceptionable Men are sworn; these are the *Jury*, whose *Verdict*, or Decree is final. Before these, the Evidence

dence of the alledged Facts in the Indictment are produced and sworn, then examined by the Prosecutors to prove the Points ; and cross examined and interrogated by the Criminal to sift out the Truth. After the *Jury* have received all the Testimony, that is to be offered, on both sides, to inform their Judgment, they retire to a private Room, where they are confined, without Meat or Drink, till they all agree in a *Verdict*, which finally condemns, or acquits the Prisoner. If they acquit him fully of the Charge, he is discharged, if they find him guilty, he is allowed to offer all just Causes, why Sentence of Death or other Punishment should not be passed upon him.

THE LIBERTY of the Subject is no where so effectually secured, as under the *British* Government ; For, every individual has Power to dispose of his Person and his Property, and to do whatsoever he lists, as far, as is consistent with the end of civil Society, the *Wealth, Peace, Safety, Order* and *good Government* of the *whole*. Further than this, *natural Liberty* is not restrained by our Constitution. Nor is any Subject to be imprisoned or confined, while he acts amenable to the Laws, and fulfills the Duty of his Station : For, he cannot be deprived of his Liberty, 'till *legal Evidence* is given against him, that he has committed some Offence or Trespas against God, or *his Neighbour*, for which he cannot be supposed to be brought to Trial ; till he is put into Custody of the civil Magistrate.

THE PROPERTY of the Subject is not less secure. It is so sacred, that no Power can wrest a Farthing out of the Hands of the meanest Object under the Law, without his *free and voluntary Assent and Consent*, by him given in his *Person*, or by his *Representative*, for the *general good* of the *whole Community* ;

Community ; or as it is adjudged, by due Course of Law, to atone for some Offence or Trespafs.

THE Courts, in which Proceedings are held concerning *Life, Liberty* or *Property* are many and diverse. The first, and dernier Resort, is the HIGH COURT of PARLIAMENT, which for Grandeur and Extent of Power and Priviledge, exceeds all the Courts to us known in the World. This is composed of the *three Estates* of the Realm ; in this, every Individual is supposed to have a *Guardian, Council* and *Representatives*. And, as they can have no Interest to serve, seperate or distinct from that of the People at large, from whom and for whom all the Honour, Power, Authority and Priviledges of the *three Estates*, separately or jointly are derived and held in Trust ; so neither the whole, nor any part of the Community can be supposed in any danger of Injury, or Injustice from their Determination, It is therefore wise and just, that an *absolute legislative* Power, and a *final Judicative* Authority, which must necessarily be placed somewhere, should be vested in this GREAT BODY.

It is an *inherent fundamental Principle* of our Policy, conceded by the *three Estates* and confirmed in MAGNA CHARTA, that, NO FREEMAN SHALL BE TAKEN, OR IMPRISONED, OR DISSEISED OF HIS FREEHOLD, OR LIBERTIES, OR FREE CUSTOMS, OR BE OUT-LAWED, OR EXILED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED, NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR CONDEMN HIM, BUT BY LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. After which is wisely added, WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY, OR DELAY TO ANY MAN, EITHER RIGHT OR JUSTICE. By which Articles it is provided, that the *Rights* and *Liberties* of *loyal Subjects* should ever be held SACRED

CRED and INVIOABLE. And, that even when they became *delinquent*, they should with Distinction, receive and enjoy all the most extensive *Benefits* of the *Law*, *fully* and *freely*; of which, being tried by their *Peers*, or Equals, *Lords* by *Lords*, *Commoners* by *Commoners*, was made a GENERAL and ESSENTIAL PRIVILEGE, which however admits of an Exception.

THE COMMONS, coming from all Quarters of the Realm, are most properly, most wisely made the GREAT INQUEST, as it were the *high*, or *general grand jury* of the Nation. They therefore, *present* Offences, and indict, or *impeach* Offenders, of the highest kind. But, to avoid the Danger, the inconsistency of sending Persons or Things from a *superior* to an *inferior* Court, to be tried, it has been always judged most just, that Persons *presented* or *impeached* by the *Commons*, should be *tried* by the *Lords*, whose Rank and Dignity sets them, not only above the Influence of the *Commons*, but also above any Degree of Corruption or Partiality, by which the meanest Subject may be injured in his *Life, Liberty* or *Property*.

O! THAT Men would be wise, and consider the inestimable Privileges they enjoy under this glorious Constitution! That they would sufficiently revere and imitate the Wisdom and Virtue of their GREAT ANCESTORS, who framed this matchless System of civil Society, and handed it down full and secure to their Posterity! A Society, in which all the Members are so firmly linked and united in one common Interest, that *one* cannot suffer without injuring or endangering the *whole*! And the Security of the *whole* depends upon the Wisdom, Virtue and Loyalty of *Individuals*! What can Men wish for more? Or what Man can form an Idea of a freer or better Government?

HERE, let me say a Digressive word or two to my unhappy, mistaken Country-Men and Fellow-Subjects, who have lately raised groundless Clamours against the Government, and disturbed the Peace and Trade of these Nations. With these Men, I have entered into Conversation on these Points, in the most cool, dispassionate and unprejudiced Manner. I have heard and examined their Complaints and their Claims, and patiently and attentively read all the Papers, on which they lately founded their Hopes, and even now lay so great a stress.

Now, I never did, nor ever hope to receive any personal Favour from any King, or Minister of State. There never existed a human Power upon Earth, with which I do not, and ever shall, detest the Thoughts of Dissimulation, or Flattery. Even Female Beauty, against whose Charms, I confess, I never was Proof, never has, nor ever shall be, by me treated with any Degree of Adulation. Therefore, if I have the Fortune to gain that Credit with those, who do not know me, that Truth has every where a Right to demand ; I shall be looked upon, in the Arguments and Declarations, I am going to offer, as a Person as disinterested, as indifferent, as a good and loyal Subject of our Constitution can be.

WHAT Excuse have these Men offered for their Disaffection and Rebellion? ——— *The extraordinary Increase of Debts, Taxes and penal Laws, and the supporting a standing Army in Times of Peace ;* added to some extravagant, vain, exploded Notions of an *indefeasible, hereditary Right* to the Crown of these Realms.

To answer the former Charge, I shall not trouble myself or the Reader, with entering into a Vindication of the Conduct of the present or past Administrations, in *increasing the National Debt, in multiplying*

plying coercive and penal Laws, or in maintaining standing Armies in Times of public Peace. I confess, they are Matters, that should ever be looked on with a jealous Eye, by a virtuous, free People. But, if the *Luxury, Corruption, Venality and Disloyalty* of the whole, or any part of the *Community*, has at any Time made these *Evils* complained of, necessary, or of all others, the most eligible, they, and they only, who did so, are to bear the Blame ; and they, of all others, have no room to complain. The Government must be supported with Credit and Honour, for the sake of the Nation. — If more, than is necessary for this just Purpose, has been in former Times granted, or unjustly laid out, or falsely accounted for, who were to blame ? You will answer to be sure, *the Parliament.* — Who chose the *Commons*, who alone impose *Taxes*, in that *Parliament* ? — It must be answered, *the Freeholders and Freemen of all the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the Realm.* And then, it must be acknowledged, that had these *Electors* fulfilled their respective Duties, in *choosing* upon just constitutional Principles, the Men in all Respects most perfectly qualified to *serve* them in Parliament, without Regard to the Dictates or Influence of Power or Fortune, Party or Faction, and *instructing* them in the true Interest and just Sense of the *Community*, this supposing it to be an Evil, would not stand an Object of their Complaint. But, it is notorious, that in those Parts of this Kingdom, most remarkable for their Discontent and Disaffection, the *Voices* of Electors, even of the Places of *returning Officers* of Corporations, preparatory to an Election, have been openly sold by *Auction* in the Public Streets. Horrid, detestable and destructive Commerce ! Yet these very Men are foremost in the Cry against the *Public Debts* ! The same Arguments

will shew these Men's Opposition to *penal Laws* and *standing Armies* in the same Light. Besides, Disloyalty must be punished ; and they that will not peaceably submit to the Determination of the *civil Power*, make a *military Force* absolutely necessary,

WHEN these Men so palpably over-look the Causes of the complained-of Grievances, no wonder they should widely mistake the Remedy. I do not judge it necessary at present to trouble an intelligent Reader with a Disquisition on the Nature of these Grievances, to shew whether, or how far, they may be *real* or *imaginary*. I shall, in this Case, take it for granted, that they are *real*; and shall content myself with shewing the Falsehood and Fallacy, or Folly, of those, who impute *them* to what they vainly call, the *breaking* the *Line of Succession*; and propose, as the only effectual Remedy, what they falsely and artfully, or weakly, not to say impiously and traitorously, call a *Restoration*.

EVERY thinking Man must look upon the Parliament, as the *Guardians* of the *national Constitution*. In them, a *sovereign, incontrollable Power* is necessarily lodged. This Power is, at all Times, and upon all Occasions, to be exerted for the Good of the Community; the Illustration, Establishment and Support of the Constitution, in all Points, and can be applied to no other Purpose, without Prostitution, without subverting the Foundation, or frustrating the End of the Institution of Parliaments.

CAN we suppose any *Body Politic*, and much less the first and greatest, the CORPORATION of the REALM, destitute of Means of perpetuating it's self, by providing for a lawful Succession of *Head and Members*? — It is impossible. The Being and Succession of the *second Estate* is appointed and provided for by the Crown, the *first Estate*: The Being of the *third Estate* is supplied by the Elections

Electi^ons of the People. *These two* can therefore, never possibly want Means of Existence, while the Community subsists, and consequently the Kingdom must be always provided with a regular Succession of *Lords* and *Commons*. But the *first Estate*, being vested in a sole Person, is liable to more Accidents. The Throne may become vacant for Want of *lawful Heirs*, by an entire *Failure* or total *Extinction* of *legitimate Issue*; by a *Resignation*, *Renunciation*, or by an absolute *Cession* or *Abdication*. What is to be done in such Cases? Is our Constitution compleat, if it wants Means of repairing natural or accidental Breaches, or of providing an *Head* to the *Body Politic*? Must not such a Power be placed somewhere? And where can it be so properly or safely placed, as in the *hereditary Council* of the *Crown*, and in the *chosen Representatives* of the *People*?

THEN, on the other Hand, let it be considered, that the *first Estate* is invested with the Power of *assembling*, *adjourning*, *proroguing*, or *dissolving* the other *two Estates* in Parliament, consequently, he may put a full Stop to the Consultations and Proceedings of *both Houses*, when he apprehends them acting inconsistently with the separate Rights of each other, or the Good of the Community: And shall the *two others* be absolutely destitute of that Balance of Power, which is evidently necessary to the Well-being of the Whole, of restraining the male Conduct of the *first*, to obviate or remedy such Evils, as may accrue to the whole, from the undue or illegal Administration of the regal Power? I hope there lives not in *Great Britain* at this Day a Man, *Slave* enough to answer these plain and simple Questions in the Affirmative! There is not any Man conversant in our History, that must not confess, that Kings have always been looked upon in this Light: That Parliaments have

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at all Times occasionally dethroned and appointed Kings, and directed and limited the Succession to the Throne; and that those Kings, who most strongly insisted on the Claims of *hereditary Right*, even the first of the *Stuarts*, always preferred a *parliamentary Right*, and obtained *Acts of Recognition* of their Title, as the only sure Foundation for the Throne. The old reversed and abused Maxim, *à Deo Rex, à Rege Lex*, is now happily restored and duly understood; *A Deo Lex, à Lege Rex*: The Voice of the People is the Voice of GOD, from whence issue LAWS and GOVERNORS.

MOREOVER, every King, who comes to the *British* Throne, must know the Terms on which he enters upon the Office. He must be supposed to know the Constitution so far, as to see, that he derives all his Honour, Power and Authority from the Laws, which he must therefore look upon as inviolable. Before the Subjects enter into any Bond of *Allegiance* to him, he renews the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the KING and PEOPLE, on his Part, in taking the *Coronation Oath*. No Subject can plead Ignorance of the Law to exculpate him of a Breach of his *Allegiance*, or Duty to the Constitution. For a single Act of *Treason*, a Subject loses his *Life*; and as a further Penalty, his Heirs are not allowed to enjoy his *Property*; both are forfeited. And shall a King, with Impunity to him and his Heirs, violate the *Oath*, the *original Compact* and every other Duty of a King? Shall he rob Individuals of their most sacred Rights and Privileges, and overturn the established Religion and Polity of his Kingdoms? Shall he attempt to impose a *spurious* Heir to the Crown upon the People, or deprive them of that Assurance of the *Legitimacy* of his Issue, which the Constitution requires? Who can look a little back and not see these Evils,
and

and the dreadful Consequences, which we have, by God's Providence, in the REVOLUTION, happily escaped? And who is so wretched, so forlorn a *Slave* in *Britain*, as to bear to court the Return of such dismal Times? Or, to think that the Author and Abettors of such Distraction and Confusion, such Oppression and Tyranny, such a total Subversion or Effacing of our Constitution, should not be punished in their *Persons*, in their *Properties*, in their *Posterity*?

LET these Hints be but considered and improved, as they may, by rational and dispassionate Minds, and then, they must discover the Meaning and Intention of those, who have, and still do talk of, a *Restoration*!—Their gross Perversion and Abuse of which Word, demands our Animadversion.

THIS unhappy, deluded People, affect to write and talk of nothing more than a *Restoration* of their *pretended Prince*. And as an infallible *Salvo* for all the real or imaginary Grievances and Evils they can represent and magnify in the State, they recommend and prescribe this, upon the Assurance of a general Redress, which they tell you is given in the only Security, they receive or offer, what they call, *the sacred Word of their natural Prince*.

WHEN any Men are able to point out *illegal Breaches* made in the *national Constitution*, any *Interruptions* in the established *Form* or Manner of *Government*, in KING, LORDS and COMMONS, or in *Trials of Life, Liberty and Property* by JURIES; to labour to bring about a *Restoration*, by all just Means, will be the undoubted Interest and Duty of every Subject. In this Sense only it is, that good Subjects, in Obedience to an Act of Parliament, celebrate the 29th of *May* 1660, not for the Restitution of the King alone, but for the putting an End to the great Rebellion, and for restoring the antient Government of these Nations.

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BUT, laying aside the *Treason* and downright Wickedness of talking of a *Restoration*, in the Sense of these unhappy deluded Men, it is as absurd, as illegal and as impolitical; as attempting to restore the Issue of any *condemned Traitor, Rebel, or other attainted Offender*, of the *Legitimacy and Loyalty* of whose Issue, we had all the Proofs the Law required; which is more than these weak or crafty Men can say for their *pretended*, or as they affect to call him, *their natural Prince*; a Phrase of very doubtful, if of any Meaning: For, it is certain, there can be no *Sovereign* or Prince in a *State of Nature*. The Word *natural*, then, can in this Respect imply no more than when we apply it to a *Child* born in a *State of Nature*, or an *Idiot*; in which Sense, it is opposed to *legitimate*, or *wise*. In either Sense, Male-contents and Rebels are, for me, welcome to call the *Pretender* or his Son, a *natural Prince*; while I join with all those, who wish well to the LIBERTIES, to the CONSTITUTION of *Britain*, in blessing God, that we live under a *legitimate*, or CONSTITUTIONAL KING; whose best Title to the Crown is from the Voice of the People in Parliament; and in praying that our Constitution may continue, in this and all other Respects, in the same Purity and Vigour; that we may ever retain a grateful Remembrance of the HAPPY REVOLUTION in 1688, which restored and established our overturned Constitution, our civil and religious Liberties, and that we may never stand in need of another!

BUT, if ever there should be just Cause to complain of the Grievances of *running the Nation unjustly and unnecessarily in Debt; of squandering the Public Treasure, and passing no regular or fair Account, of making or multiplying anticonstitutional penal Laws, of keeping up an excessive and burdensome Number,*

ber of standing Forces in Times of general Peace, or of any other destructive and illegal Measures ; whom shall we blame ? And from whom shall we expect or demand a Reformation ?---Ourselves, and from Ourselves only :—A King, who acts but by and with the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, is not to be blamed. Such a King may possibly have a corrupt and wicked Ministry unknown to him. But, if ever any Incroachment be made on the Liberties or Properties of the Subject, and pass unpunished, unredressed, it is more than probable, the People themselves will be found principally to blame : For, if they elect wisely and freely, they will assuredly be served justly and faithfully. But, if ever they appoint Members foolishly, slavishly or corruptly, they may expect to be bartered and sold like Slaves, for the private Gain of the Purchaser, and they will deserve no better Fate. If we should have the Misfortune to fall into such Circumstances, it would be most vain and absurd to trust or call to any Prince, natural or legitimate, for Reformation or Restoration : That must begin in the People. Let every Man begin at home ; let every Elector reform one Man ; let him be made Proof against the Allurements of Pomp and Fortune, of Bribe, Place and Pension, of the Smiles and Menaces of the Great, and then a lapsed or broken Constitution, if that should ever be our Case, must soon be effectually reformed and restored, by the free Election of wise and VIRTUOUS COMMONS. O ! great and inestimable Government ! Founded in Wisdom, upon LIBERTY ! And to be supported against foreign and domestic Enemies, and when lapsed, or broken, to be reformed or restored, by the Virtue and Loyalty of your own FREE SUBJECTS !

It is a comfortable Consideration, that Tyranny can never prevail under the British Government, 'till Corruption so far depraves the Minds of the

People, as to make them insensible of the Good of Society, and of the invaluable Blessings of Liberty: If ever that happens, then *Slavery*, that hateful Bane of Society, that horrid Reproach to rational Creatures, will, like a raging Pestilence, make a sudden and incontrollable Progress through the State. Who, that loves his Country or his Kind, does not shudder at the bare Recital! And since *Corruption* is the only Inlet, by which *Slavery* can invade our Constitution, what Diligence and Care should every Man exert, to banish that most destructive Vice from his own Bosom, as well as that of his Neighbour!

As *Tyranny* and *Slavery* are incompatible with the very Essence of our natural, as well as political Constitution; we cannot be too careful in keeping them out of our Country, out of our Neighbourhood: For, their Influence is not less contagious than that of the Plague. What Pains does common Policy prompt us to take, to guard against the Contagion of any *epidemic* Distemper, that is found destructive only to the Bodies of Men or Brutes? And shall we take less Pains to ward off a *Contagion*, that must in the End destroy the Bodies and Souls of Men, and all that can make Life desirable, nay, overturn the whole Frame of civil Government?

For my part, such and so strong is my Detestation of *Slavery*, that I can never hear the Sound of the Word without Horror; that I never can hear of it's being imposed upon the meanest and remotest Fellow-Creature, without inexpressible Anxiety; upon any Subject of the Nations in Alliance with us, without Terror; upon any of the most distant Fellow-Subjects, without a Mixture of Dread and Indignation.

When I reflect, that the first open Attempt to slave the *Roman* People was practised upon the
 note Territories of that COMMONWEALTH,
 and

and that from thence the Infection gradually and easily extended all over the *Roman State*; I can never hear of the slightest Invasion made on the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of *Ireland*, or even on those of *America*, but strait I feel the Injuries of the oppressed, for them and for my Country, in general: For, if these Regions, especially the former, be infected with the fell Contagion of *Slavery*, I know not what *Quarentine* will be sufficient to keep the Infection from *Great Britain*.

IRELAND is a Kingdom under our Crown, and strictly and inseparably connected with this Realm. The Inhabitants are for the most part descended from *English* Families; live under the same System of Common Law, the like Form of Government, Civil and Ecclesiastic; whereby they are intitled to the same Rights, Liberties, Priviledges and Immunities with the *British* Subjects; so that by the Bond of Nature, as well as of true Religion and good Policy, we are to look upon them, to all Intents and Purposes, as Brethren, and Fellow-Subjects.

I AM not yet passed the Meridian of Life, and yet I can remember the Time, when it was the Language of Men in Power in this Kingdom, *that Ireland was an useless Burden to Great-Britain; that it were better for the latter, the former never had Being, or that she were sunk an hundred Fathoms under Water.* Thank God! We have lived to see better Policy prevail. We see *Ireland* is well able to pay all that has been expended in establishing or supporting the *English* Government in that Realm, And we find ourselves daily reaping the good Fruits of the Industry and Loyalty of that People. We see it is our Interest to encourage their Trade and Commerce; since, we find, the riches of that Nation always center with us. They can have no

Interest to serve, opposite to ours : They are actuated and bound by the same Principles and System of Religion and Policy ; and as no other Power on Earth, is or can be so well able as *England*, to support them in both ; so, we have the firmest Bonds imaginable, not only for their *Allegiance*, but for their invariable *Love*, *Friendship* and *Fidelity* to our Government ; while they are protected in the full Enjoyment of their just *Rights* and *Liberties*.

THOUGH then, *England* might and probably would subsist if *Ireland* never had Being ; it is surely strange Policy to wish that Kingdom destroyed, or even to suffer the least Change or Variation to be produced in their legal System of Government ; the full Enjoyment of which can alone connect them inseparably to ours, and make it their invariable Interest, as well as Duty, to labour with equal Diligence to support our establishment, as their own.

If these Arguments be of any Weight, no *free Briton*, can think the Liberties of his Country equally secure, when those of *Ireland* are invaded, as when they are maintained and preserved in their just Extent and Vigour.

WHAT shall we say then, if it should appear, that the LIBERTIES of our ALLIES, of our FRIENDS, of our FELLOW SUBJECTS, of our BRETHREN of *I——d* are invaded, nay, almost overturned. Not by us, not by the Force of *foreign Invaders*, not by *Scotch*, or *Irish Rebels* ; but, by a Power much more formidable, more to be dreaded, in these Nations ; the *Degeneracy* of her *Sons*, and the *Corruption* of her *M——s* in a long *P——*—*!!* A Power against which, we should all keep a stronger and more watchful Guard, than against the confederate Potentates of *Europe*, or the Globe!

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A Power, which if it should ever be raised among us, would, no doubt, be much to be lamented and would call forth our strictest Attention.

As I wish well to the general Freedom of Mankind, I have extream Pleasure in hearing of any Attempt to regain the just Freedom of the most distant Fellow-Creature. But, the highest and truest Pleasure I can enjoy, is seeing a rational and loyal Scheme of Restoring and Preserving the Liberties of my Countrymen, vigorously and resolutely carried into Execution.

I CONFESS I did not know the People of *Ireland* well enough to suspect, that a Reformation would begin there; especially in that *fundamental Pillar* of our Constitution, the ELECTION of *Members of Parliament*; on which the very *Essence* of our Government depends.

THE Reader may then conceive, how agreeably I was surpris'd with finding the following uncommon Advertisement in one of the *Dublin News-Papers*, which I always read with more Care and Attention, than the *Amsterdam Gazette*, or even the *Paris A-la-main*.

To the FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the City of DUBLIN.

BRETHREN and FELLOW CITIZENS,

AT the Instance of several of my Friends and Fellow Citizens, I am induced thus publicly to declare, what has ever been an established Principle with me; that I am always ready and willing to serve the PUBLIC in every Office of Trust, which I am judg'd capable of discharging, and to which I am fairly and regularly called, by the *unbiass'd, uninfluenced Voices* of a FREE and INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.

FROM

FROM this Motive, I offer myself a Candidate for the Place of a Citizen to represent You in Parliament ; where I may be enabled to vindicate those RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of which you have been stripped, and for which I have hitherto contended, against the HIGHEST POWERS, in a *lower Sphere*.

IF I shall be deemed worthy of this Trust, the true Interest and Honour of the City shall ever be my chief Care, and YOUR INSTRUCTIONS shall ever be the invariable Guide of all the Actions of

*Your most affectionate Brother,
and Fellow Citizen,
and
most faithful Servant,*

C. Lucas.]

So much of the antient *British* Spirit of Liberty which founded, framed and established the Constitutions of these Nations, and without which they cannot possibly long subsist, as this *Advertisement* breathed, I had not seen in my Time, in any Address of the Kind.

THOUGH I was at first pleased, nay, transported at the Sight, I soon fell into a kind of Suspicion or Despondency of the Seriousness and Reality of the *Advertisement*. And began to look upon it for a while, as a visionary Project, a Flourish of some lively, free Imagination, or at best an *Eutopian* Scheme, which looked well in Theory, but could have had no Foundation in Practice.

IN this Opinion I was some time pretty well confirmed, by Letters from some credible Correspondents in *Dublin*, which answered my Enquiries concerning the Reality of this Man, of which I had
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some doubt, with informing me, that there was indeed, such a Man, as CHARLES LUCAS, in that Town; but that he had none of the ordinary, by which they meant the *outward* requisites for a *Candidate*. That he had neither Fortune, nor the Men in Power of his Side; that he was remarkable for nothing, but Knowledge and Integrity in the Profession of an *Apothecary*, and public Spirit enough to keep any Man poor and low in the World; that for these, he had been formerly reckoned a *Madman*, by some of the *Great Men*, and that since his publishing this Advertisement, the Report gained Credit universally.

UPON such Accounts as these, which were quickly multiplied from all Quarters, I quitted, though with Reluctance, the pleasing, visionary Prospect.

BUT, soon after, I heard, this same *Apothecary* commenced Author, that he made public *Orations* to the several Corporations or Companies of *Dublin* in their respective Halls, and published several *Addresses* to the *Freemen* and *Freeholders* of that City, I had a Curiosity to see some of his Performances, and to know the Sense of the Public in Relation to them: Therefore, I had all that came out under his Name, and all that was wrote against them, sent me every Post, together with an exact Account of all the public Proceedings in that City, with Relation to the Election and Candidates, by the most knowing and faith-worthy Correspondents.

I WAS soon convinced that the Matter bore a serious Aspect. I perceived, that this obscure, despised Man had acquired a most extensive and extraordinary Knowledge of the Constitution of these Realms and their respective Relations to each other; that he was intimately conversant with the History and Constitution of *Dublin*, and of the several Companies of the City; that he knew the Office
and

and Duty, and the Extent of the Power and Authority of the supreme and subordinate Magistrates, and the Sum and Substance of the Rights, Privileges, as well as of the Allegiance and Duty of the Subjects. His Writings convinced me, that he had a warm, active Zeal for the Liberty of his Country, and an undaunted Resolution to assert it, upon all Occasions; for, he subscribed his Name to all his Papers.

IN a few Months, it appeared, that his Labours, however, at first, unpromising of Success, and to himself, hazardous, were not fruitless: The People were glad to find, by his Doctrine, that they were not *Slaves*, by Law, or Right, tho' they had been long kept *such*, by Fraud or Force. He opened their Eyes, and they gladly and gratefully received the enlivening Light of Liberty; and they determined to chuse this bold Adventurer in the yet doubtful Cause, to represent them in Parliament.

THIS evidently appeared, by the many extraordinary Marks of public Favour conferred on him: For, if the public Papers, confirmed by the most authentic private Letters, may be credited, he was most generously complimented with his Freedom of *twenty-one*, out of *twenty-four Corporations*; some in *Rings*, others in *Gold* or *Silver Boxes*. Most of these Corporations or Companies also remarkably interposed in his Favour, when the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, *Sheriffs* and *Commons* of this City, endeavoured to lessen Mr. *Lucas*, by censuring some of his Writings; then they bravely stood forth in Defence of their Champion and Advocate, shewed and voted the *Proceedings* of his Antagonists to be *unjust*, *oppressive*, *illegal*, and *arbitrary*, and *averse* to the Sense of the *Citizens*, the *Constituents* of the *Common-Council*; ordered their Thanks to be publicly presented to Mr. *Lucas*, with the most solemn Assurances of all lawful Assistance and Support in
his

his glorious Endeavours to recover the suppressed Freedom and Rights of the Citizens.

Thus, what at first was treated lightly and contemptuously, now became a Matter of Weight and Importance. Mr. *Lucas's* two Antagonists, the *Candidate Aldermen*, soon fled and left him Master of the Field of Battle; so, that his Election, with that of Mr. *Digges La Touche*, were looked upon, by all Sides, as absolutely, incontestably secure.

To see Virtue, though in the lowest Obscurity, meritoriously rewarded, must be grateful to every benevolent Heart. But, after we have lived to see *Electors* shamefully prostituted, and *Elections* bought and sold, like *Stocks*, as in some former Times, when those, reputed the freest Elections, were obtainable only by the *Great*, or *Opulent*, and that at a most exorbitant Expence, as well, in *Great-Britain*, as *Ireland*; after this, I say, to see a People in so short a Time, restored to so just a Sense of Liberty and Loyalty of their true Interest, and Duty, as to become totally unmindful of all opposite, private Regards and Attachments, and to determine to *elect*, upon true Principles; a *low mean Man*, in the ordinary Estimation, in pure Consideration of his Virtue and just Qualifications only, is such an extraordinary Instance of Reformation or Restoration to the pure, primitive Principles of the *British* Constitution, as demands the Applause, the Countenance, the Support of every true Son of *Britain*. What must such Men feel, when they find, that this Man's Election is not only obstructed and defeated; but, that the Spirit of *Liberty*, nay, the common Principles of *Justice* and *Law* are actually suppressed in *I——d*, and that this unhappy Man so far shares the usual Fate of Reformers, as to have fallen a Victim to the Rage of a most despicable *Faction*! For, the *V——s* of the *H——se* of *C——s* of *I——d*,
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show,

show, that he was *accused and condemned*, upon broken Sentences of his *supposed* Writings, *unheard* and without any *legal Evidence* against him? that he was voted *an Enemy to his Country*, without being admitted to a *Justification* of himself, and ordered to be prosecuted in an *inferior Court*! Nay, before the very *Judges*, of whose Proceedings he complains to the Lord Lieutenant and to the KING!

I MUST declare, this alarms me more, than could the Landing an Hostile armed Force upon their Coasts. It is *Corruption* and consequent *Slavery* alone, not *Force and Violence*, whether intern or extern, that can overturn our Government. If then, we can be uncharitably regardless of the matchless Sufferings of the innocent Man, if we can possibly be unmoved with the Subversion of the established Government of *I——d*, are we not, in good Policy, bound to take the same Precaution, to which the worst-natured Man alive would have Recourse, if his next Neighbour's House was on Fire?

BEFORE this Nation obtained any Interest in *Ireland*, our brave, free Ancestors did not think it beneath them to sail to that Kingdom, and to fight the Battles of the oppressed, to avenge Wrongs and restore Right. Upon such an Occasion it was, that we first got footing in that Land, and by Degrees brought it under Subjection to the Crown of *England*. Upon every Attempt to disturb their Peace or violate their Freedom and Rights of this People, now intimately blended with those of our Blood and Nation, we have ever been tenderly and politically touched with Sense of their Dangers or Sufferings, and have never failed sending them seasonable and sufficient Succours in their Distresses. And shall we regard them less, after they

they have proved themselves, in all Respects, true and worthy Descendents of *Britain!* God forbid!

PERHAPS every Man does not see this Matter in the Light in which I behold it : It appears to me, that this CHARLES LUCAS, of whom I know as little, as most Men, that know him at all, is struck at, to countenance the universally prevailing *Corruption*, in that Kingdom ; that the Liberties of the Subject are ravished, and the whole Nation grievously wounded, if not absolutely *enslaved*, in him ; if so, one of the *growing Bulwarks* of the *British* Liberties is beaten down, or at least, one of the *Out-works*, or *Barriers* between *Great Britain* and *Slavery*, is in the present Case of *I——d* levelled and effaced.

BUT, to make this more intelligible to those, who are not very conversant with the present Circumstances of that poor Country, it will be necessary to give a more minute Account of the Affairs of that Kingdom, with regard to the late Vacancy and Election of Members for the City of *D——n*, and to the late Proceedings of the *H——e* of *C——s*, upon Mr. *Lucas's* Writings.

THESE Writings, I find, are very voluminous, by the Collection I have made. The first Tractate I find of his Writing is dated in the Year 1735. It is intitled, *a short Scheme for preventing Frauds and Abuses in Pharmacy, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Legislature*. Upon this, I find, the Parliament founded and passed an Act, subjecting *Apothecaries* Shops, &c. to be visited and examined, and to have bad *Drugs* and *Medicines* seized and destroyed, as in this City.

THOUGH this extraordinary Instance of public Spirit, *beginning at home* and reforming his own Profession, deserved the utmost Applause and Encouragement ; yet I find this poor Man, was suffer-

ed to fall under the Weight of the united Rage of his Brethren, who combined, and whose Influence stirred up the Enmity of the other Branches of the Profession against him.

HOWEVER, with uncommon Diligence and Assiduity, he struggled through the Difficulties opposed to him; and was so far from being discouraged into his Duty, by the ill Treatment he generally received, that in the Year 1741, he published a Pamphlet called, *PHARMACOMASTIX, or the Office, Use and Abuse of Apothecaries explained, the present degenerate State of Pharmacy, with it's manifold Corruptions and Adulterations considered, and some Essays on Reforming the same, &c.*

THIS so far answered his Ends, as to cause the Act to be continued, though with no Amendment. But, the Return he received for all his Trouble, in writing and attending the Parliament, was to be pronounced a *Madman*; for appearing public spirited, honest and disinterested! Yet, we find, all this did not, could not shock his good Purposes: For,

THIS Year, he happened to be appointed one of the *Common Council* of *Dublin*. Then it was, that he discovered and detected the Frauds, Abuses and Usurpations of the *Aldermen* of that City, which he afterwards shewed in a very strong Light, in two Pamphlets published in the Year 1743; the one, a *REMONSTRANCE against certain Infringements of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons and Citizens, &c.* The other, *DIVELINA LIBERA: An Apology for the civil Rights and Liberties of the Commons and Citizens of Dublin.*

THESE could not fail, in an ignorant and corrupt State, of gaining Mr. *Lucas* many powerful Enemies, particularly, in the then *Recorder*, whose Conduct he freely and fully laid open and who has since appeared

appeared one of his most violent Persecutors. Yet, he bravely persevered against all the most powerful Opposition; and with some few of his Brethren of the *Commons*, begged for Money to prosecute the *Rights* of the *Corporation*, against the *Usurpers*, and brought it into the Court of *King's Bench* in the Year 1744. Here again, his Attempts for the Public Good were foiled: For, as he tells us, in his next Paper, “the *Judges* peremptorily refused to admit them to a Trial.”

BUT, see how invincible the true Spirit of Liberty appears, under all Disadvantages and Oppositions! He drew up a State of the melancholy Case of the Subjects of that Kingdom under *arbitrary Judges*, dependent for their Places, on the *absolute Will* of the *Ministry*. This he intended, as he has declared, to lay before that great Patriot Lord Lieutenant, whose wise and just Administration in *Ireland*, in a most critical Conjunction, has rendered him as highly loved and revered in that Kingdom, as his inviolable Regard to the Liberties of his Country and his unwearied Endeavours to support them, will ever make him justly admired and esteemed in this. But, from this, Mr. *Lucas* was unfortunately dissuaded, by some Friends, he consulted on the Occasion. And it is said, he would never have published it, through Despondency of Success, from former Discouragements and Sufferings, had not this *Denial* of *Justice* to *Dublin* been likely to be made a Precedent for another unhappy Corporation.

THIS, we are told, urged Mr. *Lucas* to publish his COMPLAINTS of *Dublin*; which he addressed and delivered in Person, to the succeeding Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Of this, we are told his Excellency took little or no public Notice. But, to avoid further Application, Care was, by some Means,

Means, taken to prevent Mr. *Lucas's* ever after gaining Access to that *noble Viceroy*.

UPON this, Mr. *Lucas* wrote a most respectful Letter to his *Excellency*, and deposited it in the Secretary's Office, expostulating upon being denied the Right of a Subject, in laying Complaints of public Grievances before the SUPREME MAGISTRATE, or his *Representative*. But, this had no better Fate : It was indeed handed about the *Castle*, and copied by several ; so, that at last, it fell into the Hands of a Printer, who to make a Penny of it, published it with an odd, humourous Preface, and an hieroglyphical Frontispiece, under the Title of SOME BODY's Letter to *some* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

IN the former Paper, Mr. *Lucas* plainly demonstrates the Iniquity of the then *Judges* ; what this Kingdom has often suffered by the *Corruption* and *Servility* of dependent and mercenary *Judges* ; how rigorously they were punished, by hanging in the great ALFRED's Time, forty in one Year, by hanging many others since, and by banishing some into *Ireland*, where, *He humbly presumes they propagated*.

It is easy to conceive what numerous and powerful Enemies, this must have raised to Mr. *Lucas*. Before, he had many declared Friends upon the Benches, most of whom were now turned to the Reverse ; particularly, the *chief Justice*, who upon other Occasions, has been heard to compliment Mr. *Lucas*, with telling him publicly, that *he was an Honour to his Country, and an Ornament to his City ; that the Government in general were highly obliged to him for his Courage and Public Spirit, and the Judges in particular*. But, when his Lordship found, that *Lucas* was no *Temporiser*, and that he paid no *Respect to Persons*, but reduced the Enemies of the Liberties of his Country, of all Denominations,

tions, to one contemptible Class, in which he ranked and held his *Right Honourable chief Flatterer*; then his *Lordship* threw off the Mask; his *Gholer* rose, and his *Malice* boiled over upon all Occasions against Mr. *Lucas*, whom he frequently reviled and insulted even from the *Bench*, and publickly threatened with every violent Persecution. But, his Fury was raised to yet a higher Pitch than Words, as we shall shew in the Sequel.

MR. LUCAS unmoved to any Thing, but Perseverance, by this Treatment, thought it best to strengthen his Cause, by informing the Public of a true State of their Constitutional Rights. And, judging Men's Attention more awake, when there is a Vacancy in their Seats in Parliament, he took that Opportunity of explaining the Constitution of the Kingdom and City, in several *Addresses* and *Letters* to the *Citizens* and *Freeholders*.

He published *twenty Addresses* on these Subjects; the two last of which, to wit, the *Nineteenth* and *Twentieth*, contain an Abstract of all the precedent, and a Vindication of them from the disingenuous Interpretations of a certain *Gentleman*, who wrote against them, under the Title of the *Cork Surgeon*, and others.

IN explaining the Constitution of the City, he found it necessary to transcribe, translate and publish one of the Charters of the City. This he dedicated to the KING, as the *Founder* and *Guardian* of all inferior *Bodies Politic*. And in his Dedication, states the principal Public Grievances of the Nation and City, in the most respectful, loyal and dutiful Manner, and shews how he was put under the invincible Necessity of appealing thus to HIS MAJESTY, by the *Judges* denying to do *Justice*, and by the *Lord Lieutenant's* paying no Regard to his *Complaints*.

THIS,

THIS, he presented, with an Introductory *Address*, to the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, on the late Anniversary of his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. Their *Excellencies* received Mr. *Lucas* politely, accepted of his Book for the King, with one for each of themselves, gratefully, but, gave no positive Promise of transmitting it, as desired, to his Majesty.

THIS Book was said to be seen in the Secretary's Office, and it was upon that reported and generally believed, it had been sent in due Course, to the L——d L——t. This was confirmed by some *Irish* Gentlemen, who told, upon their Return from *London*, that his E——y said he had received Mr. *Lucas's* Dedication to the King.

HOWEVER, in a few Days after the Lord P——te's Return from *England*, this Book was returned to Mr. *Lucas* by Secretary L——n, with an Answer from their E——s, after above a Month's Consideration; *that they did not think proper to send it to the King*. Which shews, *they* would have the Subjects believe, that nothing is to be laid before his Majesty, but what *they* his Ministers and Servants, think fit! Though this was heretofore deemed a Crime, for which some of their Predecessors were brought to condign Punishment!

It might, not unreasonably, be imagined, that less powerful Opposition might cool the Courage and damp the Zeal of this most indefatigable Assertor of Liberty. But, to our Astonishment! We find, that, in this, it rather raised and inflamed both!

Now, the utmost Vengeance, Violence and Outrage were from all Quarters openly denounced and menaced against Mr. *Lucas*; yet, he pursued his wonted Course and Purposes, with inflexible Steadiness and Uniformity. Among many other Evils,
those

those that have since been perpetrated, were publicly threatened to be inflicted, the first Day of the Session, if the *L——d L———t* did not take a shorter Method before the Meeting of *P———t*. And it is now no Secret here, that the Chief Measures, since taken against Mr. *Lucas*, were concerted by some of the Heads of the *Junto* of his *I---s* Persecutors at several Meetings in *London*.

MANY of Mr. *Lucas*'s Friends were frightened by the Weight of Power, now ready to be let loose upon him. He himself stood unmoved, his Friends say, immoveable.

AMIDST this Commotion in the City, Intimations were given, another public spirited Writer, who ventured, at much Hazard, to imbarque in Mr. *Lucas*'s Cause, that if they would in some of their Papers, but pay some Compliment to a certain renowned Commander in *Scotland*, or recommend the History of his great *Exploits* and Military *Atchievements*, commonly called, *his TRYAL*; it would stop the Progress of the impending Persecution. But, this moved no other Passion than Contempt or Indignation in either Bosom; so each steadily pursued the firm Purposes of free and loyal Hearts.

MR. *LUCAS* determined to leave no Stone unturned, that stood in the Way of bringing the Charter and Dedication before the King. He therefore wrote an *Address* to the *L—— L———t*, had it printed, and one prefixt to the Charter for the King, and another to the Copy, for his *E———y*; and, with a Set of the *Addresses* to the Citizens, presented them to him at the *C—e*, the 3d Day of *October*.

HIS *E———y* thankfully accepted of the Papers, and gave Mr. *Lucas* an Opportunity of acquitting himself of the Aspersions thrown upon him,

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by

by some Men in Power. He applauded the Sentiments of *Liberty* and *Loyalty*, Mr. *Lucas* expressed upon the Occasion, and recommended to him the manifesting them in his future Writings and Conduct ; which he chearfully promised to perform, and departed, with Leave to wait upon his E———y again. But, upon his coming to the C——e to pay his *Devoirs* and receive his E———y's Answer, he was publickly turned out of the *Levee*, by an Officer, upon the L—— L———t's Command.

THIS was an unexpected Return for the utmost Respect, that could be shewn or expressed to the chief G———r. But, it was so far from dismaying or discouraging Mr. *Lucas*, that, the next Day, he published the Story in one of the public Papers, with *his Thanks* to his E———y for the Honour he did him. And the Day following, he published the *Address* to the L—— L———t, with a PREFACE to the *free and independent Citizens of Dublin*, and to the *free and loyal Subjects of Ireland* ; which fully explains and vindicates Mr. *Lucas*'s whole Conduct.

Now, every *Courtier* in Complaisance to the *Court*, carried Fury in his Looks, and breathed nothing but Rage, Resentment and Vengeance against so daring a Fellow, as this *Lucas*, who would not, *passively, tamely*, lay down his Neck to be trod on, even by the K——g's V——e-G——t. Consultations were called upon Consultations, to consider of some effectual Means to prevent this *insufferable Freeman's* Election. *Placemen, Pensioners* and *fawning Court-Dependents* of all Denominations, crowded and jostled each other for the foremost Rank, and the best Expedient for the wished-for Purpose.

MANY and various were the Means of Persecution proposed ; none of which was one Hour a Secret. That *Lucas* must be elected, by a vast Majority

majority of the *Citizens*, was taken, on all Sides, for granted. The Deliberation of these *wise, good* Men then, ran upon the preventing this Election, if possible. But, if that could not be done, with Ease and Security, under the *Advice* of the *sage* and *upright Judges*, and the *Influence* of *three Regiments* of the *standing Army*; his Election was to be declared void, or he was to be upon some Pretext, not yet discovered, *expelled* the House, as soon, as he should be returned.

ON these Deliberations, some slight Debates arose, both at the C——le, and at the Sp——r's, and as well, as in some private Meetings of a *Junto*, formed for the Purpose. Some said, there were no lawful or Parliamentary Means of obstructing, or interfering with an Election, especially in the *Capital*, and that, where a Man had made himself extremely popular, such an Attempt might be attended with fatal Consequences. This was answered with some Warmth, by a *worthy* * Member, who formerly, as strenuously contended for the *Liberties* of his Country, as he has since done for it's *Dependence* and *Slavery*. He said, "that it may be, there was no Precedent upon the Books for it, but, it was Time there should, and they had as good a Right, as their Predecessors, to make one: That it was hard, if they were not better *Judges* of who was fit to sit in the H——s of C——s, than a Parcel of *Taylors, Smiths, Merchants, Shoemakers*, and other *low, and ignorant Tradesmen*; and that, as for the Consequences, he saw none bad to be feared; for, the Sp——r had received Assurance, that the A——y, was in readiness to march on the firing of a *Rocket* from the C——e; so that if these *rude Tradesmen* or *Mob* presumed to stir, *they should be mowed down and trampled under feet by the A——y.*"

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* Sir R—— C——, Bart. in his Letter to the D—— of D——t, upon the Manufactures of Ireland.

THE Majority concluded, “ this was *bravely spoke*, and that by the same Means, if the first proposed Project should by any Accident fail, as by *too many* of the usually *inattentive Country Members* coming to Town, which by Secrecy and Expedition in their Proceedings, might be prevented, his Papers may be voted *traitorous* and *seditionous* and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common *Hangman* ; or, he may be declared an *Enemy* to his Country, upon which his Election may be made void, or he may be *expelled* the House, and he may be close confined in Goal, where he cannot possibly live long ; by which they may, without any Trouble, get quite shut of this *pestilent, intractable Fellow*.”

THESE Hints were reckoned *sage, seasonable* and *just*, by most of the Set. But some whose *Qualms* of Conscience had not been quite *allayed*, murmured half silent Disapprobation ; and upon being urged, cautiously declared their Opinions against burning the Papers. It was said, ‘ that they could
 ‘ not condemn the Papers without Reading them ;
 ‘ that in the time requisite for Reading them,
 ‘ all the *Country Members* would by some Means or
 ‘ other, be brought to Town ; and that they would
 ‘ never consent to having such a System of the Con-
 ‘ stitution of I——d and E——d, as they look-
 ‘ ed upon these Papers to contain, publicly burnt.’ It was added, ‘ that *Lucas’s* Arguments to prove
 ‘ the *Independence* of the Parliament and People of
 ‘ I——d on the B——b L——re, which were the
 ‘ principal, tho’ Secret, Causes of his Condemnation,
 ‘ might possibly be espoused by some of these *Wrong-*
 ‘ *heads*, who would not submit to what the present *ru-*
 ‘ *ling Powers* wisely proposed for the *Honour* and *In-*
 ‘ *terest* of the Nation, an *absolute, passive Depen-*
 ‘ *dence* on the *British Ministry*, in all Matters what-
 ‘ soever ; therefore, to keep clear of all Opposition, it
 ‘ was

‘ was proposed, to prevent their being read ; but,
 ‘ that some Sentences may be picked out of them
 ‘ here and there, which may be read or repeated,
 ‘ by a Member and censured, without naming or
 ‘ entering them, in the *J—ls*, or *V—ts* of the
 ‘ *H—se* ; so that the Public should not be able
 ‘ to learn what the *H—se* condemned ; and that
 ‘ then the *disqualifying Votes* could not incense
 ‘ the *Multitude* so much, and may be past to the
 ‘ Satisfaction of the *C—t*, and with Safety to
 ‘ the *M—rs*.’

THIS Amendment past pretty well. But, yet some Doubts and Dissatisfactions still remained among a *few young* and *unexperienced M—s*. But, they were solved and silenced, by being told, ‘ that
 ‘ the *G—t* made a Point of preventing this
 ‘ dangerous Fellow’s Sitting in the *H—se* of
 ‘ *C—s*, and that every *M—r*, who opposed them, by appearing in his Behalf, would be
 ‘ marked out, as an *Enemy* to the *G—t*.’

THIS prevailing Argument had it’s Weight ; and now *Nemine Contradicente* was the Word.

ENCOURAGED by this the *candidate Aldermen*, who had in Effect, given up the Election, by deserting the Halls and all the public Meetings of the Citizens, now *manfully* rallied and *boldly* returned to the Charge : For, they appeared frequently at the *Castle*, and were sometimes seen, in *Carriages*, in the Streets.

THE Plan of Operations against *Lucus* was now laid, and the principal Part was published, without Fear, Shame or Reserve. But, those out of the Secret, looked upon it, as the Howlings and Yells of expiring *Faction*, not the Sense of any Body of the *C—s*, or the *G—t* of the Kingdom, so the whole Scheme was looked upon with more
 Disregard

Disregard and Contempt, than Dread, by most of the Citizens.

THE long wished-for first Day of the S——n at length came on. And, as it is the Fashion, with the M——s of both H——s, in that unhappy Country, every Day of the S——n, as well, as the first, to go to C——t, there to learn and observe the *Will* of the G——r, or M——r, not the *Sense* of the *People*; The *Junto* punctually attended this critical Day at the C——le. H— E——'s Sp——h, in which, a Paragraph was inserted of such doubtful Meaning, that it might be construed in any Sense, or no *Sense*, was shewn to the *Confidants* severally, as a *special* and *singular* Favour to each. It was enough to build on. And *Lucas's* Destruction was accordingly determined, on Pain of being reckoned an Enemy to the G——t.

FROM the C——le, the C——s went to attend upon the S——r. There the same Subject was started and dwelt on, till all were grounded in the Documents, they had received. The *Mover* and *Seconder* and *Supporters* of the Motion were all agreed on, and appointed, and nothing, but a Meeting was wanting, to carry the Plot into Execution, *Nemine Contradicente*.

SOME extraordinary Panic, notwithstanding seized the Perpetrators of this Scheme in the midst of their Pomp and Power: For, as if conscious of their evil Purposes, and dreading public Resentment, the A——y, which attended the L. L. to the P. H. and lined the Streets through which he past, were charged with *twelve Rounds* of Powder and Ball each man, of which the *Soldiers* made no Secret, but shewed them to several Citizens.

ALL Things thus prepared and adjusted, the S——n was opened with a S——h from the T——ne to both H——s of P——t; after which the C——s retired to their H——e, where

where a very uncommon Number of Citizens attended to hear the proceedings of a Day, big with the *Fate of Liberty* and the BEING of the I—b P——t.

WHEN the ordinary Business of the Day was over, in the H. of C. the *Signal* was given to the *Agents*, against *Liberty* and their *Country*, to make the Attack. But no Signal was answered: *The whole Assembly looked confused, and the most Part knew not wherefore they were come together.* And those who were set apart for the Work, projected against *Lucas*, sat long silent and aghast, pardon the Comparison, not unlike the *Assassins* employed to murder CATO. But, *one* more, hardy than the rest, came up to the *Principal*†, and asked him, in an horrible Mood, ‘why he did not begin and make the Motion against *Lucas*?’ To which the *Principal* answered, ‘he had rather any Body else should begin;’ and asked, why they did not pitch upon *Some body* ‘else to do their *dirty Work*,’ and concluded with swearing, ‘that if no-body else made the Motion, ‘it should be never made by him.’ Which seeming open Desertion of the Cause would, no doubt have been somewhat culpable in this Gentleman, had he been engaged in the Service, by any *Place* or *Pension*: For, whatever Trifles he might have got before, by way of *Presents* from the G——t or *Ministry*, he justly looked upon, but as *small Gratuities* for *past Services*. But, the *Second*‡, who lay under more visible Obligations, pressed him, with the Luckiness of the Opportunity; shewed, ‘that ‘there were none in the H——se, who dare ‘open their Mouths, but Friends, that it would ‘be carried *Nem. Con.* now or never.’ But the wise *Principal* was as immoveable as an unpaid *Swiss*; and judging that he had by his Writings against

† Sir R——C—— Bt.

‡ Dr. C——r, one of the Masters in C——ry.

gainst *Lucas* made himself of the utmost Importance in the Question, he sat still, horribly fullen and silent.—Finding it in vain to wait for the expected Motion, the H—se was adjourned till the next Day.

WHAT past upon this, at C—t, has not yet transpired. The Citizens rejoiced at this seeming Victory. The *Writs* were issued for the Election of Members for the City, and it was taken for granted, that no Step would be taken that might interrupt or affect the Freedom of Election, especially in the *Capital*. And some flattered themselves with the Notion, that the P——t would not in any Case proceed to the Censure of a Citizen of the *Metropolis*, which had then *no Representative in Parliament*. But, they were soon undeceived : For, the next Day, the Gentleman came to the H—e better prepared * to do Business. And then, the Member, who peremptorily refused it the Day before, lodged the following Complaint, which was received, and the annexed Orders made thereupon.

A Complaint being made to the House of a Dedication to the King, annexed to a Book printed in *Dublin* by *James Esdall*, several Addresses and Letters to the Citizens of *Dublin*, printed also in *Dublin* by *James Kelburn* or *James Esdall*, to which the Name of *Charles Lucas* is either prefixed or signed as Author, and several Papers called *Censors*, highly and unjustly reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant and Parliament, justifying the bloody and barbarous Rebellions in this Kingdom, and tending to create a Jealousy between the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to disunite the Affections of His Majesty's Common Subjects, closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests, and some Paragraphs in the said Addresses being read.

Resolved,

* Promised the Place of *Collector* of the Port of *Dublin*, in the Room of *Mr. Folks*, who is to resign in his Favour.

Resolved, That this House will To-Morrow Morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take the said several Books and Papers into Consideration, and to enquire into the Publisher and Author of them.

Ordered, That *James Kelburn* Printer or Book-feller attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That *James Esdall* Printer or Book-feller attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That *Charles Lucas* Apothecary attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That the Persons who shall give their Testimony before the said Committee, be examined in the most solemn Manner.'

MR. LUCAS obey'd the Order of the H——se, and after Mr. *Kelburn* was examined as a Witness against him, he was called in, to give his Evidence, —— against himself.

HE came up to the Bar, and in a most respectful Manner, paid his Obedience to the H——se. The *Chairman* thought, he now had a good Opportunity of discountenancing and galling a Man, who was the only † Obstacle to his *nocturnal* Recreations in the Streets, and *Night-houses* of the City; and did not fear being able to confound or disconcert him by Severity and Harshness. He therefore, began, with setting a violent Front against the *Evidence on the Floor*; for, so Mr. *Lucas* was called; and said, 'Come on, Sir!—Upon which Mr. *Lucas* moved slowly and respectfully forward, judging he should not have come within, or far from, the Bar. But,

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Mr.

† M—— A—— M——— Esq; see CENSOR, No. III. See also, The Legion Club,

*Bless mine Eyes! the righteous M—— n
Metamorphosed to a Gorgan! &c.*

Mr. *Chairman* cried, with some Vehemence, ‘ come on further, Sir!’—Mr. *Lucas* obeyed with Modesty, and all humble Reverence to the H——se. When Mr. *Chairman* with a more loud and angry Tone of Voice, repeated his Call of, ‘ come on, Sir! come on further yet, Sir!’—Upon which Mr. *Lucas* walked up near the Table. Then, Mr. *Chairman* cried out, ‘ Keep off Sir! You need not come ‘ so far Sir!’——To which Mr. *Lucas*, with great Composure replied. ‘ Sir, if you will please to order your Officer, to point out the Spot on which ‘ you would have me stand, you shall find I will ‘ stand on it, as firm and steady, as a Statue.’——By which Mr. *Chairman* was so disappointed and disconcerted, that, for some Minutes, he let *the Evidence* stand still, without appointing him any Ground, or proposing any Question. At length he resumed himself, and ordered the Clerk to put some of the *Addresses* to the *Citizens*, &c. into this *Evidence*’s Hand. Which being done, he asked *the Evidence*, if he was the Author of that Paper? But, one of the M——s got up, and moved, ‘ that ‘ *the Evidence* may be informed, to what Intent he ‘ was to be examined, and that a Complaint, to the ‘ foregoing Effect, was made against him, and that ‘ he might chuse whether or no he would answer a ‘ Question, that’——Here he was interrupted and called to Orders.

MR. LUCAS now saw, that he was prejudged, and that they wanted only his own Testimony to condemn him; and taking the Hint from the humane M——r, ‘ he desired to be informed, to what End he was to be examined?’ He said, ‘ he was glad to be called before so august a Tribunal, as that of the R——ve Body of the People of I——d; where he hoped to have an Opportunity of vindicating himself from many groundless, severe

severe Aspersions, and where he was assured, Innocence and Loyalty must ever find Friends, and even *Criminals* meet with every just and reasonable Indulgence.'—But, here Mr. *Chairman*, with more Truth, than Justice or Politeness, interrupted him, and said, with great Violence; 'Sir! You shall have no Indulgence here.' This somewhat disconcerted *the unhappy Evidence*. So that, he replied, (throwing the Book upon the Table;) 'Sir, I am sorry, to find, that in this H——se, I should be denied any Privilege of a Subject; and if this be the Sense of the H——se, I know not to what Purpose I stand here: I conceive, I have a Right'—Mr. *Chairman* rose violently in wrath, and cried, 'get out, Sir! get out! get out!' And as soon as the *Evidence* withdrew, 'Gentlemen, said He, —I am your Chairman, your Servant in this Place; you see how I am insulted by this Fellow, and the whole H——se in me; I hope you will support your own Honour.'—After a silent Pause among the Grave-ones, and some few smothered Laughs, which sounded not unlike *Hisses*, from those of greater Levity, Mr. *Chairman*, finding no M——r would rise to take up the Cudgels, contented himself with knitting his Brows and biting his Nails awhile, then called in *the Evidence* again, and with redoubled Rage, bid him give concise and peremptory Answers to the Questions he should put to him; and so asked him, as before, if he was the Author of these Papers, called a *Dedication* to the King and several *Addresses* to the *Freemen* and *Freeholders* of *Dublin*? To which Mr. *Lucas* answered; 'Sir, I cannot tell; for'—Upon which Mr. *Chairman* interrupting him, said, 'why not Sir? Why can't you tell, Sir?'—'I would not have you imagine, Sir,' says Mr. *Lucas*, 'that I prevaricate; I

scorn and am as much above it, as any Man.—It is true, Sir, I gave Papers of this or the like Title to a Printer to be published; but, whether or not these be they, I cannot tell; because several incorrect and spurious Copies of my Papers have escaped and got abroad without my Consent; and besides, some of them, with many gross Errors, were published by other Printers, without my Authority, for which I cannot think myself accountable.’ Upon which, one of the *Supporters* ||, cried out, ‘Mr. *Chairman*, this is trifling with the H——se. I would have this *Evidence* remember, that he is now examined before the H—— of C—— of I——d, and not standing before an inferior Corporation in the City, where he is heard with Applause, *brawling Seditious* by the Hour.’—But, this *learned Gentleman* was so discountenanced in this extraordinary Speech, even by the Party, that Mr. *Lucas* did not suffer much in being, as he was, prevented making any Reply.

AFTER this, Mr. *Esdall* was called in, but he did not appear. Upon which the M——r, who made the Complaint; and who kept out of the *Chair*, for the benefit of prosecuting, made the following Speech. ‘Mr. *Chairman*, I am sorry to find, we want so material an Evidence, as *Esdall*; but let *Kelburn* be called in, and I’ll warrant, we will prove a *very good Crime* upon this Gentleman.’

SOME were surprized, and others could not forbear laughing, at the Confusion, in which the *prime Orator* appeared. He sat down without correcting or perceiving his Blunder. And *Kelburn* was called in, and *Lucas* ordered to withdraw. Before they began to question *Kelburn*, the M——r † arose who first spoke on Mr. *Lucas*’s Behalf, and observed,

‘ that

|| R. M——l, Esq; one of his M——y’s Serjeants at Law.

† Tho. C——y, Esq;

‘ that though Mr. *Lucas* was called, an *Evidence*, and examined as an *Evidence*; yet here were *Evidence* called against him, to accuse him and prove him the Author of Papers, which were in some Measure censured by the House.’ He, therefore, moved, ‘ that Mr. *Lucas* should be called in again, that he may have the Benefit, the Law allows every Man that is accused, to hear and confront such *Evidence*, as are produced to prove him a Criminal.’ But, this Motion without any Debate upon it was overruled, or dropt. So *Kelburn*’s Testimony was received. But, he proved so willing, so forward, and withal so inconsistent an Evidence, that his Testimony answered no End of the Prosecutors. For instance, he at first swore, that he printed all Mr. *Lucas*’s Addresses and several other Papers for him, some of which he named, unasked. Afterwards, upon being asked, what Number of *Addresses* he had printed? He swore to *eleven*. Then, upon being asked, if he was a Printer? He said, he was not, but that he got them printed for him. He was asked, by whom? He said, by one *Bate*. And upon enquiring how many Addresses *Bate* had printed for him; it appeared, that he had printed only *ten* on *Kelburn*’s Account; but that he printed the *eleventh* on his own, to secure a Debt due to him, upon *Kelburn*’s absconding.

THIS Evidence proving insufficient, Mr. *Lucas* was again called in, and asked several smooth artful Questions to lead him to give a positive Answer. But he, as cautiously, evaded giving such, ’till the H——e should inform him, whether they purposed to take *definitive Cognizance* of it, or meant to send him to be tried upon an *Im — t*, by the *Lords*. “ He told them, that if either was the Intention of the H——e, they should find him ready to save them much Trouble in examining *Witnesses*, by giving them all the Testimony, they desired, in the most categorical Answers to ————

Questions, they should propose: For, he wished for nothing more, than to be brought to a final, legal Trial; but, while he was threaten'd with Prosecutions, nay, Persecutions, in *inferior* Courts, he hoped, "—— Here he was borne down by a general Clamour, and ordered to get out. But, an hopeful young Patriot, a * Branch of a good Stock, moved to have Time given Mr. *Lucas*, to consider of the Matter and to prepare Answers for the Questions asked him by the H—se. After some Debate and Opposition, it was at last agreed, that the H—se, who were at a loss how to proceed further, should indulge him, with further Time,—to *criminate* himself, 'till the *Monday* following, as appears by the Abstract of the *V—s*:

"THE Order of the Day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the Matter of Complaint of a Dedication to the King, annexed to a Book printed in *Dublin* by *James Esdall*, several Addresses and Letters to the Citizens of *Dublin*, printed also in *Dublin* by *James Kelburn* or *James Esdall*, to which the Name of *Charles Lucas* is either prefixed or signed as Author, and several Papers called *Censors*, highly and unjustly reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant and Parliament, justifying the bloody and barbarous Rebellions in this Kingdom, and tending to create a Jealousy between the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to disunite the Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects, closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests, and to enquire into the Publisher and Author of them."

"Ordered that *Charles Lucas*, Apothecary, do attend the said Committee."

THE Town was now alarmed and in the utmost Consternation. This eminently loyal People now
saw

* The Honourable Mr. *J—f—n*.

saw their City without a Representative, the Election posted to come on in a few Days, and a *Citizen* and *Candidate*, harraßed and distressed, and likely to be further embarassed, if not destroyed, without Mercy, without Law, or the Form or Shadow of either ! What was to be done ? They ran about the Streets, enraged and distracted, openly vowing Vengeance and Destruction on the Authors of this Distraction. But, this Ardour was every where suppressed or allay'd, by Mr. *Lucas*, who ran through the Town to all their Meetings, and expostulated with them upon their rash and destructive Purposes, and exhorted them to *Peace* and a due submissive *Regard* to the L ——— re ; since, *Force* and *Violence* could serve no Purposes to the Sons of *Liberty*, and were the very Engines to which their *Enemies* had Recourse, when *Corruption* and *Fraud* were found to fail.

Thus, by Advices and Remonstrances of this kind frequently made in his *public Orations* and *Addresses*, particularly in the *Nineteenth*, and in the Preface to his *Address* to the L ——— L ——— t, he suppressed all Tendencies to Tumults or Breaches of the Peace. And it is remarkable, there never was known the Eye of an Election so peaceful, and quiet, as that of the most critical one, *Dublin* ever saw, was kept by the pacific Exhortations and Patriot-Care of this poor Man, who is now charged with all the contrary Vices !

ALL honourable Expedients wers quite ineffectual to extricate this unhappy Man from the Troubles, in which his unshaken Virtue and public Spirit had involved him. He expostulated with many of the M ——— s upon the Heads of his Accusation, and the Manner of their Proceedings against him. Such, as would hear him, were forced to confess themselves convinced of his Innocence and Integrity.

grity. The *principal* † M——r declared, ‘ that he knew no Objection to Mr. *Lucas*’s Person, Character or Conduct ; that no Man approved his Spirit of Liberty, more than he ; and that he knew nothing to prejudice him, but his having exposed some *Powerful Individuals*, by which they were so far irritated, as to set themselves with all their Force most violently and implacably against him.” This Gentleman, unwilling to risque any part of his Popularity, had all along affected to declare, upon some hot-headed M——s saying, as they often did, that if *Lucas* were elected by ever so great a Majority, the C——s would never permit such a *Fellow* to sit among *them*, “ that if he were *elected* fairly, he should *fit* in the *House*.” — Thus did this *great cunning* Man keep *two Strings to his Bow* ; when he well knew the Scheme laid to subvert the Freedom of the City Election ; and that neither this nor any other P——ry Project could be framed or carried into Execution, without his *Sovereign* Direction or Permission !

SUCH must be the Power of *Faction* in all long P——ts ! And how could it be better in I——d, where the P——t is looked upon as *Perpetual* ! or the Seats there, *hereditary* or *transferable* !

WELL ! the Day appointed for giving public Sanction to this predetermined, critical Cause came on. Early on *Monday* Morning, the Citizens of all Ranks crowded to Mr. *Lucas*’s House. All resolved to accompany him to the P——t-H——e, and most of them firmly determined to share his Fate ; though they knew, that from the Temper and Disposition of the *Rulers*, the worst was to be expected.

He expressed the utmost Gratitude to them, for this new Instance of their Affection for him ; but, most earnestly exhorted them to a patient Resignation

† The Right Hon. H — B —, Esq; S — —.

tion to the Will of the H——e; shewing them, that their Opposition could not be attended with any useful, and may with very destructive Consequences.

FINDING this Advice and Remonstrance not likely to produce the desired Effect, he proposed another Expedient, from which he expected little more than diverting the Populace from violent Purposes; he observed to them, that every one of them had a Right to make his Sentiments on this Occasion known to the P——t. And that they might draw up a Petition and have it presented to the H——e. This Proposal was universally relished; and thereupon a PETITION, of the several *Citizens of Dublin*, whose Names were subscribed, was drawn in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Citizens of the said City, setting forth, the present Circumstances of the City, having then *no Representative* in P——t; that the Writs were issued and the *Election* posted by the Sheriffs of the City; and submitted, that censuring a *Citizen*, who had *no Representative* in the House, and one of the *Candidates*, would be injurious to the Rights of the Subject, and to the Freedom of Election; and praying that the Consideration of the Complaint against *Charles Lucas*, might be postponed, 'till after the Election, or the Call of the H——e, or such other Relief as the H——e should think fit, &c.

THIS was signed by as many Citizens, as Mr. *Lucas's* House could contain. And then, they set out in Coaches to the P——t H——e. Never was any Occasion known, which brought together such a Concourse of People in *Dublin*. It was extremely difficult, even for Carriages, to wade thro' the Crowd. And it is scarce possible to conceive the Rage and Indignation universally prevalent in the Populace. As, many Interruptions were given the Carriages, and Mr. *Lucas* was every where sur-

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rounded and teized by the fond and incensed Multitude, who vowed nothing less than the Destruction of his Enemies, he expostulated with them upon their lawless and dangerous Resolutions, and exhorted them, " to desist from their mistaken Purposes, and to disperse;" assuring them, " that nothing could serve him or the Cause of Liberty, in which alone, he hoped they would support or countenance him, but their comporting themselves with just Submission, strict Decency and good Order." He told them, " there was nothing to be feared, from the Power and Awfulness of the Tribunal, before which he was to appear, by loyal Subjects." And begged, " they would leave him to himself;" assuring them of Hopes, " that he would shortly be able to extricate himself and them from impending Troubles, by the Force of Justice and Law alone." He thanked them, for these new Marks of their Affection, and assured them, of his invariable Intention to assert the Freedom and Rights of his Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens, upon all Occasions, to the last Gasps of his Breath."

WITH Remonstrances and Declarations of this kind, he calmed and soothed them; and so suppressed the rising Tumults, that every where threatened to burst forth, like a Thunder-Cloud, into Fire and Fury; and, at length, well tired and almost hoarse with addressing Multitudes, he arrived at the P——t H——e. He sent certain Friends before him to prepare some M——r to introduce the Petition. But, in vain; none could be had, that would venture to embark in so hazardous a Cause. Before he was called in, he tried to get some M——r to bring in the Petition; but, with no better Success: He was told, that it was all in vain to attempt any Opposition; that the Affair was concerted and determined, long before it came there; and that every

every Man came now prepared to act the part, he was directed, regardless of every principle of Reason and Justice ; that some M____rs, finding this, through Shame and Despondency, retired to the Country ; that there were no M____rs in the H____e, but the *Creatures* and *Minions* of the C____t, who were determined to finish the Affair before the Country M____rs could come to Town ; and that he must prepare for the worst, with all his Resolution ; but, that it was impossible to assist or advise him."

THIS melancholy Prospect could not fail of moving a Mind less sensible of public Ills, than that with which every Man, who has read any of Mr. *Lucas's* political Papers, will judge him actuated. However, he was far from being shocked or dispirited. He said, " he was long prepared for the worst, that Fortune could do to him ; but, that he was sorry to find his Country was to bleed, and that by the Hands of her unnatural Children : That it was doing him too great an Honour to wound her through his Sides ; but, that as all these Things could not be effected, without the immediate Direction, or Permission of a SUPREME POWER, he would submit, and endeavour to bear them, as became a good Subject and a Christian."

THIS Conversation pass'd with some M____rs, in the C____t of R____ts. Soon after it ended, and they had entered the H____e, Mr. *Lucas* was called in. His kind *Friend*, the *Chairman*, put him in mind of the Indulgence of the H____e, in allowing him a longer Day to answer the Questions proposed to him, when he was last called before them ; and now desired he would give direct and concise Answers to these Questions. And then, ordered the *Clerk* to put the *Addresses* to the *Citizens*, &c. into his Hand. Whereupon, Mr. *Lucas* answered him, to the following Effect :

“ SIR, I gratefully acknowledge the *Indulgence* of the House, in allowing me a further Day to answer these Questions ; I have made the best Use of it, that Time and Circumstances would permit. But, the only End, that so much Time could possibly serve, was to let me see the great Weight and Importance of the Points, that must be put to Issue, by my answering these Questions. I am ignorant of the Law, and unacquainted with P———y Proceedings ; and these happen at a Time when there are no Lawyers, except the M——s of this H——e in Town ; therefore I stand utterly unadvised before you. I have looked over the Papers pointed at by the H——e, in the Hands of the Clerk. I have looked over the Complaint entered in the J——l and V——s against me. I find the Papers, with the Writing of which I am charged, and about which I stand here examined, are already censured and condemned ; and that the H——e is now in search of legal Proof against the Author. I have already informed you, Sir, the Principles upon which I am willing, nay desirous, to give you a positive, definitive Answer ; but these are Conditions, with which, it seems, I am not to be indulged. Now, Sir, though I am as little concerned for mine own Fate in this Enquiry as any Body can wish, yet, as I apprehend, the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of this Kingdom in this Question concentrate in so mean and contemptible a Point, as my poor Person ; that it is a Question, on which the Priviledges, nay, the very Being of this H——e, of the P———t and Kingdom depend, I must think it my Duty to preserve every Right of a Subject, as far, as it is committed to me ; and therefore, I hope it cannot be disagreeable to the H——e, that I insist on *my Right* of refusing to answer this Question, upon any other Terms, than those I had before proposed, which

which was no more than the bringing me before a Court of *definitive Judgment*."

AN Answer to this Purpose was probably expected from Mr. *Lucas*, by the *Ministry*. And, therefore, one of the *L——d L——t's Secretaries*, unable to conceal how far he and his Master were concerned and interested in this Prosecution, brought the *Dedication* to the King, the *Address* to the Lord Lieutenant, and the *Addressees* to the Citizens, with which poor Mr. *Lucas* had the other Day presented *his E——y*, to the House in his Pocket; and to cover the *L——d L——t's* unprecedented, unparalleled Forwardness in this Persecution, got an *Address* moved to be made to *his E——y*, for the laying these Papers before the *H——e*; which Motion for an *Address*, though generally known to be made *ex post Faëto*, was formally entered in the *J——l*, and published in the *V——s*, as if done in due Course and Form.

AFTER a Pause of some Minutes, Mr. *Chairman* produced the Books Mr. *Secretary* laid before the House, and asked Mr. *Lucas*, if he knew these Books? To which he answered, He could not tell. — He was bid to look them over, and then ask'd the same Question again. To which he made the same Answer. Upon which, Mr. *Chairman* thought fit to insinuate, that these were Prevarications, and so put the Question in another Form. To which Mr. *Lucas* replied, " Sir, low as Providence has placed me in Life, I reverence Truth and detest every Tendency to Falshood, as much as any Man. I might make you the same Answer to this Question, as I did to the former. But, Sir, I will be more explicit, and shew you, that I am far from intending any Degree of Prevarication; for however I may revere and honour the *H——e* of *C——s*, I do not at all fear it: For *Fear* is only for *Slaves*, or *Criminals*; and I am neither. That I did give
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the *L——d L——t* three Books of these or the like Titles, and in these or the like Bindings, I do confess; but, as I am now examined, as an *Evidence* before you, and as an *extraordinary Evidence*, against no other than *myself*, I hope, though I am not absolutely sworn, it will not be judged wrong, that I answer, with just Regard to Truth, with all imaginable Caution and Tendernefs. You see then, Sir, that these Books were not in my Custody, by the Quarter from whence you obtained them; therefore, I cannot positively say, if I would, that these are the identical Books I delivered at the *C——e*. Though, if they were, I humbly conceive it would be no legal Proof of my being the Author of them; and whether or no, I hope the *L——d L——t* is not to come before this *H——e* to give Evidence against me."

UPON this, he was turned out by an Exclamation, as loud and violent as it was general. Great Art and Industry were expended in making this Speech criminal, but whether it was so or not, there was now too much Heat and Confusion to make it out. When their Rage subsided a little, they desired he should be again ask'd, whether he was the Author of these Papers; and so they call'd him in again. As soon as he came within Sight of the Bar, the *Chairman* cried out, "no Reflections, no Reflections, Sir, upon *my L——d L——t*." — *Mr. Lucas*, unwilling by his Motion to interrupt the *Chairman*, made some Stops in coming toward the Table; upon which *Mr. Chairman*, with great Indignation and Vehemence, every now and then, cried out, "come on, Sir! come on, Sir! answer the *H——e*, Sir! but no Reflections on *my L——d L——t*, at your Peril, Sir! or on any Body, Sir! Come, Sir! take them Books in your Hand, look them over, Sir! and answer, whether you are the Author of them? without any Reflections, directly, Sir."

Sir."—Mr. *Lucas* took the Books one after another in his Hands, looked upon them, and then said to this Effect.——“ Though I am called an *Evidence*, Sir, I cannot forget, and I hope the *H_____* will consider, that I stand here upon the *Defensive*; I never sought to throw a Reflection upon any Character, nor should I presume to attempt it in this *H_____*, at present, were it necessary. You must see the Nature of the Case, and I hope you will find, I have said and done nothing but what was my Duty, when I stood in Defence of the Freedom and Right of my FellowSubjects and myself; in regard of whom, I now claim the same Liberty in answering this Question, that I did before; I decline answering it, either in the *Negative*, or *Affirmative*, till I am assured that I am brought to a *final Trial*.”

HE was now turned out again, with no less Violence than before. But, upon some Hesitation, how to dispose of him, all Doubt and Difficulty was readily obviated by a very eminent Lawyer †, who rose to great Esteem and Favour with the Public for having been reputed to have long resisted high Temptations from the *Ministry*. This made him so popular, that the Citizens of *Dublin* conferred a very honourable and important Employment upon him. But, upon his joining with the *Aldermen* against the *Commons*, contrary to his Declaration and Promise, in which, and some other remarkable Instances, of Misconduct, Mistake, or Neglect of his Office; which were discovered by Mr. *Lucas*, who could never keep Secrets of that Kind; and upon its being some Way found out, that the utmost Bribe, offered the Gentleman, by any *Lord Lieutenant*, was the *Commission* of a *Captain of Horse*, which any grave *Barrister* beside, would rather look
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† *E_____n S_____*, Esq; late Recorder of *D_____*

on as a *Banter*, than boast of, and set it forth, as the Test of his *Patriotism*; these unlucky Things being discovered, and principally by Means of Mr. *Lucas*, this learned Gentleman was put under some Sort of Necessity of quitting his Place in the City, and was now glad of a favourable Opportunity of wreaking his Vengeance on a Man, on whom he had long looked with a malevolent Eye. Therefore, he set himself with all his Might and Virulence against Mr. *Lucas*. In order to shew his Malignity with greater Ease and Security, he moved, that Mr. *Lucas* may be dismiss'd from further Attendance upon the H——e. This produced two Effects to this Gentleman, as well as to the rest of the H——e, very desirable. First, the removing Mr. *Lucas* out of his Sight and Hearing; Secondly, the getting shut of the Populace, whose Number and Noise became a little disagreeable, if not dreadful, to Men, who could not be insensible of the Evils in which they had imbu'd their Hands.

THE Motion in all Respects answered his Expectations: It was receiv'd and approv'd by the H——e; *Lucas* was dismiss'd, and most of the People follow'd him.

Now, all the Engines were set to work. One *Courtier* vied with another to shew his Zeal in blackening *Lucas*. But none was so presumptuous as to touch upon the chief, the secret Objection to him, which was his asserting the *Independency* of the Kingdom of *Ireland* on any other Legislature, than her own. Even his E——'s chief Agent, the *principal Prosecutor* † though to ingratiate himself to the *Ministry*, he now contended for the *Dependency* and *Slavery* of that Nation, in his matchless Writings against Mr. *Lucas*, under the Title of the *Cork Surgeon*, and in his Conversation at the C——le, maintained, that *the whole Nation was*, in Effect,

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† Sir R—— C——, Bart.

Effect enslaved and submitted to it at the Revolution; yet, he never dared to assert his new destructive Doctrine of *Dependancy* and *Slavery*, in P———t; on the contrary, he was so far terrified from going this, his intended Length, that he was forced to declare in public, that he would not only avoid that Point himself, but would move for the Expulsion of any M———r, that should dare to touch upon it.

HOWEVER, something must be done agreeable to the Scheme laid down, and in some Sort of Answer to his E———y's Sp———b. In vain then, were the fullest and strongest Remonstrances of a few Patriot Members†, against the proposed Measures. Shewing, " that the whole *Addresses* were but one connected and continued Chain of Narration and Reasoning, which could not be understood in separate Sentences or Paragraphs; that no Writing, not even sacred Scripture, could stand such a Test: for, that any Man may extract *Treason* from *Acts of Parliament*, and *Blasphemy*, or *Atheism* from the *Bible*, by taking them by Fragments, or broken or inconnected Sentences; that therefore to judge justly of these Papers, the whole should be carefully read over, by which Means, the Meaning and Intentions of the Author, upon which alone he should be judged, could appear. That then, and not till then, the House could proceed to censure these Papers; that, in Case they were criminal, which was not yet justly or properly proved, yet nothing hitherto offered was legal Proof, that Mr. *Lucas* was the Author; that if the House went into that Enquiry, they had no Method of punishing the Au-

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† Rt. Hon. Sir T——s, P———t Bart. Hon. Mr. J——n, Mr. C——y, Mr. M——y, Mr. H——d, &c.

thor, but by *Impeachment*, which would bring the Trial before the *Lords*; for, that it was against every Principle, and the common Course of Justice, to send any Person from a *superior* to an *inferior* Court, to be tried; That if they did not proceed to an *Impeachment*, Mr. *Lucas* should be heard in his own Justification; for, that to censure a Man unheard, was robbing him of an inherent, a most essential Privilege of the Subjects of these free Kingdoms;” these, and many such like Arguments made no Impression: The Gentlemen on the other Side came too well prepared to be moved by any thing that could possibly be offered in the H——e. The *chief Agents* brought their Motions, the Sum of their respective Instructions, ready drawn in their Pockets. Then the Report of the *Committee*, to which the Consideration of these Papers was referred, which, *according to Order*, was called a C——ee of the whole H——e, though not one *third* of the *Members* was yet come to Town, nor ever does in I——d, till the Elections are over, was received. As the whole is very remarkable, I beg leave to transcribe it, and add the cursory Animadversions of a free *British* Subject.

VOTES of the H——se of C——s
of I——d, of

Oct. 16. 1749.

R E S O L V E D, that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the several printed Papers, intituled a Dedication to the King, an Address to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*, a *second*, a *fourth*, an *eighth*, a *tenth*, an *eleventh*, and a *fifteenth* Address

dress to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*, subscribed *C. Lucas*, referred to the Consideration of this Committee, contain several Paragraphs highly, falsely, and scandalously reflecting on his E——cy the Earl of ——, L——d L———t of this Kingdom, and tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions which have been raised in this Kingdom, and to create Jealousies between his Majesty's Subjects.

Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that *Charles Lucas* of the City of *Dublin* Apothecary, is Author of the said printed Papers.

Resolved, that it appears to this Committee that the said *Charles Lucas* has in some of the said printed Papers, scandalously and maliciously misrepresented the Proceedings of the present House of Commons, and highly reflected on the Honour and Dignity thereof.

To which Resolutions the Question being severally put, the House did agree, *Nemine contradicente*. Then,

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that the said *Charles Lucas* is an Enemy to his Country.

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that an humble Address be presented to his E——cy the L——d L———t, that he will be pleased to direct his Majesty's Attorney-General, to prosecute the said *Charles Lucas* for his Offence, in writing and publishing the said seditious and scandalous Papers.

Ordered, that the said Address be presented to his Excellency, (in due Form.)

Ordered, *Nemine contradicente*, that the said *Charles Lucas* for his Infringement and Violation of the Privileges of this House, be committed close Prisoner to his Majesty's Goal of *Newgate*, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.

THEN the *prime Agent* †, made a pompous Harangue on the Greatness, Wisdom and Justice of these Proceedings of the H—e of C——s. He took the Advantage of the Silence of the few desponding and dejected Members, who spoke in Behalf of Mr. *Lucas*, (some of whom seeing themselves unable to stem or stand the Torrent, withdrew before the Questions were put in the House,) and greatly exulted upon their *Unanimity*. He was followed by Mr. S——d and others, who complimented the People in the Gallery, and said, “ They were glad to see so many sensible, discerning and judicious Citizens in the Gallery, who must inform their Brethren of, and join with them in applauding the Wisdom, Equity and Justice, as well as *Unanimity* of the H—e of C——s, in thus cutting off this Disturber of the public Peace, this common Enemy, this baneful Pest of Society ; and after a few more such Compliments dealt to the H—e, and such Abuses to the unhappy CHARLES LUCAS, they adjourned and went to the C——le, to congratulate H— E ——— upon the Success of *his Forces* in P——t, without the Assistance of the *Standing Army*.

WITH most of these Gentlemen, the Night concluded with great Demonstrations of Joy, for the Victory gained over Liberty, which alone could eternally mar the Projects of an avaricious, or ambitious M——y. But, on the other Hand, such Lamentations, such Mourning, such Distraction, as overwhelmed the loyal Friends of Liberty, was never before known in *Dublin*.

THE Destruction of the *chief Agents*, by Name, was publicly avowed in the open Streets ; and *Placards* threatening Vengeance on them, were posted up in several public Places, and sent in anonymous Scrolls and

† Sir R. C.

and Letters to their Dwellings, upon the Principles of Colonel *Titus's Killing no Murder*. For, the preventing which, and the apprehending the Aggrefors, the *Common-Council* soon after juſtly promiſed the Informer a Reward of one *hundred Pounds*.

MR. LUCAS alone ſtood unmoved amidſt this general Convulſion: For, though he foreſaw and dreaded the fatal Conſequences of the violent Meaſures concerted againſt him and againſt his Country; yet he ſwerved not a Shade from his Duty, and the Principles he publicly avowed. As ſoon as he was diſmiſſed by the H—e of C——s, he went to the *Guild Hall*, where his Brethren the *Merchants* were aſſembled. He addreſſed them in the uſual Terms, and ſpoke in every Debate that aroſe, till the Hall was ready to break up. An Account of the proceedings of the C——s was ſoon brought there. He heard it without any viſible Emotion, or Alteration in his Conduct. And his Friends and Enemies agree that he never was heard to ſpeak with greater Propriety and Juſtneſs of Diction and Elocution, or greater Force and Energy of Eloquence, than on this Occaſion, though the Meaſures of the C——s ſtruck a general Damp upon his Friends, and ſurprized and ſhocked ſome of his more moderate Antagoniſts.

THE general Conſternation in the Hall was not a little increaſed by hearing a very loud Noiſe of a Multitude below Stairs. The Door was ſoon aſſailed with ſome Knocks, which ſtruck a general Pannick upon the Aldermen preſent and their Adherents and Creatures, who now dreaded the long threatned Fury of the incenſed Populace; and therefore, ordered the Door to be kept cloſe. The Noiſe and Tumult increaſing, Mr. *Lucas* addreſſed the Maſters and “deſired Leave to withdraw, as he apprehended they were likely to do no more Buſineſs; that he would go to ſubmit to his Fate,
which

which he hoped would soon appease and quell this Tumult." The Masters, one whereof was an *Alderman*, judging justly, that Mr. *Lucas's* going would probably divert the Populace another Way, at least long enough to give them Time to retreat to some better Place of Safety, readily agreed to his Request, the Door was opened, and Mr. *Lucas*, withdrew, but was laid hold on by the Arms, as soon as he got out.

He demanded who and what they were, that thus seized him, by what Authority and to what Purpose? They soon gave him to understand, "they were his *Friends*, Friends to the Cause of *Truth* and *Liberty*, for which there were some Thousands, that would lay down their Lives, before he should suffer." And, before they permitted him to make any Answer, they conducted and supported him down the *Tholsel* Stairs, where he was received with the loudest Acclamations of an infinite Multitude. Then they stopped and asked him, whither he was going? He answered, home. "No," said they, "you are going to *Newgate*, by order of the H——e of C——s" and then swore, "he must go along with them, and that they would die Man by Man, before his Enemies should touch an Hair of his Head." This was confirmed by some universal Shouts. Then Mr. *Lucas* begged to be heard, and expostulated with them to the same Purport, he did in the Morning. "He shewed the Necessity of a peaceful Submission to the Determinations of Courts, even, when they were manifestly in the Wrong, in order to obtain the wished-for Cause, by course of Law, and to recover the strength of the civil Constitution, which was not to be done by Force; he hoped, they would not so soon shew his Labours and his frequent Exhortations to Peace and Loyalty fruitless, by opposing the

G——t

G——t by Force, while there was any Prospect, and Possibility of Redress of his and the Public Grievances by due Course of Law; he told them, he had not yet so much as seen the Order of the H——e of C——ns, and that he was going home to his Family; but, that if they had made such an Order, he judged himself absolutely obliged to pay it all due Obedience; that he would go to *Goal*, and if the *Goal* should be broke down about him, he would stick to the Ruins, 'till he was discharged by Law, while Law and Justice were attainable;" he shewed them, "that he was *no Criminal*, and that therefore, he had nothing to fear from the highest Powers; and that the Law must soon enlarge him, if he were confined, and added, that were it otherwise, he had rather suffer any Confinement, any Distress, nay, even disgraceful *Exile*; than a single Drop of civil Blood should be unjustly and unnecessarily spilled." He hoped, "they knew him too well to construe this into such a *fervent Compliance* with *illicit Power*, as could, in the future, give any Sanction to *Tyranny*, by a Precedent." He told them, "that he could not say, he approved the Measures he heard the C——s had taken; but that he at present judged, the best way of conquering and exposing them would be by a peaceful Submission; that then the M——rs now in Town would be more apt to judge coolly, and that by this means too, the Country M——s would be more incensed and more likely to condemn and reverse these Measures, than if they were opposed by lawless Force and Violence." He therefore, conjured them, "to leave him to himself a little;" assured them, "their Lives and Liberties were dearer to him, than his own; that they must be convinced of this, when they considered, that the many hard and tedious Conflicts, through which he had already struggled,

struggled, besides those, through which he was yet to pass, were all brought on, by his Sollicitude for the PUBLIC LIBERTIES; that the Horrors of them were so far from making him flinch, that they did but add Spurs to his Zeal, and should make him more steadily persevere in the Principles and conduct, which recommended him to their invaluable Love, to deserve which, should be the Study and Business of his Life.

THEY heard him patiently, and attentively, and expressed their Approbation with loud Shouts and Acclamations. He had many of the like Difficulties to encounter, before he could get to a Coach, that attended him. Before the Coach could be shut; for, both Doors were open, they insisted on his going home, and swore, they would guard him. It was in vain to contend. He drove home with greater Difficulty, if possible, than he set out with in the Morning. When he alight, he again harranged the Populace to the same Purpose, and with greater Energy; but, it was to no further effect, than to raise their Love and Admiration of him, and to rivet their Attachment to him more firmly, if possible.

FINDING it impossible to disperse them, for, the Multitude rather increased, than diminished while he stood before them, he took his leave of them and retired.

IN the House, he found great Numbers of his Friends, some with angry and revengeful, some with dismal, mourning Countenances. He soothed the one and solaced the other, and comforted both, with the chearful and resolute Manner, in which he spoke of, and determined to bear his Sufferings. As soon as had taken some small Refreshment, he said it was Time for him to make some Preparation for his intended Lodging. He therefore desired a
Friend

Friend or two to try to secure such an Apartment for him in *Newgate*, as might give him some Chance for his Life in Confinement; if such was not, as usual, engaged to some of the *Nobility* or *Gentry*. Soon after, he was invited to a Tavern, where a great Body of the *Merchants* were assembled. He waited upon them, and told them his Resolutions, with Regard to the Orders of the H—e of C—s; of which he received their general Approbation, with Assurance, “that they would elect him, tho’ he were in *Goal*, in the remotest part of the King’s Dominions.” Soon after, he told them, he had some Affairs to settle, before he should go into Confinement; that he was glad of this Opportunity of taking his leave of them, and that he would spend the Remainder of the Evening in taking leave of some other Friends, and in putting Matters in such a Posture, as would prepare him to attend the Call of the *Serjeant-at-Arms*, which he expected in the Morning.

AT his Return, he found several Friends at home, waiting to see him, particularly those, who went to prepare Lodgings for him in *Newgate*. They informed him, that they had secured him the best Room in the *Goal*; that they ordered it to be cleaned and a Fire made in it, and that to-morrow, they would have a Bed set up in it, at which he expressed himself pleased and thankful. Soon after, some other Friends informed him, that the S—r’s *Warrants* for apprehending him were actually issued; and that they were determined to take him, at a dead hour in the Night, and drag him to Confinement. Upon which Mr. *Lucas* said, “they might have taken him all Day if they would, nay, that he would have gone to the proper Officer, or met him at the *Goal* upon a Message; but, that he would not be carried there by Force, and like a Thief

in the Night." So he went out and lay that Night at a Neighbour's.

NEXT Morning he came home, and found as great a Crowd at the Door, as was the Day before. He desired to be denied to all, but the *Serjeant-at-Arms*. But, his Friends met him and told him, they were disappointed in the Room ; that the *under-Goaler* said the Keys were taken from him, and that he could now give Mr. *Lucas* no other Accommodation, then the *Common Hall*, and a Bed of *Straw* among *Criminals* at Night. Upon which, his Friends apprehending this, a Scheme to take away his Life, knowing he could not live many Days in such Circumstances, conjured him to alter his Purpose of going to Goal, which he absolutely and peremptorily refused. At length they prevailed on him to keep out of the way for a Day or two, till he should gain Time to settle his Affairs, and to consult Lawyers and his Friends. To this, not without extream Reluctance, he submitted. But, would not consent to put on any Sort of Disguise, not so much as to go in a Coach or Chair ; but begging of the Populace not to follow him, walked through the Streets.

HE went to the House of a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, and sent for some of his select Friends. He told them, " he saw, their Intention to elect him was vain : For, as it could not be unanimous, whoever petitioned against him, would undoubtedly be preferred to him ; since, the same Persons, that condemned him, without any legal Evidence, and unheard, and voted him an Enemy to his beloved Country, would be Judges of that Election. Therefore, he recommended to them, to leave no Chance of bringing in an *Alderman*, by making a contestible Election ; but to pitch upon some unexceptionable *Freeman*, who was neither in
the

the Schemes nor under the Influence of the *Aldermen*, or the *Ministry*. He told them, he would not presume to prescribe to them ; that he did not set himself up, but upon their Entreaty, and that he would much less take it upon him to point out another, for whose Conduct he could not so well be answerable. He bid them remember the Principles he always recommended to their Consideration, act up to these, and they could not err in their Choice."

In the Afternoon, a Meeting of the Citizens was called. Several Candidates were spoke of ; but, none would stand it, without Mr. *Lucas's* Recommendation. Upon this, he was pressed to declare whom he would recommend. He told them, " he saw no Citizen, at present, equally deserving their Favour, with Mr. *Read*, Master of the *Company of Merchants* ; who proved himself in every Office, he served in the City, as well, as in private Life, a sensible, generous, public-spirited Man, a free and independent Agent, and a strenuous Opponent of the Tyranny of the *Aldermen*." This Recommendation gave general Satisfaction, and Mr. *Read* was this Night unanimously requested, by a great Number of eminent Citizens, to stand Candidate in Mr. *Lucas's* Room, to which, with most becoming modest Reluctance, he submitted.

As soon as this great Point was settled, Mr. *Lucas* sent to consult his Friends and Lawyers, on the Course necessary for him to take. It was on all hands agreed, that he must not think of going into Goal, if he could avoid it : For, besides it's being certain Death to him, as he would be confined in Chains and Darknefs, denied Pen, Ink and Paper, permitted to see no body, but common Criminals, with whom he was to lie on noisome Straw, in damp Dungeons at Night ; the sweet Reward of

his inculcating *Whiggism*, *Liberty* and *Loyalty* ! the inevitable Consequence of his going into Prison, would be a violent Tumult or an Insurrection in the City, in which *Military Execution* would be performed on his most zealous Friends. Of this he received many Assurances by Letters and verbal Messages from several Persons of good Intelligence and Distinction.

THESE Considerations could not fail of moving a Person of less Humanity and public Spirit, than this unhappy Loyalist appears to be. And, since he found himself utterly unable to stem the Torrent of adverse Power and Fortune longer, he yielded himself up entirely to the Direction of his Friends. Upon which, several of them engaged an open Boat, no Ship being ready in the Port, and took him with them to the *Isle of Man*. But, what Course he has since steered, whether he be alive or dead, or failed in Quest of Liberty and Justice to *Greenland* or *Guiney* is not yet certainly known.

WHO was ever known to undergo such Sufferings under a free Government ! to behold a Man labouring with indefatigable Industry, to illustrate the Excellencies and to distinguish the Health and Diseases of the Constitution of his Country, to shew the Offices and Duty of the Magistrates and Ministers of the State, the moral and legal Rights, Liberties and Duties of the Subjects ; to inculcate every social Viriue, Loyalty more especially ; to see him, for these admired, carressed and revered by the Generality of his Countrymen, but especially by his Fellow-Citizens ; who complimented him with the Freedom of their *Guilds*, loaded him with honourable Presents, and other Marks of their public Favour, and determined to elect him, as the Person best qualified, to represent them in Parliament, must surely gladden every generous and loyal Heart.

But,

But, to see such a Man assaulted by unprovoked Power, charged with, and condemned for Crimes unknown, and detested, in his Soul ; dragged from the faithful Bosoms of his mourning Friends, torn from a numerous, helpless, poor, innocent Family ; sentenced to deadly Goal, or hateful Exile, and cast down from a sure Prospect of being raised by Merit to one of the first Ranks in his own Country, to that of a *Fugitive*, a *Vagabond*, in a strange Land ! Such Scenes of undeserved Distress, must move the most obdurate Heart to Tenderness and Commiseration. But surely, no Subject under the Crown of *Britain* can fall under such Calamities, without moving and alarming every sensible and virtuous Member of the Community, from humane, as well as political Considerations : What must become of these Nations, when it becomes *criminal* and *penal* to assert sacred Truth, to inculcate genuine Loyalty, and to promote the Cause of Liberty, upon true *Revolutional*, upon *essential constitutional Principles* ! Who would wish to live in such dreadful Days !

WHETHER, or how far Mr. *Lucas* has receded from these Principles, his most inveterate Enemies have not justly yet shewn ; but, how far he attended and acted up to them will appear by a cursory Review of the Papers which were censured in the *Gross*, and supposed to be his.

BEFORE we proceed to this Review, it may probably be satisfactory to tender Minds to clear this unhappy Sufferer's Character from some additional Reflections now thrown upon it by his Enemies : For, it is observed, " that, though he said, *He would peremptorily stand the Poll, and maintain the Rights of his Electors, were there but ten to vote for him ; that he despised Imprisonment, and even Death, being ready to seal the Truths he asserted, and to testify his inviolable Attachment to the Cause in which*

he

he embarked, with his dying Blood ; yet, he basely broke his Word, abandoned his Friends in a critical Conjuncture, gave up the Election, and ran away like a Thief, or fled from Justice."

LET those, who make these Objections, shew, if they can, what this Man could have done more, than he has, to serve the Public, let them shew it possible for him to serve the People more effectually, than by *flying* ; let them prove, whether he can be said, more truly and properly, to have *fled from Justice* or from *illegal Oppression, rank Tyranny, glaring Injustice and Violence* ; and whether, if he had regarded *self* alone, any kind of *Death* would not be more eligible, than the matchless Sufferings, this ill-fated Man has already borne, and, if he lives, is yet to undergo ?——When I think of his Case, I cannot help running into the Exclamation of *Addison's CATO*, O ! Liberty !——O ! Virtue !——O ! my Country !

Now for a cursory Review of the censured Papers and a comparative Examination of the Proceedings had thereupon.

I BELIEVE the Persecutors of this unhappy *Affector* of the *Liberties* of his Country, must allow it, the fairest Method of arguing upon these Points, from the Paragraphs collected by the *Head* † of the Party, and by him animadverted upon, with the utmost Sophistry and Acrimony, in a Pamphlet by him published, intitled, a LETTER from a Member of the H——e of C——ns, to a chief Magistrate of a Borough : *Relative to the V—s of the H——e of C——s of the 16th of October, 1749*. This Letter was printed the Day following, which by the Bye, could not possibly have been done, if *that* and the *Proceedings*, for which he apologizes, were not concerted before they were made public.

IN

† Sir R—— C—.

IN the *Complaint*, exhibited by this *once* celebrated *Patriot* to the H—e, the second Day of the S—n, the Accusation was, that a *Dedication* to the King, *several Addresses* and *Letters* to the Citizens of *Dublin*, and several Papers called *Censors*, *highly and unjustly reflected on the King*, Lord Lieutenant, or, as that worthy M—r mouthed it in the H—e, *on his Majesty the L—d L—t and P—t*, justified the bloody and barbarous *Rebellions in Ireland*, and tended to disunite the *Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects*, closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests.

WHETHER this learned and ingenuous Gentleman meant our legal Sovereign Lord, THE KING, in this Complaint, or to compliment the L—d L—t of I—d, with the Title of King, or his Majesty, has not yet transpired, or whether he was unable to give any Colour to such a Charge, as *reflecting on the King*, or whether the L—d L—t declined assuming the Title of King, though thus offered him by the C—s, has not yet with Certainty been permitted to reach vulgar Ears. But, it is sure, that in the confirmed *Report* of the Committee, page 68, that Article is wisely and justly dropt, and the Tenor of the Accusation there, stands thus; *that the several printed Papers, intituled, a Dedication to the KING, a first, a second, a fourth, an eighth, a tenth, an eleventh, and a fifteenth Address to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, subscribed, and voted to be wrote by C. Lucas, contain several Paragraphs highly, falsely and scandalously reflecting, not on his Majesty, but, on his E—y the Earl of —, L—d L—t, of I—d, tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions, which have been raised in that Kingdom,*

Kingdom, and to create Jealousies between his Majesty's Subjects. To prove the Truth of which, and the *Wisdom and Equity* of the *Proceedings* of the H——e, this *worthy and most worshipful Member* wrote the *Letter* above recited to the chief Magistrate of *his Borough*. He lays down the Heads of his *Accusations* of *Mr. Lucas* as methodically, as emphatically.

I SHALL not at present, trouble the Reader with a critical Examination of this *most curious Letter*. I shall content myself, and I hope the Reader also, with extracting and stating, in a true Light, the Paragraphs *this Author*, recites from *Lucas's Works*, which were censured by the H——e. He distinguishes *Lucas's Crimes* under several Heads, thus,

“ *Scandalous and false Reflections on the Lord-Lieutenant.* ”

UNDER this Head, he immediately quotes *Lucas's Dedication* to the King in the following Manner ; *Page 33.*

“ ACCORDINGLY, in Behalf of myself, and the rest of the oppressed Citizens of this distressed City ; I presented a printed State of the Case, intitled the *COMPLAINTS* of DUBLIN, and containing full and just Information of our Grievances, to the Lord *Harrington*, then YOUR MAJESTY'S *Viceroy*, in this Kingdom.”

“ HIS EXCELLENCY thought fit to admit me to an Audience ; seemed much affected with the Recital of our complicated Distresses ; promised to look narrowly into our *Complaints*, and to use his utmost Might to procure us a full and speedy Redress.”

“ BUT, with just Concern ! I beg leave to inform YOUR MAJESTY, that so far were the Complainants from obtaining any Kind of Satisfaction ; that I could

could never after gain, so much, as Access to HIS EXCELLENCY's Presence."

"THUS, YOUR MAJESTY may now see, that under the best of Kings, the noblest Form of Government, and the most wise and free System of Policy, the Subjects are liable to be spoiled of all the Benefits of the Constitution, and reduced to a State little better, than down-right *Slavery*; and yet, the *Invaders* of our RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, without YOUR MAJESTY's Interposition, may pass unpunished, uncensured!"

"IT is thus the giddy Multitude, who are unable to distinguish between the Actions of Kings, and those of a subordinate Administration, and are seldom capable of judging better, than from Events; may be taught to discredit and condemn that Government, however great, however excellent, under which, they cannot fully and securely enjoy their Freedom and Rights, and the general Benefits of their Constitution."

"HERE it is observable, that to make this Paragraph serve his Purposes, he forces poor *Lucas* to speak bad *English*, by making the Lord Lieutenant the *Invaders*, to which *Lucas* alludes in some preceding Paragraphs, which contains the following Complaint against the Justices of the King's Bench.

P. 31. "UPON Advice of YOUR MAJESTY's Prime Serjeant, Attorney General, and many other eminent Lawyers, we commenced a Suit against the Aldermen in YOUR MAJESTY's Bench, for usurping the Right and Privilege of electing Aldermen."

"BY the Confession of the Court, we made out an ORIGINAL and INHERENT RIGHT to that Election, in the Commons and Citizens. The Court further declared, that if the Attorney General appeared in Behalf of the Crown, our Suit must be granted; and that the like Demand with ours,

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should

should not, nay, could not, be one Moment refused in any inferior Corporation in the Kingdom."

"OUR Demand was no less, than to be admitted to try, by due Course of Law, a Matter of Right and Property of the utmost Consequence, to many Thousands of YOUR MAJESTY'S best SUBJECTS. Yet, how shall I shock my SOVEREIGN'S Ear with the Relation! Those who were intrusted with dispensing Law and Justice to YOUR PEOPLE, even with the *Custody* of YOUR MAJESTY'S *most solemn Oath*, for Reasons best known to themselves, judged it *expedient*, though they could not say it was *legal*; to give us a peremptory Denial! They refused to admit us to bring the Matters in Contest to a final Determination, by a full and judicial Trial; and took upon them to determine, upon a mere Motion, in which the Merits of the Cause could not, possibly, appear, what was only to be determined by the Verdict of a Jury!"

"HERE, YOUR MAJESTY may please to observe, that an oppressive Innovation in the Constitution of this City, was attended with a shocking Breach of one of the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES of the national Constitution; instead of the just and necessary Redress, or Reparation!"

"PERMIT me to ask, MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, what was to be done under these sad Circumstances?—Who could, unaffected, see such dismal, such fatal Wounds offered the whole Constitution, such daring Insults to the Crown, such Injuries to the Subjects? Were these to be tamely, tacitly, slavishly borne?—No; he must be utterly unworthy of such a CONSTITUTION, of such a KING as OURS, who would not pursue the highest Offenders to the ultimate Resort."

"THEREFORE, as I had borne a principal Part in the Prosecution of the Affair, as a *Citizen*, and as
one

one of the *Trustees* of the *Sheriffs* and *Commons* ; I thought it, in an especial Manner, incumbent on me to complain of these dangerous, these destructive Proceedings to an higher Power."

Now, whether the Word *Invaders* does not solely imply the *Judges*, and whether it includes *His Majesty*, or *his Excellency* the Lord Lieutenant, or not, I submit to his Lordship, and his *powerful Advocates*: For, if I understand common *English*, or the *Dedicator*, he does not complain to the King of his Lord Lieutenant's *invading*, but *neglecting to punish* the *Invaders* of the Constitution; to do which he has an undoubted Right,——if the *wise* and *omnipotent Commons* think fit!

THE next Proof produced to this Point, is a Paragraph in Mr. *Lucas's* xvth Address. This whole Paper contains a very just Definition and Description of a Body Politic; and shews the Signs by which every Man may always be able to discern, whether the great Body Politic of the Realm be in an healthful, or distempered State. He begins with the first, and so goes on to the second and third Estate in our Government; shews the Justice and Legality of the Title of the late and present King to the Throne, and proves his own true Loyalty, and just Affection to these Princes, by giving each of them the most great and amiable Character; for which, among other Things, the *wise*, the pretended *Whig* C——ns have voted him an Enemy to his Country!

"BUT, (says he, p. 7,) as we are never to hope to feel or see the Sunshine of Majesty, in this poor Kingdom, except by dull Reflection, at second or third Hand, we may more strictly confine our Views to those who are deputed as *Vicegerents* to the HEAD; let these then be the Objects of our present medicinal Enquiry." Then he draws the

Character of a good and wise, and of a wicked or weak Lord Lieutenant; and shews the Signs by which the Public may always discover under which they are governed, and the necessary Consequences that have accrued and must ever attend the *good* and *bad* Governors. All this without once glancing, by Name or Character, on the present L — L — t. And yet, his Minions vainly thought to shew their Zeal for *his Honour*, in insisting that the very worst Character was drawn for him! Let the World judge who are to blame.

THE Paragraph pitched upon in this Address, to criminate *Lucas*, as *falsely* and *maliciously reflecting upon the L — L — t*, is the following, p. 14. “ I think I hear some of the *few* of you, that ever read any thing, relating to your Country, or yourselves, cry out, “ This is all very well! Here is a most shocking Pourtrait, indeed! But, what is this hideous Draught to us? Sure all the World knows, *our Lord Lieutenant* is a *most excellent noble Man*: *Our Lords* are all descended from a *most illustrious Race of Nobility*, or created in pure Regard to their own *resplendent Merit and Virtue*: And *our Bishops*, though most of them be *Foreigners*, yet do *they* all perfectly *fill* their Stations, and prove themselves possessed of every *Grace and Virtue*, that can adorn them, in their *religious, or legislative Capacities*. Why then, should these hideous *Phantoms* be raised to frighten us?” — Mistaken Men! Does a Man’s being stiled his *Grace*, or his *Excellency*, *Right Honourable*, or *Right Reverend*, assuredly confer *Grace*, or *Excellency*, *Honour*, or *Reverence*? — You cannot be so grossly absurd, as to imagine it. But, let the *Present* be as great and as good as you can boast, and that they are — what they are, bless God; yet, should you still look back, and from *passed Evils*, dread and guard against

against *Future*." Upon which, the Author of the *Letter* has this emphatic Exclamation, "*Worse Language than this, could not be given the vilest Miscreant.*" And so acquits his *Excellency* of Evils never laid, nor intended to be laid to his Charge ! And boasts of the *Gratitude* and *general Virtue* of the C——s in resenting and punishing——an *unintended Affront* to his E——y !

THE second Foundation for Accusation is stated,

" *To promote Seditions and Insurrections.*"

THIS is laid on the following Quotations. The first is from Address II. p. 8. "It is my utmost Pride, that I am a *Tradesman* and *Citizen* of DUBLIN, and that I am neither of *Family*, *Fortune*, *Education*, or *Principle* to recommend me, to what the World falsely calls *Great Men*, that is, *Men in Power* ; or *modern*, that is, *new-fashioned Gentlemen*. Do but reflect, who have restored, and now uphold the Freedom and Rights of *Sweden*. You will find they were the *poor despised Tradesmen* and *Peasants*, whose *Representatives*, in their *Parliament*, though called from their *Trades*, their *Shops*, or their *Ploughs*, are now the principal *Opponents* of the *Incroachments* ON PUBLIC LIBERTY, and its *boldest* and *best Assertors*. Who long preserved the sinking States of *Holland* from *impending Slavery*, and lately restored the *original Frame* of *Government*, against the Power of many *corrupt Tyrants*, grown great by the Spoils of their Country ? Was not this done by the *Tradesmen*, headed, at first, by no more considerable Persons, than a *Black-smith* and a *Wheelwright* ? What has often prevented the Ruin of a neighbouring Nation, when a *Minister practised in Perfidy* and *Corruption*, packed *Place Men*, *Pension-*

ers, and other *venal Slaves* and *Prostitutes*, in such Crowds, into Parliament, that he could gain every End he proposed there?—It was the *Virtue* and *Freedom* of the TRADESMEN of LONDON alone, which prevented many *anticonstitutional Bills* from being carried into Execution, that had passed both Houses of Parliament. — In this Class my Pride would place me, if my Fortune had not: Here I contentedly, gladly cast my Anchor.”— Judge of the Truth of this by my Conduct, thro’ all the Offices in which I have already served you. And as a Bond for future Behaviour, accept these public Declarations. — It is Time to lay *Self* aside; but let me first inform you, that tho’ I have publicly offered myself a Candidate for the Place of a CITIZEN to represent you in Parliament, it is but to let you see my Intention and Desire, however weak and insufficient you may find me, to serve in the sinking Cause of LIBERTY and my COUNTRY. From the same Motive, incapable as I am of the Task, if the *Citizens* of *Dublin* commanded me, on any Emergency, to lead an Army for them, I should certainly obey them. Their *Free Choice* shall ever determine me in all Matters.” But, he artfully leaves out the Beginning of the Paragraph, which is, “ However short of this Character I may be found to have fallen, if I know myself, I can, of a Truth, say, it has ever been uppermost in my View, and that it is from these Principles alone, I am now prompted to offer myself for an *high Station* among you. Could I have Means of laying my Bosom open to you, I should not fear being able to acquit myself of undertaking this *arduous Task*, for you, thro’ *Pride* or unbecoming *Ambition*. I assure you I am most perfectly contented with being cast among the *lower Class* of Men, with regard to *Station* and *Grandeur*;

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for there, in all Nations, at this, nay, at all Times, do we find most Freedom and Virtue;" and the End, which runs thus, " And to shew my *inviolable* Regard to their *Freedom*s, I scorn, disdain and detest all the little *base anticonstitutional* Arts of modern Candidates, to gain the *Voices* of Men; and if any *mistaken* Friend should attempt to influence any *Man* to *vote* for me, on any other Principle than *FREE CHOICE*, let it not be looked upon, as my Act, I *renounce*, and *protest* against it.——The Man who acts on constitutional Principles cannot, in any *Instance*, *invade* or *restrain* the *LIBERTIES* of his *Neighbour*. He must think it, therefore *designing*, if not *criminal* to influence a *Voice* to bring him into Parliament, as it would be to influence a *Sheriff* to put him on a *Jury*.——Suppose yourselves, then, *Sheriffs*, and any Man solicited you to be put on a *Pannel*, would you not, therefore *suspect* and *reject* him? You could not avoid it.—In the Case of an *Election*, you act in a *judicial Capacity* as much as a *Sheriff* does. Your *Vote* is not entirely your own. You cannot without *Perfidy*, a Breach of Trust to Society, give it, thro' *Interest* or *Compliment* to any Man. He is a *wicked, low Tyrant* that demands or accepts of it, on these Terms, and cannot therefore be fit to *represent*, nor, indeed, to be *represented* by, any Body. And the only Difference between *him*, and *those* that comply with him, can be no more than that between the *Tempter* and the *Tempted*, both, at best, are *criminal*.——It is an Honour to represent *FREEMEN*, but none but a *Slave* can submit to be the *Representative* of *Slaves*." Because, with them, the Quotation could not convey the *intended Virulence* of the *Prosecutor*.

I SHALL let the Quotation now speak for itself, and only remind the Reader, Mr. *Lucas* was then
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extremely decrepid with the *Gout*, that the *Commissioners* for arraying the *Militia* in *Dublin*, are a Part of the *Citizens*, who have it in their Power to appoint all the Officers ; and that in every correct Impression it stands, *on any just Emergency*. Then, let it be considered, how far the Charge of *promoting Seditions and Insurrections*, is made out. — Was ever Man more injured, more to be pitied !

The second criminating Question is made with *equal Candour and Justice*. This is taken from the Conclusion of a Paragraph in Address iv. p. 1, “ The *Standard of Liberty* must then be raised in your City, and it can never be in the Power of *Tyranny* or *Artifice* to pull it down, while such *Numbers* of well-disciplined FREEMEN are, voluntarily, enlisted under the GLORIOUS BANNER.” This seems to sound somewhat harshly, without the Context. I shall just add that, and distinguish the *Accuser’s* Quotation, and leave the World to judge whether or no this Figure *conveys any Malignity*. ‘ As every Man’s Life, Liberty and Property, are but precarious and insecure, who does not know something of the Constitution of his Country, so every Man who would secure these Blessings to himself, to his Neighbour and to Posterity, should first equip himself with the Knowledge of the Principles of that Policy and Government, under which he lives, or of which he is a Member ; as the best Shield to ward against the Abuse of Power, and the Incroachments from the Great, to which, from the Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, the inferior Members of Society are constantly exposed,’

‘ SINCE the Bulk of the CITIZENS of *Dublin* want but this Branch of useful Knowledge, to make them vie with, nay, out-shine all the Cities of these Kingdoms, in exerting the *Spirit of*
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LIBERTY, by Force and Fraud, too long suppressed among them, the chief, the sole Contest among us, MY BELOVED, MY HONoured BRETHREN, should be, who should first lay the Constitution of our Country open to our View, and explain the *Powers* and *Prerogatives* of those *intrusted* to govern, and the *Freedom* and *Privileges* of those to be governed. When these are fully known, your steady Virtue cannot fail in restraining the *one* and supporting the *other* by proper *Mears* and *Bounds*. “The *Standard* of *Liberty* must then be raised, in your City, and it can never be in the Power of *Tyranny* or *Artifice* to pull it down, while such *Numbers* of well disciplined FREEMEN are, voluntarily, enlisted under the GLORIOUS BANNER.” Now, who can wrest any evil Design out of these free and generous Sentiments?

THE third Quotation is also a Fragment of a very long Paragraph in Address 11, page 30. By which, it is said, “*Lucas* intended to justify all the Rebellions in that Kingdom.” The *Accusers*, particularly the *Author* of the *Letter*, begin with, “Upon these subjects and all Men and Matters, relating thereto, I have, upon all Occasions, spoke and wrote my Sentiments, freely; and what is still worse, I have determined and declared, as I do by these Presents; that I will continue so to do, to the last Gasps of my Breath, or the total Extinction of Corruption and Tyranny.” Now, let any dispassionate Man take in the smallest Portion of the Context, and he must acquit *Lucas* of any evil Intention whatsoever. Then let it stand thus, for Example, as in the original; “Since I became acquainted with the melancholy Affairs, and deplorable Circumstances of the City, I have loudly exclaimed against the Instruments of our Distresses; plucked the *Masques* from the *Faces* of your *Inslavers*, and
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shewed several of the Abuses and Impositions, from time to time, cast upon the *Citizens* in general, the *Commons* in particular, by the Board of *Aldermen*; whose *Usurpations* and *Tyranny* have brought the whole Corporation to the Verge of Destruction, by *monopolising* and wasting the Lands and Funds, destined for the support of the City, and by such gross Misuse or Abuse of the *Charters*, as has Subjected them to a Forfeiture." "Upon these subjects, and all Men and Matters relating thereto, I have, upon all Occasions, spoke and wrote my Sentiments, freely; and what is still worse, I have determined and declared, as I do by these Presents, that I will continue so to do, to the last Gasp of my Breath, or the total Extinction of Corruption and Tyranny." Does this Saviour of *Rebellion*, *Sedition*, or *Disaffection*? What Man in his Senses can say it does? Yet, this is a *Capital Accusation* against this unhappy *Refugee*!

THE third part of the Charge against Mr. *Lucas* stands thus;

"Openly to justify the several horrid and bloody *Rebellions*, which have been raised in this Kingdom."

THE first Quotation to prove this, is another imperfect Fragment of a Paragraph taken from Mr. *Lucas*'s 10th Address, in which he does the greatest Honour to the *British* Constitution, of any Writer extant; but claims the Benefit of the like Constitution for *Ireland*; how justly I cannot take upon me to say, but, sure it is a pardonable, if not a laudable Partiality to his native Country to claim *Liberty*, as an inherent *Birth right* to her Sons.

IN this Paper, Mr. *Lucas* sets forth *Ireland*'s Title to be governed by her own *Parliaments*, from Quotations of ancient *Charters* and *Statutes*, which if they

they be just, cannot, by me be confuted ; so I shall, for the present wave the Argument, and come to the Point of *Accusation*. This is laid, page 24. " But it probably was then, as well known, as it must now be confessed, that there was no general Rebellion in *Ireland*, since the first *British Invasion*, that was not *raised* or *fomented*, by the *Oppression*, *Instigation*, *evil Influence*, or *Connivance* of the *English*." Now, I beg leave to take the Reader a little further back and make a fairer Quotation to inform his Judgment. In page 21, stands this remarkable Paragraph ;

‘ WITH shame and Grief ! it must be confessed, that by frequent Troubles, raised in *Ireland*, mostly, by the *cruel* and *tyrannical* Conduct of many of the *Governors*, or *military Commanders* and *Judges*, sent from *England* into this Kingdom, who caused, or suffered the People to be so grieved and oppressed, with *arbitrary*, and insupportable Taxes and Impositions, and who administered Justice and Law, so partially and corruptly, as to give the *native Irish*, as well, as the *English-Irish*, such an Aversion to the *English* Government, as to drive the whole Inhabitants, either back again to the *Brehon Laws*, and other *Irish Customs*, or to fly back to *England* for Refuge ; as shall be, hereafter, shewn, more at large ; from these like Confusions, Parliaments could not, then, as often meet, or, as regularly sit, as might be wished. And, therefore, instead of framing Laws, of anew, for themselves ; the *Irish* Parliaments, for some time contented them, with receiving and confirming such *English* Acts, as they judged conducive to the good Government of the Realm ; which may be seen at large, in Lord Chief Baron *Bolton*’s Edition of *Irish Statutes*.”

For the tyrannical Conduct of *Governors* and *Judges*, he might have given many Proofs more, than he

offers in the 11th Address, from our illustrious Countryman, Sir *John Davies*, Attorney General in that Kingdom, to King *James, I.* After some Quotations and Arguments for the *Power and Independency* of the *Irish* Parliament, he comes to the Paragraph, which is distorted and broken to afford an Accusation against this well-meaning, innocent Man : Entire it stands thus ;

‘ HAD the modern *Solecism* in Government, the *subjecting the Legislature of one Kingdom to that of another*, had any footing in former Ages, or that the *British Parliament* had any Authority to make Laws for *Ireland*, we should not find, that, in such troubled, or confused times, as Parliaments might not be freely, or safely called or held in *Ireland*; the King called and held Parliaments, in *England*, consisting of *Irish Lords and Commons*, only ; well knowing, that none other Persons, under Heaven, had a Right to make Laws, for this Kingdom. That there were such Parliaments held in *England*, appears by a Writ of King *Edward* the first, of Record, in the *white Book* of the *Exchequer*. And that *Knights, Citizens and Burgeses* were *summoned and attended, to represent this Kingdom*, in a Parliament, in *England*, appears, by *Writs* for levying the *Wages* of such Members, of Record in the Tower of *London*, the fiftieth of *Edward* the third. These were done at times, when *England*, had a much better Colour, for taking us, by the short Cut, to *Slavery* that some wicked *Ministers* have lately found out. “ But it probably was, then, as well known as it must now be confessed, that there was no general Rebellion in *Ireland*, since the first *British Invasion*, that was not raised or fomented, by the *Oppression, Instigation, evil Influence, or Connivance* of the *English*.” Let the World hence judge, whether from these, any handle may be taken to
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tyranise over all Classes of Men, in this Kingdom, indiscriminately !

AFTER this, the 11th Address is ransacked for criminal Accusations, in the same Manner as I have shewn the precedent. I must confess however, that the Expressions are somewhat *tart*, and I cannot help wishing, there had been in general less Warmth in this unhappy Man's Writing. I shall in this only do him Justice by annexing the Context to the broken Paragraphs recited, which I shall distinguish by double inverted *Commas*, to shew the Malignity of his Accusers ; and so connect his Sense and Meaning, and put it in the fair and true Light, then let it speak for it self.

PAGE 4. " But to come to that part, which more nearly concerns us ; let us, but examine the Effects produced, by *Oppression and Tyranny*, in *Ireland*.

" I NOW find myself engaged in the most disagreeable, I may say, offensive Part of my Task ; exposing the Misconduct of OUR MOTHER NATION, *England*. This I undertake, with the utmost Reluctance: For, having neither *Consanguinity*, or *Affinity*, nor even *Fosterhood*, with any *Irish* Family, in the Kingdom, I cannot be suspected of Prejudice." " But, as the only Method of obviating the *Visitation* of the *Offences* of our *Forefathers* upon us, is to *disclaim* them, and shew, that we are not the *Children of Disobedience*, by *detesting* and *avoiding their Vices* , and as the Cure of the *Distemper*, of which we complain, must depend upon exposing it to open View, LIBERTY shall guide my feeble Pen, and TRUTH shall bring the foul Misdeeds to Light. So may all Parties concerned, see *English Treachery*, *Oppression* and *Tyranny*, in their native Deformity, in order to judge of their *present* and *future* evil Consequences, by the *passed*."

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‘ IN this Narration, I shall reject all Accounts, by the Oral Tradition of *Irish* Bards, or Historians; least, as inclined to be *fabulous*, or as *Parties concerned*, they may be justly suspected of *Fallacy*, or *Partiality*. I shall, therefore, rest what I have to offer, upon this Head, solely on the Testimony of living Records, cited by *English Writers* of unquestionable Authority; particularly, that great Ornament to his Profession and Station, for Learning and Probity, Sir *John Davies*, Attorney-General to King *James* the first.’

“ WE hear nothing more generally and justly censured, by all sensible and free *English Men*, than the *Treachery* and *Barbarity* practised by the *Spaniards*, upon the Natives of *Mexico*, in the Conquest of that Country. Thus Men, insensible of the *Beams*, in their own *Eyes*, discover *Motes* in the *Eyes* of their Neighbours! Strange! that Men, who well knew the Value of Liberty, were sensible, of its being an *Inheritance*, to which all the Sons of *Adam* were *Co-heirs*; and who claimed and enjoyed all the Advantages thereof, in their Country, as their *peculiar Birth-Right*, should think of invading the Rights of others, who did not interfere with them! Or, that they should think *Tyranny* intolerable from any Hands, but theirs! When it must be more grievous and distressing from *British*, than any others!”

“ YET, notwithstanding, with Shame and Grief, I tell it! The *Mexicans* were never used worse, by the *barbarous Spaniards*, than the *poor Irish* were, for some Centuries, by the *English*.”

‘ IT is evident, from the Recitals in the foregoing Address, that all the *Liberties*, *Privileges* and *Immunities*, and all the *Free Customs* and *Laws* of *England* were granted to the People of *Ireland*, in general, without any Reserve, or Distinction; and for ever

ever established and confirmed in the Kingdom, for the common Right and Benefit of all the, then, present and future Inhabitants. The Lives, Liberties and Properties of all the Irish, were, hereby made, as secure, as those of the English, then, were. The same Measure and Bond of Prerogative and Allegiance, was established for ever, between the King and the People of both Nations: And all Trespasses, Transgressions, and Crimes were to be tried by the same Form, and the accused, acquitted, or punished, by the same Laws, and not otherwise. This was the sum of the ORIGINAL COMPACT, entered into, by the King and People, mutually: They granted the Kingdom to him; and chose and acknowledged him, as their King; and he, in return, gave them, the same Laws and Privileges, and in general, the same Constitution, with his English Subjects, in all Points, by which, and by none other, they should be for ever governed.'

'THESE mutual Obligations were, on all sides, ratified, by Charters, Oaths and all the firmest and most solemn Securities, that could be offered. And, therefore, no Party had, or could have a Right, in any Manner, or Degree, to violate this sacred Compact, nor to recede from it, in any Instance, without the Consent of the other. This was, this, lawfully and justly and truly, is the established Constitution of Ireland, upon as firm and unalterable a Foundation, as that of England.'

'THIS ESTABLISHMENT encouraged great Numbers of English to come from time to time into Ireland, where they were to enjoy the full Benefits of the British Constitution; and, in Consequence of this, the Irish were to hope no less, than that their Lives their civil and religious Liberties, their Properties and Possessions were safe and secure, upon the Principles of the Policy of England. And, that no further Distinction should be made, between the English

English and the *Irish*, in the Kingdom, than was made between the *Normans* and the *English* upon the Settlement of that Kingdom, after the *Norman* Invasion. But that all should fully and equally enjoy the Benefits and Advantages of this new Constitution, without any Obstruction, Incroachment, or Molestation, from any Quarter. The happy Fruits of which, must have been a perfect, firm Union of all Classes of Men in the *Island*, in one common Interest, upon the same invariable Principles. Had *Liberty* and *Property* been thus, justly, secured, *Industry* would, long since, have taken Root among us, *Agriculture* would have been universally encouraged, to the Reduction of the vast dreary Wilds and Wastes of *Bogs*, *Lakes* and *Fens*, which cover the Face of the *Island*; *Arts* of all Kinds would have been established, and *Trade* and *Commerce* universally extended; which would have made us a great and happy People.'

'But, mark the dreadful Effects of *Oppression* and *Tyranny*! The specious Shew of *English Laws* and *Customs* and a better Constitution, in general, offered, nay, *granted* to the *Irish*, appears to have been, but the *Lure* of *Liberty*, thrown like gaudy Feathers to catch an Hawk, or held like Oats to catch an Horse; of which neither can, or is allowed to taste: For, regardless of all moral and legal Considerations; regardless of the Honour and Dignity and the *public Faith* of the Crown of *England*, pledged for the Security of this most solemn Compact, in *Henry* the Second and every succeeding King; the *Irish* were soon after, robbed of all the promised Advantages of a *British* Constitution; and again drove into the same wretched Barbarisms, to which they had before been reduced, by the Cruelty of preceding Invaders; and from which, they now had

a Prospect of being redeemed, or reclaimed, by wholesome *English Laws* and *Liberties*.'

FOR, notwithstanding the most ample *Donations* and *Concessions*, in my former Address, recited, and many others from the Crown, particularly in the Reigns of *Henry the Second*, *John* and *Henry the Third*, it is evident, from all the Records of these Times, that the *native Irish* were never allowed to share the full Benefits of the *English Constitution*, granted to the whole Kingdom at large, and to all the People without Distinction; but, that on the contrary, all the Benefits and Advantages of Liberty and the Laws, were monopolised by the *English Governors* and *Judges*; None being allowed to enjoy them, but the *English*, or such of the *Irish* as were able to purchase *Charters*, or *Acts of Denization*, or *Infranchisement* for themselves and their Families. Nay, further; the *Irish* in general were, absolutely treated worse than the *Victims* of the most savage Barbarians; as bad as the *Spaniards* used the *Mexicans*; or, as inhumanly as the *English* now treat their *Slaves* in *America*; For they, were looked upon not only, as *Slaves* and *Aliens*, but were reputed *Enemies* to the Crown of *England*, or rather *Out-Laws*; and as such, upon all Occasions they were treated: In as much, as they were not only debarred the common Right of bringing Actions against any of the *English* for Debts, or Trespasses; but they were held so far out of the Protection of the Law, that it was not adjudged *Murder* or *Felony* in an *Englishman*, to kill an *Irishman*, even in Times of general Peace and Amity.

MANY Instances might be produced, from the most authentic Records, to prove these Allegations. Sir *John Davies* recites many in *Bermingham Tower*, in the *Castle*. How they may be preserved, since the keeping these Records has been made a Place of Profit and a *Sine-Cure* for a favourite Tool, like

many other public Offices, I cannot take upon me to say ; I hope it will be sufficient Authority, for my present Purpose, to recite some few Cases, from Sir *John's* Tract, intituled, ‘ A Discovery of the true Causes why *Ireland* was never entirely subdued, nor brought under Obedience to the Crown of *England*, until the Reign of King *James* the First.’

OF these lawless Outrages, he recites some very remarkable Instances; and shews, “ that there is no essential Difference between depriving Men of the due Benefits of the established Law, and imposing Laws upon them, without their Consent.” The Consequences which attended the former, he recites and glances at those, that may be dreaded from the latter. However mistaken these Notions may be, sure they cannot be judged criminal? Then comes on the next Quotation, Page 18th. The whole Paragraph stands thus;

‘ It might reasonably be imagined, that People who bravely and justly claim and enjoy all the Liberties and Priviledges that Men can desire, could not think of incroaching on those of any others, who did not interfere with them ; and much less, can they be supposed capable of violating the *inherent and hereditary Rights and Liberties* of their *Offspring*, their *Bretoren*, their *natural Allies*, and their *inseparable and invariable Friends*! Yet, such has been the unaccountable Infatuation of *England*, that though the Ministry must be sensible of the recited, ill Effects of *their oppressing the Irish*, and that neither *Peace or Concord*, nor the Interest of the *Crown of England*, was established, in *Ireland*, till the ORIGINAL COMPACT was restored, and the *Benefit of the Laws*, universally, diffused throughout the whole Kingdom, in the Reign of King *James* the First ; nevertheless, have the *English* taken several unjust Handles to crush us, and to suppress that *Spirit of Liberty*, that Valour and Industry

try which alone should prove Us, *their Descendants*, and without which, we can neither be inclined, or enabled to defend, or support the *British* Interest, at home, or abroad. “ And all this, when
 “ all sensible *Englishmen* must confess, that no civil
 “ War, or Rebellion was ever raised in *Ireland*,
 “ since the *British* Invasion, but by the Oppression,
 “ or through the Encouragement, or Connivance
 “ of the *English* Governors ;” and that then they were never universal: For, our CITY has been ever invariable in Loyalty: And, when it is most certain, that no King upon Earth ever knew more loyal and brave Subjects than the *Irish*, under the Enjoyment of their constitutional Rights and Liberties, those of *English* Extraction, especially, have ever, and upon all Occasions proved.’

AND now, to learn the Purport of these Recitals, let me add one more from the same Address, p. 22.

‘ I must confess, I yet think so respectfully of the present Parliament of *England*, as to be persuaded that upon laying these anticonstitutional Grievances properly before them, they cannot fail of giving us the just and necessary Redress: Since it is to me, more than demonstrable, that no true Friend to Liberty, no true Friend to the King and Constitution of *Ireland*, no true Friend to the King and Constitution of *Great Britain*, no true Friend to Mankind, or to himself, can see and patiently suffer such iniquitous Innovations, such violent Outrages on the Constitution, as evidently tend to the Suppression, or Subversion of Liberty, Justice and Laws; to the overturning the Frame of our Government, to the Destruction of the inherent Rights of the People of this Kingdom, and to the present indelible Disgrace and Dishonour, as well as to the future inevitable Ruin of the other.’

Now, let any Man of common Understanding and void of Prejudice, weigh these Matters, and see

if there can be any *malignant Intention* couched under them! Can a Man, zealous for making any Part of Mankind free, especially the Subjects of our Crown, and of his native Country, be deemed, with Justice, an *Enemy* to any good King, to any good Government, to any free Country, much less to *his Own*? No, it is impossible any where, but with a *perpetual I——sh P——t*.

The fourth Article of the Charge against this abused Man, stands thus in the *Letter*.

‘*To create Jealousies between his Majesty’s Subjects.*’

THE Quotation to prove this, happens, like the rest, to appear somewhat decrepid. It is taken from Address XV. p. 10. You have not less to dread from a *corrupt Lieutenant*, than from a *foreign Army*.’ This, the mistaken *Flatterers* of the present L——d L——t, particularly the *learned Author* of the *Letter*, apply to H—— E——y and to the *present Army* in the Kingdom, as if the first were palpably *corrupt*, and the second really *Foreigners*! The Reader may see, the Paragraph quoted is but half stopt; now let him but read the subsequent Part, and the adjoining Paragraph, and condemn the *poor Fugitive* if he can. The remainder of the Sentence is this; ‘for, as the Distempers of the Head must ever be communicated to the *Body*; such an one, as I have described, is enough to infect, nay, to poison a more strong and extensive State than ours. If the Constitution be strong and vigorous, such a distempered Head will cause violent Shocks, *Fevers* in the State, to shake off the *morbid Matter*; but, if weak, it must end in agonising *Convulsions*, or linger out in a languid and deplorable *Consumption*, some of the Limbs become *Paralytic*, before the final Dissolution.’

‘It is every Citizen and Subject’s Duty, to watch the Invasion of any of these *Diseases*, of which I have

have here enumerated the *Symptoms*, in the *Head*; and to warn the *Commons* thereof, whose Duty and Office it is, to interpose *parliamentary Remedies*, by the *Instruction* and at the *Demand* of their *Constituents*.—See, in this Respect, how much depends on the *Wisdom* and *Virtue* of your *Commons*! And how much their Sense and Virtue depends upon those of their *Constituents*, is already made manifest.’

‘If this be criminal what Man alive is safe? Let Persecution and lawless Oppression rage ever so furiously, at this Rate, who will dare complain, or even sigh?’

THE fifth and last Article in the Accusation is, that ‘CHARLES LUCAS, scandalously and maliciously, misrepresented the Proceedings of the present House of Commons, and highly reflected on the Honour and Dignity thereof.’

FOR Proof of this Article, another Sentence is with *equal Ease, Justice* and *Candour*, as the former, disjointed and knocked asunder. I must trouble the Reader with reciting the whole Passage, and marking the Part, picked out for the Accusation, with double inverted *Comma*’s, for Distinction.

ADDRESS XV. p. 5, 6, 7. ‘To begin then *physical Order*, with the *HEAD* of the *BODY POLITIC*.’

‘If I were here to confine myself to the *real* and *true Head*, OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING; I could with strict Truth and Justice, without glancing at Flattery, or Compliment; shew, that this *Body Politic*, or that of *England*, never had one *more just, more legal, more sound, or more strictly, or generally CONSTITUTIONAL*, than BOTH the *KINGS* of the present Family have proved themselves. The most inveterate and malignant *Enemies* of *THESE PRINCES* must, with me confess, that *THEY* were called to the Throne, by the *unerring Voices* of a *BRAVE, FREE PEOPLE*, upon pure *CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES*, to rescue *our Lives and Liberties*,

ties, our Religion and Laws, from arbitrary Power and anticonstitutional, hereditary Tyranny. And, I can defy the most obdurate Antagonists of THIS FAMILY, or the most strenuous Advocates for the Slavery, from which THEY were called to free us ; to give a single Instance of any anticonstitutional Scheme laid, or one arbitrary Step taken, in the Government of these Kingdoms, by either of THESE KINGS, since the Accession of the First, or Second to the Throne. No ; not so much as a foreign Favourite has been introduced into the Councils or Ministry of Britain, or Ireland, by THEIR Directions ; but, both Nations have been ruled and governed, by the Principles of their own Policy, or by the Advice and Consent of their Parliaments ; where alone all the Grievances, that may, with any Reason, be complained of, are to be charged.'

" I NEED not go to Particulars to prove the Truth of these Positions: I think it enough to shew in general that though THESE PRINCES found, in these Kingdoms, at sundry different Times, the most ignorant and corrupt Parliaments ; such as have struck at the very Foundation of our Constitutions, by making many anticonstitutional Acts, and imposing such an Immensity of *Debts, Taxes and penal Laws*, as were never before known in these Realms ; and such, as had they been vested in the Hands of any of the preceding Kings, within this Century, would in all Probability, not have left so much as a *Wreck* behind whereby our Government might be, now known or remembered ;" " yet, have you still, PARLIAMENTS and JURIES, and all the other *essential Privileges and Rights*, inherent to your Constitution ; while you have the Wisdom and Virtue to assert and support them."

" THESE Considerations alone, are sufficient to make every sensible and dispassionate Man, content and happy under such an HEAD. It is, to me, most certain, that some Centuries hence, if
any

any Traces of the *British* Government will be so long permitted to remain ; and that the History of *England* will be fairly transmitted to those Times, and read ; that, when the furious, blind Spirits of Faction and Discontent are dead, and it be coolly considered, what kind of *Parliaments*, and what a *Ministry* infested *England* in his Reign ; the Memory of GEORGE the First will be had in greater Reverence, than that of any of those, to whom *Glory* and *Immortality* are, now, attributed. That this poor Kingdom did not reap all the Benefits of his noble, wise, and just Disposition to govern it, agreeable to the Constitution, is, solely to be attributed, to his *evil Counsellors* in the *Parliaments* of *England* and *Ireland* : For, had either but rightly informed him of his *Prerogative* in *Ireland*, or of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of his *Irish* Subjects, it is not to be imagined, that so brave, so just a Prince could submit to be made, but a *Titular King* of a *nominal* Kingdom, and its *Inhabitants* *Slaves* : For, such were both rendered, when *E——* *sh* *A——* of *P——* *t* were made to bind *Ireland*, *without* the *Consent*, or even, the *Knowledge* of the *People* ; but, more especially, when the King and People were *stripped* of their parliamentary Judicature, in this Kingdom !——Thus, you see, that *without removing the evil Counsellors from before the KING*, you can hardly hope to find *his Throne established in Righteousness* ; or in the Hearts of his People, on which alone, it can securely stand.

I HOPE, by this, every Reader will be satisfied, this poor Man meant not to reflect upon the *King*, as has been wickedly insinuated and charged. Then, how does this tend to *misrepresent the Proceedings* of the present H——e of C———s of I———d, or to *reflect* on its *Honour* and *Dignity* ? Sure *guilty Consciences* can alone point this out ! Might not both *these Kings* have had *ignorant* and *corrupt* *Parliaments*,

ments, both in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, at sundry Times, without reflecting on the *present*? Might not GEORGE I. have had a bad Parliament in *Ireland*, and GEORGE II. bad Parliaments in *England*, and the Honour and Virtue of both the present Parliaments remain untainted and unblemished? Can any Man, whose Heart is not corroded with Gall and Guilt, deny it? No; not possibly. And yet, this is the sole Accusation, upon which the unhappy *Lucas* was deprived of his Liberty, voted a close Prisoner to a noisome Goal, under the Custody of his avowed Enemies!

I HAVE gone thus minutely and accurately thro' all the most subtle and malignant Accusations and Charges made against this poor Man, by his most artful and virulent Enemies; and I now dare appeal to any sensible and dispassionate Reader, whether this Man be, by any Principle of the Laws of *Great-Britain*, which are said to be the Laws of *Ireland*, worthy of *Stripes* or of *Bonds*? And yet, it is demonstrable, he has already suffered what no Principle of Law, Justice or Humanity can authorise or justify. And notwithstanding, we see by the Sequel, his Persecution is not at an End: For, we find, all other Means failing, the *Star-chamber Inquisition* is revived in *I——d*, to suppress, or extinguish, in this loyal Subject, all Pretensions or Claims to, nay, to efface the very Traces of, Liberty in that Kingdom, for ever! For my Part, had he been a Native of the most remote Deserts of *Asia* or *Africa*, that thus endeavoured to inculcate the Principles of Liberty, to improve civil Society, and to exalt the Dignity of human Nature itself, I could not avoid revering his Character, and condoling for his Affliction. But, when I see a *Fellow-Subject*, under the same or the like System of Government with me, persecuted with the utmost Fury and Outrage, deprived of all the Privileges, that
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the most notorious Criminals enjoy under our Laws, my Heart bleeds, not only for this single Member, but for the whole Community, from which he is thus violently torn ; and I dread the *Contagion* of neighbouring *Slavery*, worse, than that of the most virulent and raging *Pestilence*.

It is observed by Historians, that the *Sweating Distemper*, which raged here in the Reign of King Henry VII. proved fatal to the *English* and to the *English* only, in all Soils and Climates in the World.

By this it appears, there is a Similarity in the Blood and Juices of *Englishmen*, which alters not by transplanting into foreign Regions. The greatest Part of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* are either *English*, or Descendants of *English* Families : Besides they live under the same System of Laws and Government with us, which makes a Similarity of Manners also. Now, is there any thing more probable, than that if any Contagion, *Slavery* especially, rages among these our Brethren, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects in *Ireland*, it will be introduced among us ? Are we so free of all *Taint*, are our *Blood* and *Juices* so pure, as to be insusceptible of *Infection* ? I must say, I doubt it. And, that were it certainly so, it is our indispensable Duty to obviate the Progress of this destructive Evil, and preserve the Freedom and Rights of all the Subjects of *our Crown*, as we tender the Security of *our own*.

I CANNOT conclude without taking a summary Review of the Case of this wretched Sufferer.

HE has then contended for the Rights of his Fellow-Subjects in general, his Fellow-Citizens in particular, for several Years : He made out their Rights and Privileges, and shewed the Incroachments and Usurpations made on them by *evil Governors, corrupt or ignorant Parliaments, and weak*

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or

or *wicked Magistrates*. And, though the most powerful Enemies rose up against him, none appeared able to confront or contradict him. He moved the *Courts of Law* ; the Courts of Law denied him *Justice*. He complained of the Proceedings of the *Judges* to the L—d L——t, to whom he pays the utmost Deference and Respect ; but, from him obtained *no Redress* or Satisfaction. He published a Copy and Translation of the principal Charter of the City, and dedicated it, in the most affectionate, loyalty and dutiful Terms, to HIS MAJESTY, as the *Founder* and *Guardian* of all Corporations. He delivered this Charter and this Dedication, which contains an *Appeal* to the SOVEREIGN, to the *Lords Justices*, praying the forwarding it in due Course to HIS MAJESTY. They kept it from the 11th of *June* to the 4th of *August*, and then returned it, without finding any Fault, or assigning any Cause ; though Mr. *Lucas* expostulated with them severally upon it. He then presented these, with other Papers, particularly an Address full of Respect and Duty, to the L——d L——t. He was graciously received, had his Books and Papers thankfully accepted, and he obtained Leave to wait upon h— E——y again ; but, when he came, instead of Admittance, even to a Place, by Right, as common, as the *Royal Exchange* to all the Subjects, he was disgracefully dismissed. The first Day of the S——n, he was levelled at in h— E——y's S——h from the T——ne, as he was pleased in private to explain it, for no undocumented Reader took it in that Sense. The second Day of the S——n, he was complained of in the H——e of C——s ; the next Day, he was examined, as an Evidence, —to *criminate himself*. Other Witnesses were also produced against him, which he was not permitted to con-

confront, or even to hear. Without any legal Proof against him, without hearing him in his own Justification, he was censured and condemned ; ordered close Prisoner to Goal, under the Custody of his avowed *Enemies*, and to be *prosecuted* before the very *Judges*, of whose *Iniquity* he complained ! Could a Protestant be worse treated in a *Spanish Inquisition* ?

He retired, for the Peace of the City, and gave up his Election, to wait patiently for *better Days* and *Judges*. But, the Enmity of his *Persecutors* pursued him in his *Exile*. Two *Grand Juries* are *packed* for him the next Term, by his declared Enemies, the *Sheriffs*, or their *Deputies* ; one for the County of the City, another for the County of *Dublin*. These were composed of *Aldermen*, *Writers* against Mr. Lucas, *Persons* with whom he had actual *Quarrels*, *Placemen*, *Dependents* on the *Ministry*, pretended Converts from *Popery*, and the like. The *Lord Chief Justice*, Lucas's most implacable Adversary, delivered a learned Charge to these *Juries*, which he afterwards published for the Use of other *Grand Juries*. In this, he lets them and the World see, that they were impannelled or *packed* to *indict Lucas* : For, *Lucas* is his principal Theme. He sets out with calling this poor *Refugee*, once the Object of his Lordship's highest *Encomiums*, an *infamous*, *inconsiderable* and *impudent Scribbler* ; and gives his Word, for he had none other Evidence to produce, that this same *Scribbler*, and as he elsewhere calls him, in language well fitted to a *Bench of Justice* ! this *Mountebank*, this *Impostor*, this *false Preacher*, this *Seducer*, this *Lambert Symnel*, *Perkin Warbeck*, *Prince of Passau*, *Jack Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Cade*, &c. has *menaced* the King, *calumniated* and *traduced* both Houses of Parliament, the King's

Ministers, Lord Lieutenants, and all Ranks of Magistrates, nay, to subvert the national Constitution, and bring on Anarchy and Confusion. And thus goes on with a long Train of as false and groundless Charges; for which he offers no other Proof, than what might be expected, when Culprit was sent condemned in a superior, to be tried in an inferior Court, "his being declared an Enemy to his Country, by the GRAND INQUEST of the Nation." He tells them indeed, "that Those who are not against him, are for him—and deserve the same Fate." And consequently, to avoid the Censure of the C—t and the Displeasure of the C——s, they must indict or present this Offender per Force.

HOWEVER, no Bill of Indictment could be framed or founded, as the ATTORNEY-GENERAL declared, upon Mr. Lucas's Writings. Then the Court seemed content with a Presentment, and charged the Jury to present him. Accordingly, a Form was sent to them. The Grand Jury of the City, called as they were, rejected it. But, the Grand Jury of the County, who were no more concerned in it, than the Grand Jury of Middlesex, found it. It is in Effect, the Echo of the Word of the C——s, and the C——t.

THE next Quarter Sessions for the City, a Grand Jury was again impannelled for the same Purpose, consisting of several of Mr. Lucas's fiercest Enemies on the two former Juries, with a new Alderman, and eleven or twelve of the Common Council, who had already condemned Mr. Lucas, and contrary to Law and Justice, voted for his Disfranchisement. They could not fail of observing the Dictates of the Court, and accordingly presented him, in the same Words, with the former Grand Jury. And the Judges are not backward in boasting, that they will
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use the like Means, and get Mr. *Lucas* presented by every *Grand Jury* in the Kingdom.

NOT content with thus endeavouring to make it unsafe or impossible for this wretched Man to return to his native Country, the C——s have addressed the L——d L———t to proclaim CHARLES LUCAS ; and accordingly, we see h---E———y's Proclamation in our *Gazette*, and other public Papers, *to apprehend the said LUCAS, so as he may be proceeded against according to Law :* The only Favour he seems to ask !

BUT, to complete the Scheme, since an *Indictment* could not be framed or founded upon Mr. *Lucas's* Writings, which reflected no Honour upon the C——s, who sentenced him to Imprisonment and Prosecution, without any *just Evidence*, or *legal Foundation*, Orders were given to revive the horrid, barbarous and exploded Method of Prosecution *without any Indictment*, by an *Information* filed in the *King's Bench*. This is that dangerous and destructive Practice, which commenced in a corrupt Parliament the 3d and 11th of Henry VII. and was carried to the Height in the Reign of that unhappy Prince, *Charles I.* in his *Star Chamber* Court. How fatal these like Practices then proved to King and People, I need not attempt to demonstrate. It is enough to say, that such Courses have since been looked on, as against all the Liberties and Privileges of *British* Subjects, and therefore wisely and justly exploded. Are we then ripe for a Revival of them ? This is now done in I———d, and what will be the Consequence to us, Time only can demonstrate. But, if this Man be permitted to fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment of lawless Power in I———d, what public Writer is safe in *Britain* ?

BUT, this reviving of the exploded *Star-Chamber* Method of Prosecution by *Information*, was not thought

thought of by the *Lord Chief Justice* of I——d, when his *Lordship* published his Charge to the *Grand Juries* of the County and City of *Dublin*: For, in that, he enumerates the Priviledges of the Subjects of these Kingdoms, wherein, he observes, p. 5. and possibly in this Instance, laments, “*That no Tortures are allowed, no man capitally punished, unless the Grand Jury, the principal Persons of the County, think the Accusation probable, &c.*”——Yet, now an *Information* is filed, and a Man is to be put upon his Trial, where a *Grand Jury* could find *no Bill of Indictment* against him! Sure this great Man could not act thus inconsistent with himself, with *Law and Justice*, I mean, without the *Commands or Dictates* of a Greater?——The Point is, *Lucas* guilty or not guilty, right or wrong, must be undone, *Vi vel Armis, per Fas, aut Nefas*! It is plainly necessary, or in the politic Words of the great lord Chief Justice *HEATH* of *Ireland*, it is expedient, to cut off a Man, whose loyal and intrepid Spirit must ever be a Check to the unjust and arbitrary Measures of a weak or wicked M——y, and of a long, packt, corrupted or ignorant P——t. It is to be feared, this is not an Age for so much Virtue and public Spirit, as this unhappy Man has shewn, to be suffered to survive. But, methinks, if it be not criminal, or going out of Fashion, to revive and maintain the true Spirit of the OLD WHIGGS; if it be not avowed false Policy to assert the LIBERTIES and Constitution of Great Britain, and to expose wicked Ministers and Governors; and to set forth the Rights of British Subjects in the strongest Arguments, and to contend for the H——r Succession, upon antient constitutional Principles, against foreign and domestic Enemies of the R——I Family, with a becoming Spirit and Resolution: If these, I say, be not wrong, it is but bad Policy to suffer

suffer the Man, who most strongly and firmly contended for these Points, and did more Honour to the respective Causes, than any modern Writer, to fall a Victim to the Caprice of an *insignificant Party*, in a *long*, and *corrupt P——t*. If this Man could be a *pliant Partisan* for *Self-Interest*; if he were a *French Stroller*, or a *foreign Vagabond*, he would not probably want Friends at this Time in *Britain*. And shall he find less Friends, because he is a *Fellow-Subject*, intitled to Freedom, *brave*, *strictly loyal* and a *WHIGG*, upon unalterable Principles? I hope the *Tories* and *Jacobites* will not have such Male-conduct of the *WHIGGS* to reproach them with, or to rejoice in!

BUT, nothing more demands the Attention of the Public, than this Revival of *Star chamber* Practices, bringing a Man to Trial by an *Information* for a *Libel*. I will venture to say it never was done under a righteous and free Administration, and that if it is suffered once to be re-established, the People are debarred from complaining of the worst Oppressions. Let me recommend the careful Perusal of a Case very parallel to this; the Trial of *Zenger* the Printer of *New York*, thus persecuted, by the *Governor*, and his *dependent Creatures*, the *Judges*, for complaining of Male-administration in that Province. When the People are denied the Right of complaining, they lose the Freedom of the *Press*, on which the principal Support of the Constitution depends.

WAS ever Persecution known, equal to this, in a free Country? Who can form a worse Idea of the *Spanish Inquisition*, than of the *I---sh*? If this Man's Writings be so extremely criminal, how come the *Ministry* and *Magistracy* so supine, as to let them run on uncorrected, unpunished for Years? Why were they not nipt in the Bud? The *Dedication* to the

the King was presented and published, the Beginning of *June* last ; but, no Crime, no Fault was found in it, 'till *October* last ! And even now, no Crime can, by Law, be made out in it ; yet the Author is treated with less Regard to *Justice* and *Mercy*, to the *common Rights* of a Subject, than if he were a *notorious Murderer, Traitor* or *Rebel* : Such would have *indifferent Sheriffs, Juries* and *Judges* ; all which he is denied. And all this, without the least Form of Duty or Respect to HIS MAJESTY, to whom this Dedication is made ! This poor Man, as he himself expresses it, in his modest, elegant and sensible Address to the Lord Lieutenant, "*Has appealed to CÆSAR, shall CÆSAR's Servants obstruct his Appeal's coming before the Throne, and even punish him for appealing !*"

BUT, however great and lamentable the matchless Sufferings of this ill-fated Man may be, they are nothing in Comparison to the Grievances, under which the City of D——n, and the whole Kingdom of I———d have, since his Persecution groaned.--- It is not new to that unhappy Country, to have the S——ts in P———t of many of her *Boroughs* and *Cities*, as publickly set to Sale, as——*Stocks* with us. Nay, to have the H——se nominate M———rs for inferior Boroughs, regardless of Election, is not strange with that unfortunate People. But, 'till now, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom was never debarred the Privilege of electing her own Members. For, by the absolute Weight of *Court Interest*, one *Alderman*, though grossly *obnoxious* to the *Citizens* was chosen. But, with him Mr. *La Touche* was returned by an unexceptionable Majority of 88 above the other *Alderman*, which in some Sort appeased the Populace ;——yet, upon a Petition of that *Alderman* to the H——se, 99 was voted the *Minority*, and 11 was declared the *Majority* ; so, another *Alderman*

derman was taken into the H——se, against the Sense of the whole City and Kingdom !

If we consider the Motive of this most extraordinary Proceeding, it will appear no less surprizing than the former. It was proved, that Mr. *La Touche* called a Man *Brother Candidate*, in the public Halls, who has since been voted *an Enemy to his Country* ! even, the unfortunate CHARLES LUCAS ! He could not therefore, be *fairly elected*, or a *worthy Member* of that *august H——e* ! He, therefore, was rejected !

BUT, that we may do the H——e Justice in all Respects, it is proper to inform the Publick, that the M——rs were now come to Town, and opposed these Measures, and expressed their Detestation of them with Spirit and Rigour ; but finding all Opposition vain, FIFTY-THREE Men of the first Fortune, Character and Distinction in the H——e, quitted it, and made an actual Succession. They that doubt the Truth of this melancholy History may easily be satisfied by an Appeal to any of this Number : For, their Names are not kept secret.

BUT, the raging Spirit of *Persecution*, which seldom or never knows or observes any Rules or Bounds, has been yet carried to a greater Length.

MR. LUCAS's Friends proposed getting a *Met-zotinto* Print of him done by public Subscription. When it was done, the Maker advertised, that the Print of CHARLES LUCAS was or shortly would be, ready to be delivered to the Subscribers. Mrs. *Esdall*, the Wife of Mr. *Lucas's* Printer, who has also fled from *Persecution*, was examined before the H——e, for printing the Advertisement ; but, upon giving up her Authority, she was *graciously* dismissed, after being strictly cautioned against the *Liberty* of the *Press*. Then, Mr. *Miller*, the Print-Scraper, was examined, and asked, why he presumed to publish such an Advertisement ? He answered

are open and free? Will any *Protestant* drudge in *Bondage* and wretched *Vassalage* in *I——d*? It is not to be imagined. And what must be the Consequence if all the *Protestants*, as many of them now threaten, actually quit that Kingdom? Must it not again revert to it's ancient *Barbarism* and *Ruins*? And shall all the Blood and Treasure expended by our Ancestors in reclaiming and maintaining it, be thrown away, and we lose the Benefit of such invariable Friends, Allies and Fellow-Subjects, and have the same Task of Reduction or Reclamation of the *Natives* to undergo again?—God forbid!

LET me here apply a Phrase from the Writings of this *poor Exile*, which conveys a most useful Lesson to a *Briton's* Ear. *Address XI.* p. 4. 'Old *ROME* extended her Conquests over all the western World. And while the Purity of her Councils was preserved, by the *FREEDOM* of *ELECTIONS*, the Conquered were left no Room to complain, the People did but change their Masters; and that, generally, for the better: For, they learned *Liberty*, and cultivated Arts and Commerce. But when *Rome*, the *Fountain-head*, began to be *corrupted*; when Men got into the *bighest Offices*, by *Treachery*, *Fraud*, *Venality* and *Force*, the Councils were contaminated; the Officers and Servants of the State followed the Example of their Masters; and that *Tyranny*, which was, at first exercised, upon the *Borders* and *Provinces*, soon reached the Center, the *Head* of the *COMMON-WEALTH*, and necessarily, brought that great Government to a sudden, to a shameful Dissolution." Should not this alarm every true *Briton*? and make him set up a Watch and a Guard against the impending Danger? Every thinking Man must see and confess, that *I——d* adds Strength and Security to the Hands of *Britain*, as well, as Wealth to her Coffers. That Kingdom may, at worst, be
looked

looked upon, as a Kind of *Barrier* to the *Liberties* of this. When she is destroyed, *England* must be in Danger: For if *Great Britain* tamely permits the Constitution of *I——d*, and the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects of that Kingdom to be overturned by evil *G——rs*, by mock *P——ts*, by *Inquisitions* and *Star-chamber* Courts, &c. what *Security* have we, that the same *Engines* may not some Time or other be turned to our Destruction?

LET every loyal Subject then, exert his Interest in bringing these Matters properly before his Majesty, “ who wants but due Information, not Inclination, to redress the Grievances of his Subjects.”

SINCE Divisions and Discord alone can expose the Subjects of our Crown to the Craft and Power of their insidious Enemies, it is high Time to abolish all Distinctions of Names and Nations, and to unite in the common Cause and Interest of LIBERTY and THEIR COUNTRY. Let them shew themselves *Britons* in Deed, as well as in Name: Let them *fear GOD*, and *honour the KING*, or fulfil the great Summary of the Law; *Love their GOD with all their Might, and their NEIGHBOURS as themselves.*——So shall neither *foreign* or *domestic Corruption* or *Tyranny* be able to work the Ruin of the *BRITANNIC CONSTITUTION*, or of any of its *Members*.

F I N I S.

looked upon, as a kind of barrier to the liberties
 of this. When she is destroyed, England will be
 in danger: For if Great Britain cannot permit
 the Constitution of England, and the Rights and
 Privileges of the Subjects of that Kingdom to be
 overturned by evil laws, it is impossible.
 by legislation and that the Court, &c. what
 Security have we, that the same Rights may not
 some time or other be turned to our Destruction?
 Let every loyal Subject, exert his talents
 in bringing these Matters properly before his Majesty,
 who wants but due Information, not Inclination,
 to redress the Grievances of his Subjects.
 Since Divisions and Discord alone can enfeeble
 the Subjects of our Crown to the Craft and Power
 of their Enemies, it is high time to unite
 all the Members of Names and Nations, and to
 unite in the common Cause and Interest of Liberty
 and their Country. Let them show
 themselves as Men in Death, as well as in Life.
 Let them invoke GOD, and swear solemnly, or let
 all the Great Summary of the Law: Let them
 and all their Might, and even the Honour of
 the Kingdom. So shall neither foreign or domestic
 Oppression or Tyranny be able to work the Ruin of
 the British Constitution, or of any of
 its Members.

T I W 1 2

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REMARKS
ON THE
Examination and Examiner
OF THE
CRITICAL REVIEW
OF THE
LIBERTIES
OF
British SUBJECTS, &c.

WITH

A further ACCOUNT of the p-rl-m—ry
and m—t—ry Persecution of the Subjects of
I—d in general, of the free and loyal
Citizens of *D—n* in particular, which
attended the late Proscription of

CHARLES LUCAS,

Now an *Exile* for the Cause of TRUTH and the
CONSTITUTION of his COUNTRY.

By the AUTHOR of the CRITICAL REVIEW, &c.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected and enlarged.

*The PEOPLE can no more part with their LIBERTIES, than
KINGS can alienate their Crowns. L. MOLESWORTH.*

*My Heart and Hand are, and ever shall be, at Enmity with
Slaves, as well as Tyrants of all Denominations, in all
Stations. COMPLAINTS of Dublin.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. CARPENTER, in Fleet-Street,

[Price One Shilling.]

1780



REMARKS, &c.

IF it be not justifiable to answer a *Fool* according to his *Folly*, how much more culpable must it be, in the Eyes of the judicious and generous, to answer a *Knave* according to his *Knavery*, or a *Railler* according to his *Raillery*? — From this Consideration, I hope, steering in these Remarks, a different Course from the *Author* of the *Examination* of the *Critical Review*, will be not only excusable, but laudable.

I MIGHT with equal Truth and Justice with the *Author*, use the two first Paragraphs of his Pamphlet in a Parody : All that happens to be consistent with Sense, or Decency in them, holds equally just for my Purpose : It is not the *Author's* obeying his *Master's* Commands in attempting to make an *Examination* of the *Critical Review*, and publishing it in *Dublin*, where each has lost all Appearance of Credit and Reputation, as well as of just Authority, that can call upon me to take any Notice of either ; No ; it is the publishing his *Misrepresentations*, (I will not say *Lies*) of Men and Matters in general, in *London*, where the Maladministration and Misconduct of *Master* and *Man*, in *Ireland*, are not yet fully known, and where consequently, they may make some bad Impressions on the unwary, that prompts me to expose the *learned Author* and his *Works* in a true Light.

HOWEVER, *high and illustrious* as this great Man by his *Title*, *Station*, *promised Place* and *celebrated Writings* may appear, there are but few Instances, in which I can allow myself to follow his *noble Example*. In this one, I hope it is allowable : The *Gentleman* is pleased, from the Abundance of his *Penetration* and *Sagacity*, to make out, as he does most of his other Assertions, that *Charles Lucas* is the *Author* of the *Critical Review* : Therefore, on this same *Charles Lucas*, he lets loose his whole Magazine of

*Malice, Hatred and Envy, gross Scurrility, Abuse and Slander, which are to serve instead of Arguments and Convictions.——He that soweth in Iniquity, shall reap in Vanity.——*Had he such as himself to deal with, his *foul Language* might be retorted with double Force upon his *Worship's Head*; but, We chuse a more just and rational Course, and shall only shew, before We proceed any further, that this *ingenious Tract* was wrote by Sir R—— C——, *Bart.* Author of *some Observations on the present State of Ireland, particularly with Relation to the Woollen Manufacture; in a Letter to his Excellency the Duke of DORSET, in the Year 1731, with this remarkable Motto, Timeo Danaos, & Dona ferentes. In English, I dread an Englishman, even when he does me a Kindness; and of the Cork Surgeon's LETTER, and ANTIDOTE, against the Dublin apothecary's Poyson, of a LETTER from a Member of the House of Commons, to a chief Magistrate of a Borough: Relative to the Votes of the House of Commons, of the 16th of October, 1749, &c. &c.*

It may seem hard to father these Productions upon the *Baronet*, as he has not put his Name to any of them, and when he has often absolutely and peremptorily denied being the Author of them, as in the *Examination*, p. 16, he declares, by the like Authority, that *He was not the Author of the first.——*But, there is nothing better known in *Ireland*, than that this *mighty Baronet* has often owned or fathered the first, nay, boasted of the *bold, patriot* Performance; except, that he wrote the other Papers under the Mask of the *Cork Surgeon*, or the *Member of the House of Commons*, &c. which he has occasionally disavowed to some, while he applied for, and obtained a Place, or a *Promise* or a Place, or a *Pension*, from another, as a *Gratuity* for his *hard Labours*——in the Cause of *Corruption*; of which his *Worship* is so conscious, that tho' it be expressly charged upon him in the *Critical Review*, p. 49, 50, he dare not in his *Examination* deny, or so much as glance at it.——
O! *wise and upright Statesman! Skilful Surgeon! Firm Patriot!* had'st thou been a better Politician, thou would'st have observed this Maxim;

*Leave Room for Change, turn with a Grace about,
And swear you test them when you found them out.*

ART OF POLITICS.

To

To form a just Idea of this *matchless* Man, and to shew how consistently with himself he always speaks, writes and acts, it is necessary to give the Reader some few *Abstracts* of his Works.

I SHALL begin with *his Observations*, many of which are so just, that no honest Man, no *firm Patriot* would be ashamed to acknowledge them; tho' some of his *Threats* are so violent, so audacious and so seditious, that no true Loyalist could utter them, and it is astonishing he has so long escaped with Impunity.

A NEW Edition of these *Observations* was published in Dublin last Year, and dedicated to the *Cork Surgeon*. In the first Paragraph, p. 11, the *Author* complains of the *extreme Distress, and miserable Uneasiness, under which the People of Ireland at present labour*; and urges, as Motives for Redress, *his Grace's Reputation, the Honour of his Majesty, and the Interest of England*.

IN the next, he sets forth the lamentable Decay of Trade and Want of Money. And, in p. 12, has this most remarkable Paragraph.

'IT is impossible for you to comprehend, at the Distance you are at, the Miseries of this People. It would be difficult for you to come at a *true Sense* of them, though you were here. You would see no other Part of the Kingdom, but that which, by its being the Capital, and the Place of your Residence, engrosses the *whole* Wealth of the Country: And you would be surrounded by a Crowd of *hungry* Courtiers, whose Interest it is to represent their People as flourishing as they can, that the more Taxes may be *raised* upon them, because they imagine the more will fall to their Share. You would likewise meet with Men of Quality and Fortune, whose Vanity would make them endeavour to deceive you, and who are ashamed to confess their *Country's Poverty*, lest it should be a Reproach to them for their *own Extravagance*.'

AFTER this, he very justly shews the exuberant Evil of raising the Rents of Land all over the Kingdom; the draining away all the little *current Cash* by *numberless incorrigible Absentees*, p. 13; the inevitable bad Consequences to England and Ireland, p. 14; demands a free Trade to the *British Plantations*, and some considerable Encouragement to the *Woollen Manufacture*; sets forth the Jealousy of England, and hopes it will not be carried as far as it formerly was, to lead them to study more how to do Mischief to their

Neighbours, (of Ireland) *than to do Good to themselves,* p. 15. — He shews how the Declension of the *Woolien Trade* in Ireland is owing to this *Jealousy*, and the Unreasonableness and Impolicy of excluding the *Irish* the joint Benefit of that Trade, by precipitately passing the *Act of Prohibition*, from the Fable of the *Hen* and the *Golden Egg*. The evil Consequence of which *Prohibition*, to both Kingdoms, he fairly demonstrates. Then sets forth the Effects of this *Injustice*, p. 16. He says, *it is impossible to prevent the running of Wool; that it was in vain to punish the clandestine Exportation with Death, since it is as well to be hanged as starved.* — Then after some further Expostulations and Animadversions upon the Restraint of this Trade; *he hopes the English will make a better Use of the Reformation, and of the Liberty of reading the Scriptures, than to copy after Pharaoh, and expect us to make Brick without Straw,* p. 17.

THEN, he treats the Scheme for a *Registry* of the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*, with great Freedom, and seems to glance, that it can only be done by an *Act* of the *Irish* Parliament, *as the People of Ireland do not think an English Act of equal Force.* But, afterwards, he shews the Scheme inconsistent with the *Interest* and *Liberties* of *England*, p. 18, and absolutely *impracticable* in *Ireland*, p. 19, 20. He demonstrates it to be the *Interest* of *England* to encourage the *Irish* to manufacture their *Wool*. And adds, *As for England, 'tis so loaded with Debt and oppressed with Taxes, that no Manufacture can hereafter flourish there.* Upon this, he demands a *Liberty* to *Ireland* to manufacture some few Articles in *Wool* to be exported only to *England*, p. 21. If this be not done, he says, *Ireland* must call home her *stupid, profligate, and abandoned Sons, the Absentees, who, as he expresses it, can live in a foreign Country, distressed, abhorred, and despised, &c.* p. 22.

THE Remainder is so remarkable, that it would suffer in the Abstract; therefore, We transcribe it fairly.

‘ BUT my Resentments have carried me too far, and made me speak with a Warmth, which nothing but my Country’s Distress could justify; however, I shall make this Use of it, to let you know, that a much greater Spirit boils in the Heart of every *Irishman* at this Juncture: A Spirit which has united all Parties, *Whig* and *Tory*, *Protestant* and *Papist*, and which may be very troublesome to your Grace the next Session of Parliament, if something
‘ effectual

' effectual is not done to relieve us. I speak it not by way
 ' of *Threat*, for it would be as much *below you* to regard
 ' such a Behaviour, as it would be *above us*, to be guilty of
 ' it. I speak it not with Haughtiness or Pride, but with the
 ' *greatest Dread and Horror*, that I am convinced if we
 ' continue long in so wretched a Condition, we shall be
 ' plunged into a Scene of the utmost Confusion. *Poverty*
 ' and *Despair*, the Consequences of it, may drive us terri-
 ' ble Lengths: They will take away our Reason, and we
 ' shall then have *very little Regard* for our own Preservati-
 ' on. As it is at present, we very little care what becomes
 ' of us, and wish ourselves as heartily at the Bottom of the
 ' Sea, as *England* ever did. All that may follow from
 ' hence I dare not suggest. One Consequence, which is
 ' the *least terrible* that can happen, will be, that all the
 ' *Protestants* in the Kingdom, in a few Years more, will
 ' leave it for *New-England*, a Country much more likely
 ' at present to shake off its Dependance on the Crown of
 ' *England* than ever we were. The *Papists* will then be
 ' left Masters of *Ireland*, and, if *unassisted*, may perhaps
 ' employ the *English* another 400 Years before they are
 ' subdued; if *supported* by a foreign Power, as it is proba-
 ' ble they will be, it will be improbable they would be *re-*
 ' *subdued at all*.

' THESE Considerations should induce the *English* to use
 ' us with all *Indulgence* instead of *Restraint*. The very
 ' Argument they use against it, is a strong one on that Side
 ' the Question. If they are afraid we should *rebel*, which
 ' I am sure is a *barbarous* and an *unjust* Suspicion, they
 ' should use us so as to make us run some Risque in doing
 ' it, they should allow us something that we might *fear* to
 ' lose; instead of that they leave us in a State, which we
 ' run no Risque in *changing*, because there cannot be a
 ' *worse*. We are destitute of the *Necessaries of Life*, and
 ' we have lost those Liberties which are dearest to Mankind.
 ' There remains *nothing* but Life, which in so calamitous a
 ' Condition is worse than Death. Examine ancient Histo-
 ' ry; observe whether the most *frequent* Causes of Revolu-
 ' tions have been *Opulence and Plenty*, or *Poverty and Op-*
 ' *pression*. Reflect on the *last* Revolution of these latter
 ' *Ages*, and see whether it was Power and Riches that en-
 ' abled the *Low-Countries* to shake off the *Spanish Yoke*.
 ' If this should appear, then I shall never trouble your
 ' Grace more, nor desire your Assistance.

' BUT

‘ BUT as I am convinced the Case is otherwise, and
 ‘ *England* acts a very *imprudent* Part in oppressing this
 ‘ Country, I boldly venture to give my Thoughts upon
 ‘ their *present* Condition; and I do it with greater Confi-
 ‘ dence, because my Stake is not only very small here, but
 ‘ likewise of such a Nature, that it would not be prejudiced
 ‘ by any Misfortune that can probably happen to us: What
 ‘ principally engaged me in this Affair, was that which has
 ‘ as *great an Influence* upon your Grace as upon any Man
 ‘ living, a tender Compassion for the *Miseries* of our Fel-
 ‘ low-Creatures.’

THUS this zealous Patriot, in the Year 1731, laid the
 very *Poison* for the People of *Ireland*, which being taken in
 larger Quantities by the *Dublin Apothecary*, than by most
 others, gave Occasion to the *political Surgeon* of *Cork* to
 administer his *Antidotes* in the Year 1749. And by prov-
 ing (like *common Quacks*,) his Skill in curing the *Distemper*,
 he himself had *introduced*, or *propagated*, got into Favour
 with the *Power* he once opposed, and was made *presump-*
tive Collector, first of *Dublin*, then of *Cork*.——Thus,
 thrive the *firm Patriots* of this *virtuous Age*!——Poor
 Sir Knight! what would have become of thee, were there
 not such a Being as this *crazy Apothecary*?——Old *Seven-*
ty-five, for whom you so often *sleep and watch*, and make
 Room in the most *sacred Part* of your——House, could
 no longer support you: His Appetite sated, you could hope
 for no more *unpayable Loans*! Whither then must you
 have flown?——There remained but one Resource: Be-
 ing a *valourous Knight*, it was but going upon the *Pad*,
 and becoming a *Collector* instantly; and so, you might
 have done as much Honour to *Chivalry*, as your worthy
 Predecessor *Falstaff*.——Perhaps, having ever had a *deli-*
cate Sense of *Danger*, you thought you might run the
 Risk of being exalted to an higher, and *long* deserved
 Honour by this Means. That surely was easily avoided:
 For, why should not the *Privilege* of *P*——t be made
 to extend to the *protecting* one Kind of *Robbery* is another;
 since there can be no essential Difference to the Public, be-
 tween *robbing* on the *Highway* with Impunity, and *keeping*
 Men out of *just Debts*, without a Remedy?

HERE, let us leave Sir R——d's *Observations*, to take
 a cursory View of the political Principles of some of his
 other *inimitable* Writings; only desiring those, who have
 ventured to read the censured *Charles Lucas's Papers*, to
 see

fee which is most loyal, most respectful to the supreme and subordinate Magistrates of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, most happy in the Enjoyment of a self-acquitting and self-approving Conscience, this boasted *firm Patriot*, this *great chirurgicall Collector of Cork*, or his Master, or the poor, crazy, exiled Apothecary of *Dublin*? The one abuses, misrepresents and vilifies the Governments and political Principles of both Kingdoms, as *corrupt, tyrannical* and *iniquitous*; the other sets forth their Beauty, Strength and Excellency, and only blames some particular *evil Administrations* for the Distresses of either Nation. The former is a Man of *Fortune, Dignity* and *Station*, yet has

Beauty that shocks and Pride that licks the Dust.

POPE.

——The latter a *poor, low, mean Tradesman*——*Titulis & Invidia major*——

Who bravely strives with Fortune to be just.

PLEA IMAG.

——And of whom it may be said,

*For more true Joy, Marcellus exil'd feels,
Than Cæsar with a Senate at his Heels.*

POPE.

I AM very well informed, that as far as Truth might be collected from the Countenance, or Words of our *chirurgicall Chevalier*, few Men stood better in his Estimation than *Charles Lucas*, from the Time he first gave Opposition to the confessed *Usurpation* and *Tyranny* of the *Aldermen* of the poor, undone City of *Dublin*. But it was not possible this should hold long, with a more *firm Patriot*, than good *Sir R——d*: For, Mr. *Lucas* having laid himself out to expose the Maladministration of Government, which had long proved the sole Obstacle to the reclaiming and improving the whole Country, must of Necessity glance Reflections on——some Friends of the *noble Baronet*.

THE Spirit of Reformation became more universal in *Ireland*, in Summer 1749, than it had been ever known before in that unhappy Kingdom. In the Month of *June*, a weekly Paper was published by different anonymous Hands, called, *The CENSOR*. In this Paper, the old crying Evil

of the Judges, *selling, delaying, denying* Law and Justice to the Subjects, (the Source of Mr. Lucas's Distresses) was loudly complained of, and some recent Instances of these Crimes revived some of the past, which were enumerated in a spirited Paper of *June 24*. Among other Abuses of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, there recited, one of the late Sir R——d C——x's committing is specified, which galled our *tender Patriot* a little; so that he, in his usual Manner, took up a *dark Lantern*, put on a Mask, and *threw Stones* at his Neighbour, upon bare and groundless Suspicion of his being the Author. He wrote a Letter, under the assumed Name of *Anthony Litten*, Surgeon of *Cork*, in which, by positive, but unproved and improbable Assertions, like those in his *modest Examination*, he attempts to vindicate the Character of his *most worthy Grandfather*, or *Father*, and to asperse and vilify that of Mr. Lucas. And thus commenced the Quarrel, which ended so *happily*, so *honourably*, so *profitably* for Sir R——d, so *unhappily*, so *unfortunately* for Mr. Lucas. Indeed, every Man that has any fair Reputation to lose, must be in Danger, when he encounters such Men, as have wrecked their Consciences and their Characters: Those that have any Regard to Truth or Decency, if they engage with such, as have none, and for them, substitute Falshood and foul Language, must expect to sully their Hands. Wherefore Mr. Lucas has been observed to keep pretty clear of this *most worshipful Man*; but the CENSOR of *September* the 9th, and the Author of *A MIRROR* for a *Mock-Patriot*, have so fairly characterised the Gentleman, that little or no Room has been left to any Body else to attack the *Hero*. But, what served to confirm this *doughty Knight's* Aversion to Mr. Lucas, besides their being, in all Respects, the diametrical Reverse of each other, the opposite Extremes in Nature, was Mr. Lucas's exposing the Corruption and Iniquity of the late Queen's *Council* and *Judges*, and other *wicked Tools*; particularly, the late Sir S——l C——ke, Knt. Alderman and Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, Father of the present *most worthy* Lord Mayor and Member of Parliament for that City, and the late Sir R——d C——x, Knt. the *worthy* Ancestor of the present Sir R——d, upon whom the *Commons*, in the Year 1716. pass'd the following well deserved Compliment, as recited in *Lucas's* xviiith Address.

RESOLVED, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that Sir R——d C——x, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice
of

of Ireland, being a Member of the late Privy-Council, and present, when the Rolls and Evidences of the City were produced at the Council-Board, and having the Perusal of those Rolls, wherein the Falsity of the Instances mentioned in the 1st Report of the late Judges did appear; that the said Sir R—— C—— acted partially and corruptly in making the said Report, and thereby intended to impose upon her late Majesty, and is guilty of HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANORS.

WHOEVER reads this, and considers the close Connection between the late Sir S—— C—— and Sir R—— C——, between these two worthy Baronets, their worthy Offspring Sir S—— l II, and Sir R—— d II, will not be surprized at the boundless Fury and Indignation, the latter have, in their several Stations and Capacities, shewn against Mr. Lucas; the one in bringing the undeserved, illegal, and unjust Censure of a *Faction* in the Commons upon him, as well perhaps, to bring such Censure into Contempt, by letting the *Wicked* and the *Just* fall alike under its Weight, as to undo the Object of his Spleen, and the better to intitle himself to the Wages of Iniquity; the other, in getting Mr. Lucas disfranchised, without the Authority, without the bare Form or Colour of Law, as the Public shall soon be better informed.

THUS, *Of sput'ring Mortals 'tis the fatal Curse,
By mending Blunders still to make them worse.*

ART POLITICS.

THESE considered, no Man can be surprized that the worthy Sons or Grandsons of these most obnoxious, and most justly stigmatized Criminals, not unreasonably, presumed to be tainted with paternal Principles, should combine to pull down a FREE ASSERTOR of the true political Constitution of the City and Nation, a BOLD ADVOCATE for the Legality, Expediency and Necessity of the REVOLUTION, and for the present happy Establishment of the great and illustrious Family of HANOVER on the Thrones of these Realms; all which these Gentlemen artfully, under the much-abused Mask of Whiggism, decry and labour to disgrace by suppressing the Spirit of Liberty universally, which alone can support the present Establishment, and by vilifying and decrying the Revolution, as the Foundation of the principal Calamities of Great-Britain and Ireland, as appears throughout the Cork Surgeon's Antidotes, to take

B

a flight

a slight View of which, I beg leave to conduct the Reader, not offending his Humanity with the immense Heaps of *Falsehood, Filth, and Scurrility* raked together, and attempted to be thrown on Mr. *Lucas*, nor with the fulsome Flattery, he uses as a Cloak, under which he hopes to poison the Ear of the supreme Magistrate, or to blind his Ministry, but merely to shew the wicked and destructive Tenor of his political Principles.

THIS *sage Surgeon* says, that it is flat Nonsense and Impertinence to look into antient Charters or Records for Arguments to prove the respective Constitutions of these Kingdoms, as neither of them had any real Constitution before the Revolution; (of 1688 I suppose he means) and further; that Sovereignty is not to be determined by Rules of Common Law. Let any considerate Man judge to what this destructive Doctrine directly tends.

AFTER this he endeavours to convince the People of Ireland in general, that they are abject, irreclaimable Slaves, under the most inconsiderate and oppressive Tyrants, the English. For tho' that most illustrious Ornament to his Country, the GREAT LORD MOLESWORTH* says, that all we pretended to by the Revolution, was to be as we were, and that every one should have his own again; yet mighty C——, like those glanced at by the same noble Author, mumbles at the Subject as tenderly as the *Ass* did the *Thistle*, and says, in Effect, That before the Revolution indeed, they were a free People; but, that since, and by that, they have been reduced to a State unknown to the remotest Subject of our Crown, under the Power and Authority of two distinct Masters, the two different Legislatures of Great-Britain and Ireland, the several Acts of each of which, however incoherent or opposite, they must passively and implicitly observe and obey.—Happy Picture of the great and glorious REVOLUTION, which at once freed these Nations from hereditary Tyranny, *Jure divino*, from the Errors and Bondage of Rome, and which, for these Causes, the Subjects of Ireland commemorate with the justest Sense of Gratitude and Loyalty, as at once restoring the civil and religious LIBERTIES of both Nations, without Distinction.—Curse on those that are Slaves thro' Choice! it is too much to be such thro' Necessity——

CICERO.

* Preface to his Account of Denmark.

THUS

THUS *our Surgeon* goes on but in a keen Strain of Irony, calling the *English* the *Redeemers* of *Ireland*, but endeavouring to make them appear *her Enslavers, her Tyrants*, as he shews them to have been of *Scotland*; and then broaches this *matchless Maxim of Law*, as he calls it, which I suppose he derives from the *Funds* of his *sage Grandfather*, *that a good Judge will enlarge his Jurisdiction*.

—Is not this a *good Subject, a wise Politician, an upright Legislator, a pure Whig?*—Yet such are the Principals and the Services for which he is paid, or promised Payment by his *gracious Master!*—Good Encouragement for Loyalty and Patriotism?—‘While Interest draws one Way, and *Honesty* another, when a Man may make his *Fortune* by forgetting (or foregoing) his Duty to his Country, but shall always stick at a *Mark* while he serves it; it is scarcely to be hoped, Men should hold out against such Temptations, unless they be more gifted with *Honesty* than the Generality of Mankind are.’—Thus the same truly noble Writer affords the best Apology for the Conduct of C——, and his Master!

AFTER this, the *Cork Surgeon* says, *Every Man knows the Kingdom of Ireland is enslaved; that it cannot be otherwise; that it is no better than Frenzy to oppose it, or to complain; that it matters not whether it be so by original Force or Consent; that he who asserts the contrary (Lucas is a Tool for Popery and the P——r, and that he (the Surgeon) would as soon become a Papist and Jacobite as join with Lucas*—This is a short Specimen of the Truth and Consistency of the famous *chirurgical Collector C—— of Cork!* This is the Man that was an Advocate, a Bully, for the Trade and Liberties of his Country, in 1731; has since shewn himself a *temporizing, self-interested Partizan*, especially in his Writings against the unalterable Principles of Truth and Liberty, in 1749; and particularly in his persecuting the unfortunate *Charles Lucas*; and in gratifying his insatiable Malice in pursuing this undone Refugee in his *Exile*, by making a new Attack upon his Credit and Character, when he could not suspect him in a Way of vindicating himself.

To excuse and foil this wicked Attempt it is, that I now take the Pen, to make *some Remarks* on this invenomed Author and his Works. I have first taken Part of his own Freedom; and as he, without any Grounds, presumes *Charles Lucas* to be the Author of the *Critical Review*;

I beg leave to take *one* of the *Masks* off his Face, and shew the Man a *little*. I will not pursue his Method further. I will not call him *desperate*, *crazy*, or *mad* : a *Fool*, a *Knave*, a *Villain*, an *Incendiary*, a *Wretch* : a *Ruffian*, a *Liar*, a *Flatterer*, a *Sycophant*, a *Pander*, a *Parasite*, a *Parricide*, or an *Enemy to his Country* : This would be dealing in the *chirurgical Chevalier's* own Coin, which he freely deals to poor *Lucas*——from behind a Screen. I shall content myself with proving him *the Man*, to such of the World as do not know his Character ; for let who will give him the Appellations he shall appear to deserve, there are many Reasons why I cannot give them : First, I will not give him *ill Language* at a Distance and anonymous, because it may be said, *he cannot resent it properly* ; secondly, I would not give him the *opprobrious Names* he deserves, were I near him ; because it is well known, *he never did nor dare resent such Treatment* from any body ; and thirdly and lastly, I will not give *hard Words*, because it is the only Thing he offers his Antagonist, and what all that know him have lavished on him for many Years past to no Purpose. But, the great and noble Author before recited, * affords a better Reason ; *Because*, says he, *Railing, Virulency, and personal false Reflections are always the Signs of a bad Cause, or a feeble Champion.*——

Whoever, desires to know more Particulars of this *matchless Hero's* History, are desired to enquire his Character in *Cork and Dublin*, to consult the LETTERS that passed between his Excellency *H——y B——e*, Esq; and Sir *R—— C——*, Bart. in the Year *The MIRROR* for a *Mock Patriot*, the CENSOR, Numbers XV. and XXVI. A *first* and *second* LETTER to the *Citizens of Dublin*, published in 1749, a Letter to the *Lords of the Treasury*, published the 12th of *April* 1750, and the *Petition of John Byrne* preferred to the House of Commons against Sir *R—— C——*, this Year —— “ In corrupted Governments, the Place is given for the Sake of the Man ; in good ones, the Man is chosen for the Sake of the Place. ”

MARQ. HALIFAX.

* See his Preface to the famous HOTOMAN's *Franco-Gallie*.

YET now behold,

*To WHOM a groaning Nation's Spoils are given !
When public Crimes inflame the Wrath of Heaven ;
In him The cheated Nation's happy Favourite see !
Mark whom the Great cares, who frown on Me !*

JOHNSON'S LONDON.

WHOEVER peruses these, considers this *Gentleman's* Character ever so slightly, and views his last *matchless* Performance, his *Examination* of the *Critical Review*, in the proper Light, will readily see the Difficulty of treating the Subject, or the *Man*, with strict Propriety and Decency ; as he never keeps within the Bounds of Truth, Regularity, or good Manners. Besides, I desire it may be remembered, that I set out in this Dispute upon none other Principles, than those set forth in the *Critical Review*, p. 8. ' To rescue Truth out of *Darkness*, to bring Facts to Light, in the Issue of which every Subject of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is deeply interested ; to assert PUBLIC LIBERTY upon the Principles of the *British* Policy, and to vindicate Innocence, Virtue and Loyalty, most shamefully, most cruelly injured, and oppressed in the Instance of a LOYAL PROTESTANT, remarkably spoiled of every Privilege of a *free Subject* ; a Precedent, which, if not timely abolished, may one Day prove fatal to the whole Community.'—— If I should be found misinformed of any particular trivial Fact, which happening since I left that Kingdom, or in Places to which I had not Access, could not fall within my own Knowledge, I shall receive the Correction, and amend by the Reproof of an *avowed Enemy* to Truth and Liberty, even of Sir R—— C——, the *Collector* ; instead of giving him Opposition : For, he that writes or speaks with a proper Regard to Truth or Justice, cannot attempt to support or gloss over one Falshood, or one Mistake with another ; but to advance his Cause must be ever ready to relinquish and retract all such Errors as he might have committed thro' Misinformation, thro' the Misapprehensions and warm Conceptions frequently attendant on commendable Zeal, or otherwise.—— In this Disposition I hope to be found in treating this extraordinary Pamphlet, as well as upon all other Occasions ; and now to begin.——

My

My Correspondents inform me, that as soon as the *Critical Review* reached *Dublin*, the *mighty Men*, the *associate Managers* there were dreadfully inflamed and enraged at being so exposed in *England*. The *great Man's* chief Confident and Counsellor, the *distinguished Hero* of *P——n-P——s*, being himself somewhat galled, gladly went on an Embassy to the chief Champion for Corruption, the presumptive Collector; to him the hamstrung Knight shewed how both *they* and their excellent Master were handled in this vile *Review*, the very Name of which struck as great a Pannic as might be done on either, by a drawn Sword, or a Mob of *Scotish Highlanders*. The *chirurgical Knight*, as soon as he recovered his Colour and Strength, and rallied his scattered Senses, hastened to his Master, received new Assurances of the promised Place, advertised it accordingly in the public Papers, and at the same time took his Orders for answering the *Critical Review*, which he soon after advertised in the public Papers here, and after six Weeks or two Months hard Labour, at last brought forth this worthy Product of a prostituted Pen, an Examination, &c. which came to my Hand on Friday the 20th of April last.

His Regard to Decency in the Front of his Work is equalled by nothing, but his Regard to Truth and Justice in the Prosecution of his Subject: The Title of his Piece stands thus; *An EXAMINATION of the FACTS and a Detection of the impudent FALSEHOODS and gross MISREPRESENTATIONS*, contained in a Pamphlet, intitled, *A CRITICAL REVIEW of the LIBERTIES of BRITISH SUBJECTS*; with a comparative View of the *H——e of C——s of I———d*, against an unfortunate EXILE of that Country. Here it is observable, this impartial Writer would not finish the Title-Page, nor add an &c. to shew, that he left it incomplete; for no other Reason, than his horrid and incurable Aversion to Truth, particularly to that of the two Sentences following, viz. *who in contending for the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of the PUBLIC, lost his Own.*—And,——*Published as a serious and seasonable WARNING to all TRUE WHIGS and FREE BRITONS.* All this, as well as the unfavoury Motto, the State Surgeon chose to expunge, for, as they stood somewhat in his way, he must have done that, or have leapt over them, and the latter he had by Experience found the easiest Method, and what he with like Success frequently practices in the Sequel. —But, let me not fall into the skipping Pranks of my
worthy

worthy *Chevalier*, and leave out a Part of his Title-Page ; the *Lemma* judiciously chosen from the Works of the only Writer, that could countenance his Principles, — HIMSELF ; Here it is then ;

——— ‘ *It cannot be taken ill, that the Honour of Parliament should be vindicated against a Person, who doubtless will one Day return to his old Method of publishing LIES and SCANDAL of all, who do not concur in his destructive Schemes.*’

‘ LETTER from a Member, &c.’

How far the Relations of *Facts* in the *Review* are impudent *Falshoods* or gross *Misrepresentations* will be shewn in these *Remarks*. But, before I proceed, give me leave to call upon this mighty *Member* to shew a single Instance of Mr. *Lucas*’s publishing LIES : Or, where any Assertion, he has publicly or privately made, bears the common Characteristics of a *Lie* ; or, where any Word or Action of his Life is inconsistent or contradictory to another. Till this is shewn, the *Lie* falls on *Somebody*, to whom I am too polite to give it in gross Terms : That, I could not do, unless I was angry, and I know Sir R——d II, too well to let him move any Passion, but Contempt.

As for *Scandal*, I honestly confess, I cannot acquit our *Exile* of it. He has most certainly broached more of that, than has ever been attempted by any one before him, in *Ireland* ; — if it be *Scandal* to expose the *Ignorance*, *Supinefs*, *Corruption* and *Iniquity*, as well of the dead, as of the living *Governors*, *Parliaments*, *Judges*, *Magistrates*, and *Ministers*, who have laid themselves out to plume and aggrandise themselves with the Spoils of the People, to oppress and enslave the King’s Subjects, instead of governing and protecting them in their Rights and Liberties, agreeable to the Laws, agreeable to the Constitution of the Country ; which for these abominable Purposes have been so neglected, broken down and trampled under Feet, as to prevent the Improvement of the Country and the Progress of the Reformation of Manners, Religion and Politics all over the Nation ; such Measures may, with great Submission to the *Champion* for that Cause and his excellent *Patron*, be called *Scandalous* ; nay, with greater Submission, the *Inventors* and *Executioners* of such Measures and their *Agents* and *Minions*, whether *Kings*, *Priests* or *Prophets*, *Lords* or *Commons*,

Commons, Collectors, Surgeons or Knights, living or dead, may be deemed and pronounced *scandalous Fellows*; and yet, an *Inferior's* charging his *Superior* with such *scandalous Actions*, whether *true* or *false*, will probably be construed in Law, a *scandalous Libel*, perhaps *Scandalum Magnatum*, or *Crimen læse Majestatis*.—In this Respect, I cannot pretend to acquit my unfortunate *Client*; he has indeed published *Scandal*.—But, who have caused the *Scandal*?—Are they not more to blame, than he who only detects it? Can any Distemper in the *Body, natural* or *politic*, be effectually cured or prevented, before the Source and Cause are thoroughly made known? Can there be a more sure Method of obviating the Mal administration of one Government, than exposing that of another with its evil Tendencies and Consequences?—I expect to be called a *Scandal-Bearer* for mentioning the Promotion of Sir R — d C-x: I confess it reflects *Scandal somewhere*; but, I hope, I am at least as much out of the Question, as Mr. *Lucas*; nay, I must think more so: For, the World say, he was not a little instrumental to his *Worship's* Promotion; tho' I confess, I think he is to be pitied if not commended, rather than blamed for affording the Handle that was taken. Now may *Lucas* justly say,

*Well may such rise, while I, whose rustic Tongue
Ne'er knew to puzzle right or varnish wrong;
Spurn'd as a Beggar, dreaded as a Spy,
Live unregarded, unlamented die.* JOHNSON'S LONDON.

IN the 4th p. of this Performance, the Author assigns his *learned Reason*, for not being able to suppose any other than *Charles Lucas*, the Author of the *Critical Review*; these are first the *unmerited Praise and Applause throughout the whole, lavishly bestowed on Charles Lucas*.—This might have some Weight, if it could be made out in *Lucas's* Writings or Conversation, that he shewed any Tendency to that unpardonable Vanity; with which his *Enemies* (except C—,) never pretended or presumed to charge him: They had more Modesty. But, this and every other Reason assigned to fix the *Review* on *Lucas*, conspire to shew the Author of the *Cork Surgeon's Works* to be the Author of this *Examination*, viz. a *declamatory and dogmatic Stile*, weak, *inconclusive* or false Arguments, *unmeaning* and absurd *political Assertions*; *peremptory* and unjust *Decisions of Points*

Points relating to the Constitution; real or affected Ignorance of the most ordinary public Transactions, even of those in which he was a chief Agent; bold, and false Relations of Occurances, and so unguarded too, that nothing but Power, or his favourite military Force could support them; Aspersions, as venomous and virulent, as unjust and malicious, cast upon the few, who, for the Sake of Truth and the Rights of their Country, differ from him; and a most abject cringing to, and servile fawning upon, and flattering, Men in Power, visible thro' all his Writings, as well as Deportment, each of which are too tedious and too offensive to recite; these evident Circumstances incontestably prove L—n and C—, the Cork Surgeon and the Collector of Cork to be one and the same Person, behind a Screen or a Mask, or under a Cloud, with the learned and ingenuous Author of this Examination. — Come on then, thou worthy Off-spring of old Sir Dick! thou unspeakable Honour to thy COUNTRY! and lasting Ornament to the Memory of thy matchless Master! Come forth, I say, thou excellent Friend to thy King! and zealous Defender of the Rights and Liberties of thy Country! be not bashful; thou can'st not blush; shew thyself to thy Neighbours in thy true native Colours, and fear not; for thou can'st have no good Crime proved on Thee, as Thou said'st thou could'st fix on Lucas: No; thy Crimes, unmatched before, are all of thine own Stamp and Complexion: — Fear not my Friend, Sable and Brags stand at once the Weather and the Light.

IN the same Page, the Author says, *that Charles Lucas was an Enemy to the Aldermen of Dublin, because he was not an Alderman.* — Some uncourteous Reader may ask for Proof of this; — what if he does? the Knight does not chuse to give him more Proof for this, than for any other of his Assertions. — His Reasons for asserting it may have some Weight: He probably judged, from his own honest Heart, that Lucas opposed the Aldermen from the same Views and Motives, that C— sometime opposed the Government, to make his Importance and Price conspicuous, that, at some lucky Opportunity, he may obtain some Provision or Preferment. But, perhaps C— is the only Man in Ireland, who may be allowed to argue thus: And even he ought to remember, for he knows it to be his Aversion, Truth, that Lucas discovered the Usurpation, Tyranny and Corruption of the Aldermen of Dublin, and instead of
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offering or accepting any Terms from them, proved it beyond the Power of Contradiction. This his Writings and Conduct have evidently demonstrated, to the Confusion of his Enemies and the Satisfaction of all intelligent, virtuous Men in the City and Kingdom. Could as much be said with Truth, for Sir R——d, Lucas and C—— would hardly be now at Variance.

BUT further ; he says, *that Lucas detested the Law and the Ministers of Law, because the Law was not prostituted to his sinister Purposes ; and who daily proves himself to be that Enemy of his Country, which his Country has declared him to be.*—Perhaps somebody will be vain, or just enough, to expect some Proof of this also. I beg leave to offer the best, that can be produced, from Lucas's own Works.—He preaches the Restoration and Observance of the Constitution and *Laws* of his Country every where : He points out the Means, by shewing what the *Rights* of the *Constitution* and the *Duty* of the *Head* and *Members* of the *Body Politic* are, by municipal and Statute *Laws* : He sets forth, that by every Individual's fulfilling the Duty of his Station, in religiously observing and maintaining the *Laws*, particularly with Regard to the *Elections* of Members of Parliament, the national Constitution must be restored when lapsed or broken, and maintained and preserved when in Vigour ; and that all the past, present and future Calamities of these Nations are owing to the Want of this Virtue and public Spirit. In a *Letter to the Citizens of Dublin* he has these *dangerous* Words ;—— ‘ For myself, I have no
‘ Favour to ask, nor any Evil to fear. I have already received Honours at your Hands beyond my most sanguine
‘ Hopes or Expectations ; the *general Applause* and *grateful Acknowledgements* of a BRAVE, a FREE and a LOYAL
‘ PEOPLE, infinitely more estimable in my Sight, than *venal*
‘ *Spurs* or *Coronets*. Did you and all my fellow-Subjects
‘ agree to grant me the utmost Scope of my Wishes, I
‘ should confine them to these two Points ; MY FRIENDS !
‘ be FREE and LOYAL ; Since, by being so, You secure
‘ all that is truly desirable to your KING, to *Yourselves*
‘ and to *Posterity*.’—Who, that was not a most *audacious* Traitor, a *Papist*, a *Tool* for the *Pretender*,—a most *dangerous* Enemy to his Country, that is to C— and his Master, and to the rest of the *Faction* in the long-standing Parliament of Ireland, who could not subsist, much less be promoted, should those *exploded* Principles be
revived,

revived, could utter or entertain such Notions of Laws and Liberty? But moreover, this same *justly exiled Enemy* of his Country, in the *Preface* to his *Address* to the Lord Lieutenant, is so *impudent*, as to bid the Citizens of Dublin follow the Example of the *wise, loyal, and free Citizens of London*. ‘Let, says he, the Enemies of your LIBERTY see, you despise them.’—A *gross Breach of Privilege to be sure!* And then adds, ‘and that You dare assert ‘Your Freedom and Rights to the utmost Extent of the ‘LAW.’ O! *errand Treason!—open Rebellion!* and concludes, ‘Then let those, who break thro’ the Law, dread the Consequences; they, not you, will incur the ‘Appellation and the just Punishment of *Rabble, Mob, Traitors, Rebels, Tyrants and Enemies* to their KING, ‘their COUNTRY and their GOD.’—This is that *Detestation of Law and Magistrates*, which our *learned Author* points out in *Lucas!* Who does not believe it would end in an actual *Rebellion*, a *general Goal Delivery*, or at least a *free and uninfluenced Election*, in *Dublin*, were not the People intimidated and awed by the *martial Fame* and *happy Presence* of—the *Right Honourable Sir J—n C—e* and *L—d C—f J—ce M—y?*

*Heroes proceed! what Bounds your Pride shall hold,
What Check restrain your Thirst of Pow’r and Gold?
Behold * rebellious Virtue quite o’erthrown,
Behold our Fame, our Wealth, our Laws your own.*

JOHNSON’S LONDON.

BUT, to give the more inquisitive Reader yet further Proof of this *crazy Apothecary’s Detestation of Law*, in his *ninth Address*, he has these remarkable Words; ‘Would ‘you, MY DEAREST FRIENDS! have a Restoration of ‘your lost Rights and Privileges? You must then be ‘quiet and peaceable, and make your Approaches against ‘the *Enemy* under the *Covert*, under the *Protection* of the ‘Law. Let them not be able to say, that *the Friends of ‘Liberty broke the Peace*, however provoked to it.’—Can this be supposed any other than the Language of a *common Disturber*, of a *Contemner of Laws?*—Not with the *Knight*, who, having never dared to speak the Language

* See the CASE of the *Free Citizens of Dublin*, 1750.

of an honest Heart, judges those that do, are not serious or sincere.

WELL; I cannot find in my Heart to quit this Point without exposing it a little further. Now, I find, that, previous to his writing his Addresses to the Citizens or Lord Lieutenant, this same dangerous *Incendiary*, as the *Collector* is pleased to call him, in his COMPLAINTS of *Dublin*, presented to the Earl of *Harrington*, in *Dec.* 1747, has these Words, p. 14, ‘ Your Excellency knows that the LAW ‘ is both the *Measure* and *Bond* of the *Duty* and *Allegiance* ‘ of the Subjects. And sure, my Lord, whoever deprives ‘ the Subject of the Benefit of the LAWS of his Country ‘ does, as much as in him lyes, dissolve the best Security of ‘ both King and People.’ — He afterwards frequently and hardly complains of the *Prostitution* of *Laws*, for which, the *Collector* says, he sought. — In his LETTER to the FREE CITIZENS of *Dublin*, p. 26, 27, he has these remarkable Sentences; — ‘ All the Citizens, that have already distinguished their Zeal for the Cause of Liberty, in which ‘ Number, they honour me, with the foremost Rank; are ‘ represented to Men in Power, as a *factionous*, *sedition*, *tumultuous*, nay, *rebellious Multitude*, raised by me, to oppose and fly in the Face of the Laws and Government. ‘ Citizens of the first Rank, for Sense and Probity, are considered in this Light. Whence, you may judge, that a ‘ very slight Handle is only wanting to give Sanction to some ‘ extraordinary Violence against us.

‘ To You, who know the inmost Recesses of my Soul, ‘ I appeal, whether by Thought, Word, or Deed, I have ‘ given You, or any Man, room to suspect me of any Tendency to *Disaffection*, to *Tumult*, to *Sedition*, to *Faction*, ‘ much less to *Rebellion*? On the contrary, have I not always used my utmost Means, in my low Sphere, to raise in ‘ every Fellow-Citizen and every Fellow-Subject, a true ‘ Notion of, and a proper Regard to, our inestimable Government? to stir up a *true* Sense of LIBERTY, and ‘ LOYALTY in general? — You can all bear Witness ‘ of the Truth, that these have always been the Subject of ‘ my Discourses, as they were the uppermost Object of ‘ my Wishes: That I never found fault with the Institution ‘ of any Office in the *State*, or in the *Church*, from the ‘ highest to the lowest; though I saw many Abuses in many Offices, that required, that demanded to be corrected and reclaimed! That I never sought the Abolition even

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of the *Aldermen*; my sole Desire and Intention has been no more, than to make them *legal* and *useful Magistrates*, agreeable to the wise, popular Institution : And, that so far have I been from using, or offering any Degree of Injustice, Violence, or Incivility to any of them, that I have readily submitted to all their *legal*, though unjust *Ordinances*, for Peace-sake, and paid them all indiscriminately, all common Civilities in their private Capacities.

I BEG Leave to take this Opportunity of recommending, with the utmost Earnestness, to all my FELLOW-CITIZENS and FELLOW-SUBJECTS, that they do not by any inordinate Zeal, give an Handle to our Enemies to charge us with these hateful Crimes : TRUE LIBERTY and TRUE LOYALTY are inseparable ; they are one and the same Essence. Our *Liberty* is bounded and secured by *Law* ; and whenever the Mears of *Liberty* are invaded or broken down by *Fraud*, or *Force*, the *Law* alone can restore and re-establish the *Barrier*. Contend then, for your *Liberty*, civil and religious, bravely, boldly, resolutely : But, let your *Weapon* and your *Shield* be the *LAW* alone.

FOR my own Part, I make this public and solemn Declaration, that if I discover any Man committing *Riots*, *Tumults*, or other *Breaches* of the *Peace*, or *Disturbances*, let him use the Sanction of what *Name* or *Party* he will, I shall look upon him, not only, as an *Enemy* to me, but, as an *Enemy* to the *Cause*, I endeavour to espouse, an *Enemy* to LIBERTY, an *Enemy* to his KING, to his COUNTRY, and to Mankind in general : The Cause I would support is only to be obtained and supported by PEACE and LAW. Hear then all Men, peaceably, quietly ; try all Men by the Rules of *Justice* and *Law* ; then judge for your selves freely, dispassionately, justly ; and hold fast that, which your honest, unbiaffed Hearts approve.

BUT, I shall trouble the Reader with no further Proofs of this Part of the *Examiner's* Condemnation of Mr. Lucas, in this Place, except one taken from this *Letter* to the Citizens, p. 33, and this will be confessed a *Clincher*. This crack-brained Criminal asks those whom He addresses, what would they think of a Man, who should take upon him to obstruct the Course of *Law*, to prevent *legal Trials*, or *Parliamentary Enquiries* and *Redresses* of Grievance

Would they not deem him a *Tyrant*, a *common Enemy*, a *Traitor* ? ' Then, says he, look about you and see who ' among You are such.—— Every Man, who *opposes* the ' Progress of *Law* and *Justice* is an *Enemy* and a *Traitor* ' to his King and Country : Every Man, who obtains an ' Office by *Fraud* or *Force*, and exercises *Dominion* or *Authority*, without a just *Warrant* from *Law*, is an *Usurper* : Every Man, who in any Measure with-holds the ' Benefits of the common established *Laws*, or who *imposes*, ' or *exercises Laws* made *without* the general *Consent* of ' the *People* duly obtained in a FREE PARLIAMENT, is a ' *Tyrant* : And every Man, who tamely or contentedly ' submits to such an *Enemy*, *Usurper*, or *Tyrant*, is a ' *Slave*, a *Parricide* ! A *Wretch*, for whom our Language ' has not framed an expressive Appellation !'—— Sure this makes out the *Examiner's* Charge fully : His *Worship* wisely judged, the *Will* of the *Commons* or their *Votes* was superior to all *Laws*, if not the *Supreme Law*, which *Lucas* of course *detested*, as often *prostituted* and running counter to *Common* and *Statute Laws*. And, as the Consciences of the *Collector* and his *Colleagues* or *Compeers*, as well as of their *Master*, full well informed them who were by his Definition proved *Enemies*, *Usurpers*, *Tyrants* and *Slaves*, it is hardly to be wondered at, that they combined to *prevent his Election*, and made him *fly his Country*, as the *Cork Surgeon* foretold, and then declared him an *Enemy to his Country*, that is, to *themselves*, and have since used Diligence to make him a real *Enemy* to the Constitution, or to appear such to the Public. Hence, every impartial Eye, may see, why the Author of Addresses containing these just Sentiments of Loyalty was *condemned*, *proscribed*, *proclaimed* and *persecuted* ! And why his *prime Persecutors*, C——x, W——n, B——n, &c. were *promoted* and *rewarded* : Thus proceeds the Oracle of the Band ;

—— Whom Pensioners can incite ;
To vote a Patriot black, a Courtier white ;
Explain their Country's dear-bought Rights away,
And plead for Pirates in the Face of Day :
With slavish Tenets, taint our poison'd Youth,
And lend a Lie the Confidence of Truth.

JOHNSON'S LONDON.

FROM this Article, the Credit of the *Examiner* cannot be much advanced. Let us then see what a Figure he
makes in the next.

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IN this, he is very solicitous, that the degenerate State of *Ireland* should not be known in *England*. — Ay! that is the Point: He and his *Master* must be undone if it be. To conceal it, observe the Countenance his *Worship* wears! In his *Observations*, before recited, the *Misery*, *Poverty*, *Wretchedness* and *Despondency* of the *Irish* are strongly painted, all owing to the *Want* of *Trade* and *Employment*. Eighteen Years, it is true, may make, and perhaps has made, some Difference; and it is very probable there are more Hands now employed in *Ireland* than ever. But are the People so well, so fully employed as Sir R——d boldly advances, p. 5, where he asserts, *that an Increase of People is the thing now principally to be sought for, to make the Kingdom happy and flourishing as may be wished*. While he knows, the Face of the whole Country is rendered horrible to Humanity with immense Crowds of wretched Beggars, who, for above three-fourths of the Year can get no sort of Work or Employment whereby to earn a Livelihood; so that in Summer, such of them as have been able to survive the Winter and to *beg* or *steal* enough to pay for their Passage, come in Swarms to *England* to work at the Harvest? Yet, according to the *Examiner*, an *Increase of People*, not *Trade* to employ them, is the *principal Want* of happy, *Ireland*! Who lives in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, that can read this modest *Affertion* of Sir R——d's, and treat it as coolly as I do, without giving his *Worship* the Lie? In your next, great *Collector*! forget not this necessary Rule for a *hackney Orator*, who,

*In Falseness, Probability employs,
Nor his old Lies, with newer Lies destroys.*

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WELL; this *learned* and *ingenuous Knight's* next Care is to shew, that *illegal Power* is not so much stronger than the *Law*, as the *Irish Incendiary* has declared it to be. Observe he tacitly confesses *lawless Force* predominate in *Ireland*, but not so much stronger than the *Law*, as set forth. — An excellent Advocate, for a most excellent *Master*! — For this then he lays himself out; but, he unfortunately meets with some small Discouragements, a few unlucky Difficulties, Arguments. — Ay, ay; Arguments are a plaguy stiff, stubborn Sort of Stuff, quite unfit for his Purpose; therefore, he wisely declares, *he will not meddle with Arguments.*

ments. — Then, tho' he sets out as a *Critical Examiner*, he immediately becomes a *State Tumbler*, and most dexterously exhibits his *Skippings*, and *Boundings*, his *Back-springs*, and *Fore-springs*, his *Flipflaps* and *Summer-seats*. The first *Spring* he makes is to the 8th. p. of the *Review*, in his 6th. p. Whether he pitched upon his Hands or Feet here, or fell upon his Head or Backside, is not easily judged; for he did not stay long; but, from what he left behind him, the latter is most probable. If any body be so industrious a *Gold-finder* as to incline to see his *Orders*, they may find Plenty of it on p. 6, of his *clean and accurate Examination*; but, they are not to expect *much Gold*, as he has not yet got *his Place*. I confess, I think it a Pity, *Lucas's Papers* should be put to such dirty Work; but, I know no others, that can so effectually remove this and the rest of the attendant *Filth* of this *Supple*, but unclean *Timber*.

FROM the 8th Page of the *Review*, this *examining Tumbler*, or *tumbling Examiner*, springs to the 34th Page. Here, it must be confessed, he makes the best Figure, and deserver an higher Title: Nothing can equal his Agility, but a *High-German Doctor*, who *leaps thro' many Hoops*, but *touches none*. — He honestly declares at setting out, *he will not meddle with Arguments*. No, no; he knew there were such, as would trip up his nimble Heels, break his Shins, or hold him by the Neck. For, here the Want of *public Spirit* is complained of; the Principles of the *Liberty, Laws, and general Constitution of Britain* are laid down, by which the happy Security of the *Lives, Liberties and Properties of British Subjects* is demonstrated, and the *Privileges*, that even *Criminals* enjoy under our Laws, which, in such Cases, are the Laws of *Ireland*. Could not the *Doctor* have exploded these Positions, he had no Business to *meddle* with them; therefore, as Mr. *Lucas* was not allowed a single Benefit of these *Laws and Privileges*, it was but prudent to pass them over in Silence, when the *Gentleman* was not *hired*, I should have said *feed*, to *explain*, but to *obscure or suppress Truth*.

BUT, there remains something, that sticks still worse in the *Doctor's Stomach*: That is, the Confutation of the *Motives and Causes* assigned for the late *Rebellion*, and of the *Arguments* used for keeping up the Spirit of *Discontent* and *Disaffection*, which are still industriously fomented by different Means in divers Parts of these united Kingdoms. In which it is evidently shewn, that *Luxury*, and consequent

quent *Corruption* and *Venality* are the *Source* and *sole efficient Cause* of all the *Evils* or *Distresses* complain'd of by these *Malecontents* and their public and private *Abettors*, and that by *Virtue* alone, particularly in restoring and preserving the *Freedom* of Elections, all present and future Grievances must be redressed or obviated.

THESE were Points on which the *Doctor* dared not touch ; because if he had, he must necessarily have served *Lucas's* Cause, or have hurt that of *himself* and his *Patron* and *Party*. Therefore, all that is said to this Purpose, as well as to shew, that the Subjects of *Ireland* are intitled to the same *Rights, Liberties, Privileges* and *Immunities* with those of *Great-Britain*, the one of which cannot be injured with Safety to the other, this curious *Examiner* wisely passes by, as quite foreign to the Intention and Purposes of *him* and his *Master* ; and hardly stops in his Career till he stands before you on Page 34.

IN the 7th Page of his *Examination*, the *Doctor* gives a curious History of the Manner, in which, he says, Mr. *Lucas* obtained the Freedom and Applause of *twenty-one* out of *twenty-four* Corporations. Take it in the *tumbling Patriot's* own Words : ' The Manner of obtaining the Freedom of these Corporations, (if he had so many) was in itself highly criminal, and one of the heaviest Charges upon the late Election. For the Truth was, that where he happened to have a Master of a Corporation his Friend, an Assembly was packed for the Purpose ; and his Desire easily gratified. At other Halls a Day of Business was watched for, and the Candidates upon Principles of Liberty, attended by a tremendous Mob of loose disorderly Persons, many of them Papists, forced themselves into the Halls, interrupted the ordinary Business, fell to their seditious Discourses, pulled out their Pocket-Resolutions of Freedom and Thanks, roared down and threatened all Opposition, over-awed the Corporations, and so carried their boasted Franchises.'

IF it were not somewhat indecent and improper for Reasons before offered, to give a Man of *this distinguished Character* the *Lie*, in plain *English*, we should certainly give it him, begging the Reader's Pardon : But, let him imagine it, and take it in Effect.

IN the first Place then, it is notorious, that no Corporation in *Dublin* can admit any Man to *Freedom*, in any other than the *stated Quarterly Assemblies*, to which all the *Free-*

men are summon'd without Distinction. Secondly, that Mr. *Lucas* has refused submitting to the *common Forms* of preferring a *Petition* for his *Freedom*, and would not accept of it on any other Terms, than as a *free Gift*, his Friends know, and his Enemies (except *Cox*) are obliged to confess. Thirdly, that no Person, but a *Freemen*, is, has, or can be admitted into any *Hall*, while the *Corporation* is sitting, deliberating, debating or voting upon any Business or Question, is a well-known Fact, that requires no Proof; consequently, Mr. *Lucas* could not have been present, when he was voted or admitted into the Franchises of any Corporation; which is a Truth, that none but *Cox* ever had the Effrontery to contradict. And fourthly, that there never were any *rude, loose or disorderly Persons* of any Class, and much less *Papists*, of his Side, is unquestionably true, because all such were, from *Interest or Principle*, avowedly engaged in the Service of the *Aldermen*.

As a further Proof of these Points, see the Declarations of the *Barbers and Chirurgeons, Apothecaries and Perriwigmakers, and Hofiers*, published in the News-Papers of *Dublin* of the 23d of *April* last, in the *General Advertiser* of the 11th, and in the *London-Evening-Post* of the 12th of *May*, instant. And observe the Pains taken by the Lord Chief Justice to prevent other Corporations, by getting these presented by the *Grand-Jury*, and in sending Messages or *Commands* to others to terrify them from pursuing the same just Purposes.

BUT, supposing these bare-faced Assertions of this *hard-mouthed Tumbler* true, that *Assemblies were packed*, or that by a tremendous Mob of loose, disorderly Persons, many of them *Papists*, all Opposition to *Lucas and La Touche* was threatened and roared down, and the Corporations over-awed and compelled to confer Freedom and to vote their Applause and Thanks to these Candidates on the Principles of Liberty, as this honest Examiner asserts, I would gladly know, how come the Treatment afterwards given these abused, these mob-led Corporations in the *House of Commons*? and upon the Motion of this tumbling Patriot?—For, we find that all or most of those Corporations, who voted Freedom and Thanks to *Lucas and La Touche*, were ordered to attend the *House*, and to lay their Books before a Committee: That the Corporation of *Weavers*, one of the most remarkable for Loyalty and true old *Whig* Principles, and who this Year got a Statue of his present Majesty to be erected in the Front

of

of their Hall, which they declined putting up, during the *present G——r's* Administration, for obvious Reasons; this great Corporation, I say, had 83 or 84 of their best Members, in Effect, *disfranchised*; that is, by a *Vote* of the *Commons*, they were declared *disqualified to vote in the late Election*, and, if I am rightly informed, in *all future Elections*. And this for no other Cause, than their *signing* the *Corporation Book*, which they could not justly refuse, in which the following Paragraphs were inserted :

‘ We have the Pleasure to observe, that the Representatives of this Corporation were remarkably on the Side of Liberty, in the former and present Struggles for the Recovery thereof. And we should think ourselves guilty of Ingratitude, if we neglected this Opportunity of returning our sincere and hearty Thanks to our worthy Brother, Mr. *James Digges La Touche*, who did so eminently distinguish himself in defence of the Rights of the *Commons*, especially as *Chairman, President and Treasurer* of their Committees in the memorable Years above mentioned : This it was that so recommended him to us, that we prevailed on him to serve the Office of Master of this Corporation, in which he rendered us signal Services, by his indefatigable Industry in soliciting Laws in Parliament, in asserting and defending our Rights, in promoting our Manufactures, and advancing our Interest. Under his Administration we raised a Hall, which will remain a lasting Proof of his Generosity, Zeal and Affection to our Body.

‘ We also return our Thanks to our Brother, Mr. *Charles Lucas*, who from his first Appearance in the *Common Council* did remarkably distinguish himself in the Cause of Liberty; and do assure our said Brothers, *La Touche* and *Lucas*, and our said Representatives and others in the *Common-Council*, that we will countenance and support them in all legal and just Means, which may be taken for the Recovery of those *Rights and Privileges*, which formerly belonged to us, as *Freemen* of this City, and which have been lost by the Supineness and Neglect of our former Representatives.’

Now, this happened to be the only Corporation, of which all the Members present signed the Book. As many then of these, as voted for Mr. *La Touche* in the ensuing Election, were actually *disfranchised*, declared *under undue Influence*, and *disqualified to vote for Members*, or this Mem-

ber, of Parliament.--Sure, if it had appeared to the *House*, or to this most *worthy Member* of it, that this or any other honest and loyal Corporation had been, by *Threats* and *Force* of *Mobs*, compelled to make this or the like Declaration, which cannot in itself be *criminal*, however *virtuous* it may appear, till censured by the *Commons*, it cannot be supposed consistent with the boasted *Wisdom* and *Loyalty* of this *great* and *august Body*, that should speak and exert the Sense of the People at large, to censure and punish them for it, with so much Rigour and Severity, not to say, *Injustice* and *Tyranny*, as robbing them of their best Inheritance, their unvaluable BIRTH RIGHT, their *Freedom* ! — But, that there were no such *Threats*, *Force* or any Degree of *Compulsion*, or the *remotest Influence* to obtain the making this or the like Declaration, by this or any other Corporation, or in gaining their Votes at the subsequent Election, exerted by any Man or Body of Men, was evidently proved to the Satisfaction of all impartial Men at the Bar of the *House*, when the Petition of *C . . . r . . . s B . . . t . n* was heard : In which it is remarkable, that every faith-worthy Witness produced by the *Petitioner*, as well as those against him, agreed in proving almost the *diametrical Reverse* of every material *Allegation* in his *Petition*, to be strictly and incontestably true : And tho' notwithstanding this and the *disqualifying* 83 or 84 *Weavers*, there still remained an unquestionable, and an unquestioned Majority of *two* or *three* for Mr. *La Touche*, the sitting Member ; yet, was he declared *unduly elected* and *expelled*, and *Alderman B . . . t . n* voted *duly elected*, and *received*. Soon after which, the *Gentleman* thus forced upon the unhappy, helpless, inflaved Citizens, was *inlisted* in another *Service*, and dubbed a *Doughty-Knight* ! — If you ask for what Merit ? — You must be a Stranger to the political Maxims now prevalent in *Ireland* ; and if you must be answered, ask his *Creator* : For the People of *Dublin* know no Merit he has, nor did he ever boast of any but his Interest in the *House of Commons* ; which he has, I think, sufficiently proved by the *Success* of his *Petition* and his consequent *Promotion*. Who had most just Cause to be ashamed and offended at this *Creation*, the *Creator*, or the *Creature* ? — How the *firm Patriot*, good Sir *Richard's* *Veracity* and *Candour*, his *Justice* and *Probity*, stand in this Instance, let the impartial World judge. O ! hardly-earned Shadow of the *Collections* of *Cork* and *Dublin* ! how heavy must thou lie upon the tender Conscience of

of the *Doctor* and the *puisne Knight*. But these *Worthies* We hear are *Competitors* for one of the same Place ; Then may it well be asked,

*How, when Competitors like these contend,
Can surely VIRTUE hope to fix a Friend ?
Slaves that with serious Impudence begile,
And Lie without a Blush, without a Smile ;
Exalt each Trifle, ev'ry Vice adore,
Your Taste in Snuff, your Judgment in a Whore ;
Can ———'s Eloquence applaud, and swear
He gropes his Breeches with a Monarch's Air.*

JOHNSON'S LONDON.

OUR *ingenuous Author's* next Attack upon Truth begins in the last Paragraph of p. 7, and continues to p. 9. He begins thus: — ‘ P. 35. He places himself in the renowned Class of *Reformers*,’ — and then, with a Kind of Candour peculiar to himself, quotes a *Fragment* of the *Review*. He sets out at the Close of the Paragraph, and makes it a separate Part from the Whole, thus ; ‘ that this unhappy Man so far shares the usual Fate of Reformers, as to have fallen a Victim, &c.’ — Now, in the precedent Part of this Paragraph, the most extraordinary Instance of *Reformation*, that was ever known in that, or perhaps in any other Kingdom, is demonstrated ; and such, as it is there expressed, *demands the Applause, the Countenance and Support of every true Son of Britain*. Then, this Expostulation begins, *What must such then feel, when they find, that this Man's Election is not only obstructed and defeated, but that the Spirit of Liberty, nay, the common Principles of Justice and Law are actually suppressed in I——d*, and ‘ that this unhappy Man so far shares the usual Fate of Reformers, as to have fallen a Victim to the Rage of a most *dispicable Faction* ! &c.’ — Is not the very Manner of this *Gentleman's* quoting his Antagonist, without considering the consequent Malevolence and Perversity, with which he treats his Writings, enough to make him contemptible in the Eyes of all candid and ingenuous Readers ? — Now, observe his pompous Animadversions on his mangled Quotation.

P. 8. ‘ The Lord Lieutenant's Speech from the Throne ;
the Addresses of both Houses of Parliament to the King
& Lord Lieutenant ; the unanimous Resolutions of the
‘ Commons ;

' Commons ; the Address of the Lord Mayor, Recorder,
 ' Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common-Council, consisting
 ' of all who had served in the Office of Sheriff, and the
 ' Representatives of the twenty-four Companies ; the Pre-
 ' sentments of the Grand Juries of County and City ; the
 ' avowed Satisfaction of all Men of visible Property in the
 ' Kingdom, of untainted Principles and ingenuous Dispo-
 ' sitions, in the Censure of *Lucas*, shew demonstrably,
 ' That his Friends were in Quality inconsiderable, tho'
 ' their Number and Fury demanded the Attention of the
 ' Supreme Power.' — Let us examine the real Weight
 of this Passage, and see what Purpose it answers to *our Au-*
thor or his *Master*. — The Passage in the Lord Lieute-
 nant's Speech, which was used as an Handle for persecuting
Lucas, was this ; ' Every audacious Attempt to create a
 ' Jealousy between the two Kingdoms, and to disunite
 ' the Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects so closely
 ' connected by the same civil and religious Interests, must
 ' excite the highest Indignation in all true Lovers of their
 ' Country.' — A most just, wise and prudent Observa-
 tion, and well-becoming the paternal Care of his Majesty's
 Representative ! But, how did this glance at Mr. *Lucas*?
 — None, but the weakest or wickedest of Men can
 point it at him. I will venture to answer for Mr. *Lucas*,
 as far as I can judge from his Works, and by the *Fruit* the
Tree is best known, that the King has not a Subject in
 all his Dominions, who more earnestly wishes, or has
 more hardly laboured, to remove all Grounds for Jealousy
 between *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* and to unite, most
 firmly and effectually, the Interests civil and religious of his
 Majesty's common Subjects, than he does and has done :
 And I challenge his most virulent Enemies to shew the
 Contrary by any Principle or Rule of Reason, Truth,
 Justice or Law. — He has not, it is true, like an *un-*
skilful mercenary or *corrupt Surgeon*, attempted to heal
 over the Surface of a deep *Wound* or *Ulcer* full of *Rags*,
Splints, and other extraneous Bodies, consuming or cor-
 roding at bottom with icorous or indigested *Matter* ; nor
 has he dosed the *Patient* with *Opiates*, to render him
 insensible of the *Progress* and *Danger* of his *Distemper*,
 nor otherwise attempted by any *false Remedies* to *palliate*
 it : No ; like a true Son of *Æsculapius* and *Britain*, quite
 above the mercenary and wicked Views of protracting the
 present or laying ' a Foundation for a future Disease or Evil,
 he

he *tented* the *Wounds* and *Ulcers* of his Country, shewed what caused them and prevented the Cure, and demonstrated, that till those Causes were removed, a *perfect Cure*, a *firm Union* of the Parts could not possibly succeed.—— Now, whether his Excellency's most *wise*, most *great* and *gracious* Speech from the Throne was levelled at him, who opened and explained the glorious Constitution of his Country, shewed the Prerogative of the Crown, the Power and Privilege of Parliament, and contended for the Freedom and Rights of the Subjects under the Law; and who exposed the Breaches made in this once happy Constitution, with the sole Intent to get them repaired for the good of the Whole: or, whether it was pointed at him, who endeavoured to make the Subjects of *Ireland* believe, *that they were* spoiled of *their* Constitution at the Revolution, *that they are* abject Slaves and dependant Vassals, *subject* to different Sovereign Powers, *whose Authority is not to be defined or confined by Rules of common Law, and in a Country, where the Judges do and ought to vary and extend their Jurisdiction*, I submit to any Man's Judgment, —— the *Cork Surgeon*, or the *Collector of Cork*, always excepted. It can admit of no Doubt, which of these is the greater and worse *Enemy to his King and Country*, and to direct the Lord Lieutenant's Speech to any other than him, is such an Insult, as, I am sure, no Man, that is not a *hardened Member* of the long-standing *Parliament in Ireland*, will presume to offer his Excellency.

WHOM, the most *reverend* and *noble* Lords meant, or whether they had any body in View, when they echoed his Excellency's Speech, is best known to themselves. But, from any thing I can learn, they never named *Lucas*, or *Cox*.

As for the *unanimous Resolutions* of the good *Commons*, they are sufficiently tho' not fully exposed in the *Review*; which leaves us room to attend the *Address of the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common-Council*, with the *Presentments* of the *Grand-Juries* of the County and City of *Dublin*, in this Place.—— The concurrent Censure of such and so many Men must have great Weight——with those that hear only the Titles of *Lord Mayor, &c. &c.* Give me Leave to lay open the Facts and Circumstances, then let every Reader judge for himself. I would not be thought to pass over the City in Silence:

How

*How oft' have I with Admiration stood,
To view some City Magistrates in Wood?
I gaze with Pleasure on a Lord-Mayor's Head.
Cast with Propriety in gilded Lead.*

MAN OF TASTE.

MR. *Lucas's* REMONSTRANCE, his *DIVELINA LIBERA*, his COMPLAINTS of *Dublin*, his ADDRESSES to the *Citizens*, his DEDICATION of one of the City Charters to the KING, and other Papers, never yet contradicted in this Point, prove, that *Dublin*, according to Law and Right, should be governed by a *Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens*; which *Lord Mayor and Sheriffs* should be chosen by and out of the *Citizens*, and which *Commons* should be elected out of every *Guild or Corporation* by the respective *Freemen*. Instead of which, by *Innovations and corrupt Customs* having obtained some Shadow of Law, the City is but nominally governed by a *Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens*: The latter are left entirely out of the Government, while the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen*, in effect, rule the whole City, taking in Conjunction with them, for a convenient Covering, the *Sheriffs and Commons*.

THE Form of a popular Government was never kept up so artfully to hide the horrid latent Snake, arbitrary and despotic monarchical Sway, as in *Dublin*; where the whole Power and Authority of the Corporation is found upon Consideration, to center in a single Point: As will appear from the following just, but concise View of the State of that City.

THE *Commons* are now no longer chosen by the *Citizens*; the several Corporations, of the principal of which most of the *Aldermen* are free and have a powerful Influence, chuse double the Number of Men, that usually serve them in the *Commons*; this is returned to the *Lord Mayor*, who, with his *Aldermen*, culls out of this double Return, the Men best qualified and bound to serve their Purposes. The *Sheriffs* are no more chosen by the *Citizens*; they are appointed by the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen*, with the Concurrence of the chief Governor. The *Aldermen* are no longer chosen by the *Citizens or Commons*; they chuse one another out of those, who have served or entered the Office of Sheriff, by their Election and under the Approbation of the Government. The Recorder, who is an Officer, not a Part,
of

of the Corporation, is not chosen by the *Citizens*, but by the *Aldermen*, and sometimes by *them* and the *Commons* jointly, always with the *Concurrence* or *Approbation* of the *Government*, not otherwise. And the *Lord Mayor*, the *Head* of the Corporation, is neither chosen, as formerly, by the *Citizens* or *Commons*, out of the Body at large; but by the *Aldermen* alone out of their own Corps, with the *Sufferance* or *Approbation* of the *chief Governor*, never otherwise.

Now, let any cool, considerate Man judge what Favours, what Mercy was *Lucas* to expect at the Hands of Men, whose *Usurpation*, whose *Tyranny*, whose *Corruption* and general *Iniquity*, he had so fully and plainly exposed; especially, when he was not quite a *Pet* of the Administration, under which they were appointed, and upon which they can hardly be supposed to be quite independent!

To the *lasting Honour* of the whole Administration, of the *nominal*, as well as *real Lord Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, &c. or of the *strong Man behind the Curtain*, who put the *pretty parliamentary Puppets*, as well as the *City Mummers* in Motion, Mr. *Lucas* was not disappointed in his Expectations: For, the next Term, a *Grand-Jury* was impanelled, I will not say, *packed*, for the same Reason, that I would not give the *Knight* the *Lie*! This *Jury* however were composed of a *Member* of the *nomine contradicente Commons*, several *Aldermen*, *Sheriffs-Peers*, *City Commons* and others, who had personal Quarrels and were at avowed Enmity with Mr. *Lucas*. In this *Panel* it must be confessed, the *nominal* and *real Sheriffs* were mistaken, tho' they came within one of the Mark: For, notwithstanding the utmost Care and Pains in the impanelling and documenting this *Jury*, by the *good Sheriffs* and the *righteous Chief Justice*, *Whithead II.* the very Man, who could not be said to have opposed the censuring *Lucas* in the *House*, opposed the *indicting* or *presenting* him without more positive Proof, than yet appeared to criminate him. With him some other conscientious Men joined, so that a *twelfth Man* could not be found to find the Bill or *Presentment*; to the great Disappointment of the *Court*, and to the moving the Rage and Indignation of Sir *Richard Cox*, so far as to make him reflect, with Severity and Rancour, upon the Character and Conduct of this *Jury* in the *House of Commons*. — This could not have failed of producing the desired Effect upon the succeeding *Grand Juries*, had the *Sheriffs* left such an

Influence necessary. But they did not: For, at the next Quarter Sessions, another *Grand-Jury* was more judiciously impanelled out of Mr. *Lucas's* most malignant Enemies on the first and some additional Forces; These did their Work dexterously. Then, out of the most *trusty Tools* on these two *Grand-Juries* and that of the County, another was impanelled the succeeding Term; who, to *oblige* their *Patrons*, to *gratify* their own *Malice*, to *comply* with the *Charge* or *Commands* of the *smiling Lord Chief Justice*, and to *avoid* the *threatened Displeasure* of the *Commons*, the *superior Court*, from whence *Lucas* was sent *tried* and *condemned*, presented the supposed *Criminal* in the Words of their *Superiors*, or made a *Presentation* of him, as they were pleased to call it in the *Advertisements* of their *Shame*, published at the *Expence* of the *great Man* in some of the *Dublin* and *London News-Papers*.—— *Good Doctor!* is not this an *Abuse of Power*? A *Prostitution of Law*?

—— How happy it would be for thy miserable and undone Country, that thou hadst as much *Justice* done to thee, as this Man has had *Injustice*!

LET us now look back to the Conduct of the *nominal* Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commons. In the first Assembly after, the *Will* of their *Master*, the *real Lord Mayor*, &c. &c. &c. was known, with Regard to *Lucas*, and his Lordship's *Creatures* the *Commons* had shewn and directed all *inferior Courts* how to treat a Person, whom to acquit was criminal or *penal*, the *Mummers* of Magistracy, the *Petty Grandees* of the City addressed the Lord Lieutenant and made a *supplementary Address* to that of the *Commons* in Answer to his Excellency's Speech to Parliament, expressing their *Indignation* against and *Condemnation* of *this Enemy to his Country*. At the same time they doomed him to *Disfranchisement*, for no better Cause, that could be assigned, than *Car telle est notre Plaisir*, because it was the *Pleasure* of the *little nominal Rulers*, and the *Commands* of the *great real one*. In the next Assembly, he was actually *disfranchised*, but in the following most extraordinary and illegal Manner.

THE Reader is desired to observe, that in *Dublin*, the *Common-Council* consists of *two Bodies*, as distinct and different, as the *Lords* and *Commons*. The *Lord Mayor*, and *Aldermen* sit apart in one Chamber, and the *Sheriffs* and *Commons* in another; and tho' they may occasionally hold *Conferences* with each other; yet, the *Aldermen* cannot

not sit, debate or vote with the *Commons*, nor th^e *Commons* with the *Aldermen*. The *Commons* also have a Rule, that every Question with them is to be determined by *Ballot*, if demanded.

NOW Sir Samuel Cooke II. came to the Mayoralty, and he piqued himself upon a lucky Opportunity of obliging his Patron, and sating his own Revenge, by fixing some Mark of Disgrace on his late formidable Rival and Antagonist, *Lucas*. He found the Question for disfranchising him was not likely to pass as glibly in the *Commons*, as he could wish, by the Means of the *Ballot*. Therefore, to make sure of the Point, he sent and had the *Sheriffs* and *Commons* called into the *Aldermen's* Room. Some of the few sensible and free Men among them opposed putting the Question otherwise than by *Ballot*, and in their own Room; and upon this retired to their own Room. Upon which, his Lordship ordered the Door to be locked and obliged the Remainder to divide upon the Question in his Presence, and in Spight to the strongest Remonstrances of the *Recorder*, against the Injustice and Illegality of the Proceeding, had it determined, as he directed, in the *Affirmative*. Upon the Close of the Assembly, the *Citizens* came to the Court of *Darein-Hundred*, where they have a Right to put a *Negative* upon all the Acts of the *Common-Council*. But, here his Lordship commanded them to disperse, informing them, he was now doubly armed with Power to punish them, and when they disregarded his Orders, he sent one of the *Sheriffs* for the *Army*, and in the mean time ordered his Servants to hold lighted Torches to the *Citizens* Faces, and his Clerks and Creatures to take down their Names, that he may, as he told them, judge which to commit to Prison, and of which to complain of a *Breach of Privilege*. But, this not terrifying them from giving an unanimous *Negative*, his Lordship greatly enraged, declared it to be *no Court*, that it should *never* again be called, and that *no Regard* should be paid to their *Prohibition*. Thus, poor *Lucas* was, without any Sort of Regard to Justice or Law, to the Customs and Usage of the City, nay to common Sense, but, upon the Principles, on which he was condemned in the *superior Court*, spoiled of the Rights and Privileges of a Citizen, of a Subject, of a Man! However, it answered the Intentions of his Persecutors, who only wanted to make *Lucas* hateful or despicable abroad, to throw a Veil over their unjustifiable and iniquitous Treatment of him at home. So, the good Lord Mayor informed

his excellent *Master* of his Success in *disfranchising Lucas*, and the great *Man* got it published in the several News-Papers of *London* and *Dublin*. What must Strangers, who did not know these extraordinary Circumstances think, of a Man thus treated? — Nothing less, than that he was very obnoxious to the Society of which he was a Member, that he was wisely and justly cut off, and indeed, that no Treatment could be bad enough for him. And for this Reason, there is all this Industry used by *C. x*, *C. . ke*, *W. st. n*, &c. and their *Master*, to publish the several Censures, they had got pass'd by just or unjust Means, upon this innocent Object of their Displeasure.

BUT, to shew the *Humanity* and *Justice* of some of these benevolent *Patriots* a little further; it is remarkable, that when upon the Motion of that worthy Member, *Mark Anthony Morgan*, Esq; the House addressed the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim this condemned *Charles Lucas*, His Excellency was pleased to publish his most gracious Proclamation in the *Dublin Journal* of December the 16th, by the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, A Proclamation for apprehending *Charles Lucas*, Apothecary, &c. In which it is observable, that his Excellency was so tender of the national Interest, so unwilling to run any Risk of increasing the national Debt, and so well inclined to grant the unhappy Refugee all the Favour, he would stoop to ask, that he charged and commanded all Mayors, &c. to take and apprehend the said *Charles Lucas*, without offering a Penny Reward for the Service, so as he may be proceeded against according to Law. Yet, there was a new and very different Edition of this Proclamation published by somebody in the *London Gazette* and other Papers, said to be issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, the better to fasten the fictitious Infamy on a Man, in every Thing, but his Character, already undone! And this Tack, I suppose, is what our Author alludes to, when he mentions the avowed Satisfaction of all Men of visible Property, of untainted Principles, and ingenuous Dispositions at the Condemnation of *Lucas*. — But, if he can prove this single Assertion, or even shew that one Man of good, sound Sense, Judgment and Character, of free and independent Principles and Fortune, and thoroughly acquainted with the whole Nature of the Case, joined in, approved, or expressed any Satisfaction at the unparalleled Treatment given this SUFFERER for the LAWS and LIBERTY of his Country, I will

will immediately give him up and without Place or Pension, shall join with *Cox*, and the rest of the Crew, or consent to be, like him, set up as a *political Weathercock* on *Birmingham Tower*.

WHAT a tedious and most disagreeable Task have I got on my Hands; exposing Vices for which I want suitable Names! — I have got thro' no more than eight Pages yet, and almost every Paragraph would require a Volume to set it forth in the true Light to Strangers to the Cause, and to the Character of the *Examiner*. But, as my Neck feels no Yoke, and the Cause of Truth and Virtue requires no Hire to spur on its Prosecution, I will attend my *Hero* a little farther, and beg the patient Attendance of my Reader.

IN the latter End of the eighth Page, he makes some bold general Assertions, and as usual, without offering any Proof: One of which, indeed, neither requires or admits of any; to wit, *that he (Lucas) had the like Opportunity given to him to justify himself, that any Man ever had, in the like Circumstances.* — This may be very true: For, sure no Man was ever reduced to *such Circumstances.* — Then he says, *and that he was only ordered to be prosecuted for Offences, not properly punishable in that Place;* — For what then was the highest Punishment possible inflicted on him, *the declaring him an Enemy to his Country?* — O! not because he was judged or thought really *criminal*, but to prevent his Election. — Is the *House of Commons* a Court of *definitive Judicature* in any Matter, but in such as relate to the *Elections* and the *Privilege* of the Members? It is well known, it is not; and that for any Misdemeanors or Breaches committed with regard to *these*, Imprisonment is the only Punishment, the *Commons* can inflict. The *Commons* may pass Censure upon any immoral, illegal or criminal Papers or Writings; but, if they lay hold on the Author or Publisher of such Papers, they can no otherwise proceed to punish him, than by *impeaching* him, which brings the final Trial to a *superior Court*. But, this would not answer the Purposes of the Prosecutors of *Lucas*. Therefore, they tried and condemned him first, without hearing his Defence or Justification of himself, then punished him, by stigmatising his Character in the deepest Manner, and then order'd him to be prosecuted further in an *inferior Court*, for *the same Crimes*; for, they ordered him to close Imprisonment for an *imaginary Breach of Privilege* besides.

See

See what an Advocate here is for the *Faction* ! How well, how hardly has he earned his *promised Wages* ! — The imputed Offence of *Sedition*, &c. was not, he says, cognizable by the *Commons* ; so, they ordered the Author to be prosecuted for it in an *inferior Court* ; but, not till they had first *found him guilty* of the Charge, and as a moderate Penalty, just to stay the Stomachs of ravenous Adversaries, *voted him an Enemy to his Country* ! So, have I known a blundering *Justice*, in order to *keep the Peace*, give Command to his Attendants first to *knock down* the Object of his Displeasure and then commit him to the Hands of his *dependent Constables*.

In the ninth Page, he sets out with a curious Collection of Criticisms and Remarks on *Part* of a Paragraph of the *Review*, Page 37, after having with his usual Agility skipp'd over the principal Observations and Arguments in the 35th and 36th Pages. The Part he chuses for his Animadversion is this ; — “ It appears to me, that this “ *same Charles Lucas*, of whom I know as little as most “ Men, that know him at all, is struck at to countenance “ the universally prevailing *Corruption* in that Kingdom ; “ that the *Liberties* of the Subject are *ravished*, and the “ whole *Nation* grievously wounded, if not absolutely “ *enslaved*, in him ; &c.” This he would have the World imagine is *representing Lucas* as a *significant formidable* Person and the *only incorrupt* Member of the Community of *Ireland*. It is however plain, the *Doctor* and his *Master* and their *Adherents* judged him so, or they never would have struck at him as they did. “ The thriving of any one “ *single Person* by honest Means, is the thriving of the “ *Common-Wealth* wherein he resides,” says the great Lord MOLESWORTH. And consequently, wounding him is wounding the *Body Politic*, of which he is a Member. But, let Mr. *Lucas* be as *insignificant*, *pitiful* and *corrupt*, nay, as *criminal*, as his *Persecutors* — would represent him ; if he was deprived of a single Privilege of the Subject, which it is confessed he has in many Instances, the whole *Nation* is wounded in and thro' him. If a *Strafford* or a — the *worst* of his *Successors*, or if a *Chaitres*, a *Wilde*, nay, a *Marshal*, a *Tisdal*, or a *Cox* should be cut off or oppressed, without any Regard to the Principles and Rules of Justice and Law, some of which Mischiefs by the by, *Lucas* has probably prevented, the *Liberty* of the Subject would be *ravished* and the whole *Community* wounded or *enslaved* in any of them. But, this
is

is a Principle of no Weight, with narrow-minded, self-interested *Partizans*. Now, see the *doughty Knight's impartial Account of the Affair*, Page 9, 10. I hope the Reader will give me Leave to reverse it, and I shall then submit to his Judgment, which comes nearest to Truth: *L——s was pointed at and brought down, to discountenance all Enquiries into the State of the Nation and City, to prevent the Subjects further learning their Duty and their Rights under the Laws and Constitution of their Country; least they should improve in Virtue and exert the Principles of true Loyalty and genuine Liberty; to gratify different jarring Faëtions, and to bring about such a perfect Coalition of Parties, as could not fail of preparing the Way for the Impositions and Grievances, which soon after followed, and which were of such a Nature, as, among any other People, to have stirred up an Insurrection, instead of only extinguishing or assuaging that generous Ardour for the Defence of the Establishment, which so remarkably shew'd itself among the Citizens of Dublin during the late Scottish Rebellion; to overwhelm our Laws and Liberty in Anarchy and Slavery; to expose the Rights of the People to the violent Incursions and Incroachments of the Great, and to subject all to despotic Power and the ravaging Tyranny of Noise and Nonsense: For these Purposes, and to facilitate the wicked Designs of some corrupt Men in Power, was there a general Combination formed of all those, who had any thing to ask or any thing to dread, in order to oppose and to destroy this poor crazy Apothecary, this watchful Dragon, who guarded the Golden Fleece,—— the PREROGATIVE, LIBERTY and RIGHTS of the King and People. I challenge any Man in the Opposition or Persecution, to assign any other Cause or Reason for the violent precipitate Proceedings against this most loyal and faithful Subject. If they cannot, what Attonement can they make him or the Public, for the Iniquity of their Measures, and the Spirit of Discontent they have universally raised among the poor People in Ireland in general?*

IN the 10th and 11th Pages, the *Doctor* hauls in Mr. *La Touche*, whose Name he could not mention without Shame and Confusion, if any Mark of Grace were left; then concludes with saying, *that Lucas's Crime was, in not decently submitting to a solemn, wise and just Judgment of Law;— tho' it is remarkable, that it is of the perem-*

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tory Denial of such a Judgment, that Lucas every where complains.

THEN he goes on with a Rhapsody of the same incoherent and inconsistent Assertions, full of nameless Abuse, gross Scurrility and false and groundless Accusations, and says, *Lucas* ran into all these wicked Measures, *because the chief Governor would not comply with his desperate Proposal to direct the Attorney-General, to bring a Quo Warranto to overturn the Charter of Dublin, the Metropolis of Ireland.*—— I am satisfied this will appear of a Piece with the rest of the *Doctor's* Charges against Mr. *Lucas*, to all those, that know his Character or his Writings.—— It is reasonable to imagine, He could be a Favourite of the *Citizens of Dublin*, who had attempted to dismantle them of their *Franchises*? —— No certainly. And *Cox* well knows, that *Lucas* has made it out, that the *Aldermen* are no legal Part of the Corporation, and consequently, that the abolishing the Name and Order, would in no Sort dissolve or hurt the *Charter*. But, upon the whole, he only complained of the *Aldermen's* being illegally appointed, and sought not to abolish, but to restore the Election to the legal *Constituents*, by the Advice of some of the best Lawyers in the Kingdom: For Proof of which, see *Lucas's COMPLAINTS of Dublin, His ADDRESSES to the Citizens, His DEDICATION of the great Charter to the KING, &c.* But, here as well as in Page 55, he charges Mr. *Lucas*, with opposing his own conceited Imaginations to the Decision of a Court, and says, that the *Prime-Serjeant* and *Attorney-General* gave their Opinions in favour of the *Aldermen*, against *Lucas* and the *Commons*.—— Sir R——d C——x, a Gentleman of such strict Regard to Honour and Truth,—as we have already shewn him to be, could not have intended this Pamphlet for the Meridian of *Dublin*, where it is known, that these truly learned and worthy Gentlemen made a most eminent Figure in their Pleadings for the *Commons*! an Abstract of whose Pleas and Arguments, with those of Counsellors *Bradstreet* and *Vanderlure*, and even of the *Knight's* present honest Compeer, *Serjeant Marshal*, is set forth in the *COMPLAINTS of Dublin*, Page 12, 13, 14. Nay, where it is as well known, that the *Attorney-General*, whose Judgment and Probity in his Profession, were never yet suspected, declared to the *Plaintiffs* in the Hall, that they had the best Cause, that ever was brought into a Court;
that

that they could not fail of Success in the granting the Motion, as it could not be denied, and that he could therefore answer for its succeeding, as far as to the bringing the Issue to be tried by a Jury, for whose Verdict no Man could be answerable. Yet, the Author places this great Man on the Side of the Aldermen, without Hesitation, or Blushing !—Is it not enough, my good *chirurgical Collector*, that the Aldermen have you and the rest of your Class, with your powerful Master, of their Side, but You must strive to reflect upon Men of approved Sense and Virtue by bringing them into your corrupt Corps ?—Shew one of that Mould enlisted in your Bands, and I shall not be afraid of the *Exile's* bringing an Action against me for sometimes blending the Name of *Cox* with that of *Lucas* in the same Sentence.

WELL ; sure such another *tumbling Examiner* was never employed by a *Great Man* !—He frequently bounces and flies from the Subject, and now from the Middle of the 38th skips to the End of the 40th p. of the *Review* ; in general he proves as close an Examiner of this Pamphlet, and as fair and candid an Explainer, as his most noble and amiable Grandfather, of motly Memory, is before observed to have been of the *City Rolls and Charters* !

IN his 11th Page, he begins a Vindication of the worthy Successor of his worthy Grand-father, the Right Honourable the L——d C——f J——ce M——y, and with his usual unexhausted Stock of Modesty and Truth makes the best, —that his Lordship's Case will admit. But the happy Advocate unfortunately mistakes, or knowingly and willingly misrepresents nothing less than Time, Place, and Circumstances. For, though upon the Motion mentioned, Mr. Lucas gave Testimony, and pointed out Passages and Facts in the Charters and Customs of the City, yet he received no Compliments in the Court, but such as he receives, and I suppose, with equal Pleasure, in this and other Writings of Sir R——d C——x, with or without a Mask. Upon Enquiry, I find the Compliments or rather Flattery paid Mr. Lucas by this Great Man, who can smile, and smile, and be —— a Judge, and can deal hard Words, as well as Hanging, to those who are so unhappy as to incur his Displeasure, were above a Year after this, upon Mr. Lucas's giving some Assistance in suppressing a great Riot, that had extremely disturbed the whole Town. Since the Publication of Mr. Lucas's Complaints,

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the Case has been altered : For it is most remarkable, that whether Mr. *Lucas* was in or out of Court, concerned or not concerned in any Suit depending, he daily felt the Keeness of his Lordship's Wit and Anger, or had it pointed at him in some Scurrility from the Bench. For which it must be confessed his *Lordship* made some Attonement by putting himself frequently in Competition with this *poor, crazy Apothecary*, by saying, *he would convince the World that he understood the Law and Charters, particularly Magna Charta, as well as Mr. Lucas, and the like.* What had the *Cork Examiner* to say to this ? And how far has he vindicated his most honourable Fellow-Labourer ? No Matter ; he threw Dirt and bespattered *Lucas*, and praised his Enemies, and that is all that the *Examiner* and his excellent *Master* sought. Let them enjoy it severally ;

Slaves *satirise* with nothing — but their Praise :

*Their Praise defames, as if a Fool shou'd mean,
By spitting on your Face to make it clean.*

YOUNG.

HERE again, the *flying Examiner* takes another Fling and skips over two Pages more, and then, like a true *Huffar*, attacks the *Rear* of the *Forces*, a Fragment of the Conclusion of a Paragraph of the *Review*, Page 43, which charges the Measures taken for the undoing *Lucas*, to have been concerted by some of the Heads of the *Junto* in *London*.

THIS the *Huffar* attacks as a *new Libel*, and with equal Truth and Decency denies. Though, that this Charge is true, is notorious, nor does any Man but *C-x* deny it. It was done so openly that *Tailors* and *Barbers* knew it ; nay, an *Irish Printer* told it in a public Coffee-House here as a Matter of Fact, which he had from a certain great Lord, and accordingly changed his Oeconomy in his Works in *Dublin* upon the Assurance that *Lucas* would be disqualified from sitting in Parliament, or expelled the Moment he took his Seat. Which the *Cork Surgeon*, from the same Authority, it must be presumed, frequently declares in several of his *Antidotes*, as a Point positively determined. But if this does not give sufficient Satisfaction, let him that doubts it secure the Author Indemnity, and he will name the great Man and the Chief of his *Junto*, who agreed upon these Measures.

NOTHING

NOTHING in this motly Performance tends more to the Honour of its Author, than his excellent Vindication of the renowned Commander in Scotland. — *Par nobile fratrum!* The Fellow feeling of two similar Heroes is most commendable. The Truth of the Account in the Review is not called in Question by the new one, the worthy Baronet gives of the most valourous and noble Knight. Let the Parties concerned vindicate each other: I am quite out of the Question. And I can answer for Mr. Lucas, that it is a Subject he disdains to meddle with, as much as Cox dreads to meddle with Lucas's Arguments. This the hamstrung Knight knows very well; For, though he and Mr. Lucas spent several Days together at the House of the Right Honourable Gentleman in the Country, before the late Rebellion, yet, has Mr. Lucas, in the Castle, Court of Requests, and in the public Streets of Dublin, disdained to return the Salute of this high Favourite of Power, since, more than once, and openly assigned the Infamy of this Knight's Character as Cause for so doing. The same Cause might probably justify taking no Notice of another Knight, whose Works are answered at Reading, by those that are well informed of Facts. But to him I am determined to stick as close as his evil Conscience, lest he make a bad Impression on some on this Side the Water, who do not know the Hero. On the other, it is useless to meddle with this little Squib of State, whose whole Life's a Lie; there he may unheeded,

Burn, hiss and bounce, waste Paper, stink and die.

YOUNG.

OUR Author, finding his Credit likely to be called in Question, for Reasons best known to himself, in Page 15, turns Gazetteer, and publishes State Assertions by Authority; a Stamp which he expects must pass any thing current, whether true or false. But, whatever the nameless good Authority of this anonymous, this masked Gazetteer may be, I think it must fall very short of the Authority of a Paper written and signed by a Man, who has never forfeited his Credit with the Public in any Respect; whose Tongue or Pen was never prostituted to enslave or rob his Country, to flatter the Vanity of Men in Power, or to varnish over the Crimes of great or little Malefactors. By such a Man we are informed how he obtained Access to that affable,

2nd amiable Nobleman, what pass'd in the Conference, and what were the Consequences that attended it. See *Lucas's* LETTER, and his ADDRESS, with the *Preface* to the *Lord Lieutenant*, his DEDICATION to the KING ; to which add, the public Account given of the Affair, by good Authority, in the *Censor* of *October 7*, all which agree with the Representation in the *Review*, Page 43, 44. Which is peremptorily contradicted, and said to be scandalously false, by the good Authority of ——— the *Man in the Mask*.

THAT no honest Freeman could have treated the Lord Lieutenant with greater Respect than Mr. Lucas did, till he was disgraced, as the *masked Gazetteer* calls it, is evident from Mr. Lucas's Works. In the *Complaints of Dublin*, Page, 4, stands this Sentence ; ——— “ But
 “ thank GOD and the fatherly Care of his present Majesty,
 “ the Wounds given by those corrupt Ministers have been,
 “ as far as they were laid open, happily healed by some
 “ late Governors, whom, to avoid the Imputation of
 “ Flattery, I shall not name. And I must presume,
 “ without intending a Compliment, that *Courage* and
 “ *Loyalty, Truth and Liberty*, can never be Crimes under
 “ the Administration of one, who has eminently distin-
 “ guished himself in long, perilous and faithful Services to
 “ his Country, as well in the Councils, as the Field. If
 “ *Valour, Probity, and Wisdom* be, as is universally allow-
 “ ed, essential Parts of your Excellency's Character, from
 “ these, all that is desirable, *common Justice, a speedy*
 “ *Restitution of usurped Rights and Liberties*, and a *free*
 “ *and equal Distribution of the Laws* are to be hoped.” —
 —And here give me leave to observe, that in the preceding Page, Mr. Lucas says, *the Constitution of the Country evidently appears to be in a declining State ; which was then tacitly confessed, or deemed no Crime, as it is this Year.*

IN other Parts, he glances many respectful Compliments at his Excellency, which probably the Author would not now be pleased at reciting. In the Conclusion he shews, that considering some past Sufferings for the Cause, and the Danger of *new Oppressions* from such *Prostitutes in Power*, as dare openly to *refuse* the Subjects *Law and Right*, it would be better Policy to conceal his Name ; but among some other cogent Reasons he gives this, which proves his Confidence in the Virtue and Wisdom of the King, as well as in the Justice and Honour of the Lord Lieutenant ; —

But

But while a Prince reigns whose Throne is founded on LIBERTY, and a STANHOPE holds the Reins of Government, I can fear no such Tyranny. Then closes with a Declaration of all due Allegiance to the Sovereign, and thorough Respect and Duty to his Representative.

THOUGH this produced no desirable Effect, Mr. Lucas still persevered in his Purposes, and preserved the proper Respect to the Lord Lieutenant: For though he expostulates upon the Slight given his Fellow-Sufferers in general, himself in particular, in a Manner becoming a free and loyal Subject, yet he treats the private, as well as political Person of his Excellency, with pure Respect. This is evident from the LETTER from Mr. Lucas to the Lord Lieutenant, dated April 2, 1748; in which he represents the general Beneficence of his Majesty, in appointing him to dispense Justice to the Subjects of Ireland, and complains of the Oppressor's Wrongs, the Law's Delay, and the Inference of Office. In this he acquits himself modestly, though strongly, of the Courage of Madness, and the Imputation of a turbulent or seditious Spirit; and declares his Motives for this Application, which I beg leave to transcribe; —
 “ First, as a Member and a Lover of that *Common-Wealth*,
 “ from pure disinterested Principles; secondly, as a Man,
 “ who abstracted from that Splendour of Titles, Pomp,
 “ and Power that environ your Excellency, has all possible
 “ Honour for you, as an honest and good Man, which
 “ Character alone can with me constitute the truly great
 “ Man; for without it, *high Station*, to me, is *Dimi-*
 “ *nution*, and *Dignity*, *Disgrace*.” — And then in
 Case of Failure from any Cause, begs Permission to appeal to the KING. And in the Dedication to the King, when he comes to shew the Course he took to obtain Justice in every proper Court, and in complaining of the Proceedings of the Judges of the *King's Bench* to the Lord Lieutenant, in touching upon his Excellency's Behaviour, which made an Appeal to the Sovereign just and necessary, he speaks of his Slight with *Tenderness* and *Concern*.

BUT in his Address to the Lord Lieutenant before the Opening the Session of Parliament, he shews the inseparable Connection and Union of Great-Britain and Ireland in one common Bond of Affection, Interest and Allegiance; and that he looks upon himself equally interested and concerned in promoting the Honour and Advantage, the Security and Welfare of the King and the People of each Kingdom.

Here

• Here he informs his Excellency of the *violent and lawless Threats* daily and openly uttered against him, and *that for no other Crime, that he knows of, than that of complaining of public Injuries, dangerous and destructive to the King and to his People.* Then adds, “ I have appealed “ to CÆSAR, — shall CÆSAR’s *Servants* obstruct the “ laying my *Complaints* before the Throne? and even “ punish me for *complaining*? — Shall this be done under “ the *Administration* of a STANHOPE? — GOD forbid.” — Indeed, he afterwards decries and expresses his *Detestation* of *ministerial Influence* and *Court Dependence*, and declares himself above having any thing to *ask* or to *fear* from the *highest Powers*. — No small Crime — in C—x’s Sight, and perhaps in that of his *Master*. But he concludes with assuring his Excellency, *that his sole Ambition is to discharge the Duty of his Station, and that in so doing he shall ever take Care to approve himself his Majesty’s most unfeignedly loving and loyal Subject, as well as his Excellency’s most dutiful, and most faithful, humble Servant.* But what signifies all this and much more, that may be produced to the like Effect! — Our *Gazetteer* will, by good *Authority*, prove it to be a *Chain of scandalous and malignant Lies*: Or *Marshal and Tisdal*, a Pair of his Majesty’s *wise and worthy Serjeants*, with a few *Innuendoes* and a little *political or fictitious Reasoning*, will prove this all *Irony, Slander, Sedition, or Treason.* And who can withstand such potent Adversaries, when they may be as well assured of the Concurrence of the *Commons* in such a Construction, as in that put upon the Words *legal and just Means*, in the Resolutions of the *Weavers*, which were deemed to be used as a *Cloak to cover the seditious and rebellious Designs* of that Corporation? — Whose *Life, Liberty or Property* is secure, when these are his *Prosecutors*, and those his *Judges*? — None certainly, but the *Junto*, their *Creatures or Confederates* in *Corruption and Iniquity*! — Let none then pity the *Refugee* whose *Life* has escaped the *Fury of Tyrants*: For, though he and his *Family* are reduced and broken, he lives, enjoys *the gay Conscience of a Life well spent*, breathes the *Air*, and treads upon the *Land of Liberty*: As he has no *unbecoming Pride or Ambition*, he cannot for himself, be much shocked at his late *Disappointment*: And as *Riches* have no *Charm* for him, he cannot much feel the *Pinches of Poverty*. The truly virtuous *Mind* shines brightest in *Adversity*.
The

The Man who keeps clear of the Lures of Luxury must be free ; and I think, if I know this *poor, despised Exile*, I cannot prove myself more benevolent, then in wishing, *that not only his Persecutors, but even all my Countrymen were not only almost, but altogether such as he is, excepting his bodily Infirmities, and his Bonds !*—— But to return to our Examiner ;

HE is pleased to skip over four Pages more of the *Review* here ; only telling us, Page 16, *that all that they contain is but imaginary, intended to introduce the most villainous String of Lies.*—— How this is to be answered, I leave every Gentleman to judge.—— In the subsequent Paragraph, he says, *that Sir R—— d C— x, whom I honour with being the principal Agent in the Affair, did not come to Town till Sunday the 8th of October.*—— It is true, forgetting the Privilege of Parliament, as I suppose, Sir R—— d arrived as he used to come in and go out of Town in the Vacancy of Privilege, on a *Sunday.*—— But, says he, “ I am *authorized* (that is ordered) to say, “ that he (Sir R—— d) was not present at any Consultation about the Manner of proceeding against *Lucas*, “ or about any parliamentary Matter whatsoever before “ the Sitting of Parliament ; ”—— neither Time nor Circumstances will permit the bringing Evidence to confront this bold Assertion. Let it rest upon the Credibility of his Evidence from the many foregoing and following Instances of his Falsehood, and from his general Character. But supposing it, for Argument Sake true, it will appear in Effect but a Prevarication, or a little low Evasion : For, it is evident from his own Words, Page 18, 19, and 20, where his Evidence may be taken with Safety, as it is against himself, that he did nothing, but upon the *Result of Consultations*, in the Execution of which he was actually and confessedly the *principal Agent*. But of this more in its Place.

In this Paragraph it is, that this *State Tumbler* positively denies, by *Authority* only known to himself, his being Author of the *Observations* before recited, of which Notice has been already taken ; and yet has the Face to assert with Confidence, *that he ever did contend for the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and always did labour to promote the Prosperity of his Country.*—— Of which he is challenged to give a single Instance, except what he denies, unless he means by setting up a Manufactory of Linen, which
may

may be hoped to tend to the Good of the Public, as well as to his private Interest. But let it be remembered, that the Public paid well for this, as the *Trustees of the Linen Manufactory of Ireland*, can testify. But this is not the Point: For, a little further forward, the *valourous Knight* means to quibble a little, and confesses, that *he laboured for these Purposes in no Instance more truly, than in the Opposition he gave to Lucas, and by helping to suppress that factious Spirit, which by Lucas's Means prevailed in the City of Dublin.*—Thus the Truth comes out! The opposing *Lucas*, and suppressing that Spirit, which he calls, in his usual *Politeness* and *Justice*, *factious*, which must live, while any Traces of the Constitutions of *Britain or Ireland* escape the destructive Hands of *Slaves or Tyranny*, is all the Merit he can boast; to this, he sacrificed his Country, and made a wretched Wreck of his Conscience, if, after a Series of profered Prostitution, any Vestiges of it were left; for this, he was promised Promotion, and this, he expects, should make *sufficient Attonement for a thousand Errors*;—by which, he must mean, deviating from the Dictates of *Court Parasites*, as he has sometimes done, to inhance his Price;—and procure him the Character of a firm Patriot,——of the *modern Cast*, such as are to be caught by a *blue String*, or a *red*, by a *Feather*, by the *Reversion* or *Shadow* of a *Place* or a *Pension*, or by the *Smile* or *Nod* of a *crafty Knave* or a *doating Fool* in Power. But, he has long since proved, that

*He'd be a Slave, a Pimp, a Dog for Gain,
Nay, a dull Sheriff for his golden Chain.* YOUNG.

In this Class of *Patriots*, of which, poor *Ireland* is proportionably prolific with *Great-Britain*, *honest*, *candid*, *ingenuous*, *polite*, and *public-spirited* Sir R——d C—x, Bart. the great Surgeon and presumptive C—ll—r of C——k, shall have his deserved Place;—unless, through the threaten'd Disappointment, he suddenly becomes a *Convert*, upon the Principles of his *Prostitution*.

SURE no firm Patriot ever got a more easy and concise Method of answering all the Charges of his Antagonists, than our *candid Examiner*! Were he not ordered to write, in fee with a Printer, and determined for him to make a Volume, though of *Scurrility*, he might have answered, not only the *Critical Review*, but all that ever was or can
be

he wrote against him and his *Master*, as he has answered several of these Allegations. It is only pronouncing, by *Authority*, he dare not name, as in p. 17, *it is all false*; and streightway Truth and positive Facts vanish at the *Ipsè Dixit* of—the *Man in the Mask!*—The worthy *Gentleman* happens to be too far off for any Man in *England* to make him a proper Reply; therefore, I hope to be excused for the present. Till a fit Time and Opportunity offers of treating this *polite*, this *elegant*, this *free* Writer, as he deserves, let him plume himself upon this Consideration; that

*Fate never wounds more deep the gen'rous Heart,
Than when a Blockhead's Insult points the Dart.*

IN the latter Part of this and in the succeeding Page, he braves and glories in what must ever prove the indelible Reproach of every Administration; the perverting the *best civil* to the *worst military Government*. It is true, it is no great Matter to the Public, whether they are to be enslaved by a *standing Parliament* or a *standing Army*: Either is sufficient for the Destruction of any State. But, what can withstand the combined Force of both? Heaven guard *Britain* from the Calamities, in which these have already involved a neighbouring, confederate Nation!

I BELIEVE every Man, except the *Collector*, who is not to *meddle* or be moved with *Arguments*, will confess, that where the CIVIL POWER is not to be executed without the Assistance of the *military*, whether by *Terrour* or *Force*, there the *civil Government* and *Authority* is suspended or subverted, and becomes but an empty Name.

LET us now examine how far this is the Case of *I——d* in general, of *D——n* in particular; though it is with Grief and Horror, I take the sad Survey.—I will venture to affirm, from certain Knowledge, that there are no People in *Europe*, perhaps in the World, more *amenable* to *Law*, more *dutiful* and more *submissive* to the Authority of the *civil Magistrate*, than the People of *I——d* in general, those of *D——n* in particular. And yet, I will be bold to pronounce, that there is no *Christian Country* in *Europe*, where the *civil Government* is so seldom exerted duly and properly, and where *military Force* is so much countenanced, so frequently exercised, and so visibly preferred to, and used, as it were, in *Contempt*, nay, to the ma-

nifest Destruction of the *civil Power*, as in *I——d*, especially in the most dutiful and loyal Part of it, *D——n*.

It is there not at all uncommon for the *Army* to arrest and imprison Men, without any Sort of Authority from the *civil Magistrate*, as well as to be sent with a *civil Officer* to take some *petty Offenders*, as well as to attend the Execution of the Law, if it be but to *Bridewell* or the *Stocks*. This has brought the *civil Government* into such Contempt, especially with some of the Gentlemen of the *red Coat*, that it is not above three Years, since the *commanding Officer* of the *Army*, that guards the King's *Castle* in *D——n*, took a Party of *armed Soldiers* in the Dead of Night, deserted his *Garrison*, and for his Diversion or Improvement, exercised his *Forces* on the *civil Power*, in *storming* several *Watch-Houses*, and *assaulting*, *wounding* and *incurably maiming* the *Constables* and *Watch* of several *Parishes*, to the extreme Terror of all the *Inhabitants*. Yet, though the *Directors* of the *Watch* for these *Parishes*, prosecuted these *mid-night military Rulers*, (which, in a civilized Country, would be deem'd and treated as *Rioters*,) at an Expence too, of three or four hundred Pounds; yet, no Penalty, *civil* or *military*, can be got inflicted on the principal Offender; except being *indicted*: For, having got the *Court* of his Side, he has so baffled the Prosecutors, and put them to such Expence, (which should be supported by the Crown,) that they were often determined to drop it and abide by the first Loss and Damage. When it happen'd once to be brought near a Trial, the *L——d C——f J——e M——y* smiled, and recommended an amicable Accommodation. The Parties agreed, the Officer submitted to the *Directors*, and they desired no more, than the Aggressor's paying the Costs of Suit, and making some small Attonement to those, that were personally injured in the Affray. When this was made known in *Court*, his *L——p* opposed it, as *unreasonable* and *unjust*; abused the several *Directors* of the *Watch*, particularly Mr. *Lucas*, in as gross Terms, as those, with which, he treats the latter in his *learned and elegant CHARGE to Grand Juries*; told them, *he saw, they wanted to make a Property of the Gentleman, for running into a little Frolick in his Cups, and that he would not fine him*; so, put off the giving Judgment in the Cause for six Months longer; and I do not hear that it is yet judiciously determined. Thus, are *Freedom, Law and Justice*

Justice dispensed in happy *I——d* ! Who can know this and be silent,

*When flatter'd Crimes of a licentious Age,
Reproach our Silence, and demand our Rage ?*

YOUNG.

BUT, to give a further View of this *new military* Government. — If but the slightest Contest happens at the Election of Corporation Officers, or even at the admitting of Freemen, the weakest Party, if they have the City Magistrates of their Side, frequently create a Disturbance, and then threaten the other with the *standing Army* and sometimes bring *it* to intimidate and over-awe them. And it has been known, that the *Army* has been brought to the *Tholsel* or Town House of the City at a general Election, and order'd to fire upon the Populace indiscriminately, under the Pretence of quelling a Riot, probably raised for the Purpose.

BUT, *military Execution* has not, in the Memory of Man, been carried to the Pitch, to which it was extended in *I——d* last Year: Whenever any Body more just or rational, or more *timid*, than ordinary, gave any Sort of Opposition to the manifold open and secret, illegal and oppressive Measures taken by *certain Managers* to prevent the Freedom of the late Election, representing it, as not only *evil*, but *dangerous* to be attempted upon a People actuated by such exalted Sentiments of LIBERTY and LOYALTY, as were now observed to prevail, almost universally; the Answer always was, *What can the seditious and disaffected Wretches, Papist Mob, Rabble, &c. &c. do against the Force of the Standing Army ? If they should dare to stir, the Army is ready to mow them down and trample them under Feet.* — This was the Language of Court Parasites in general, many of whom, particularly the *bloody-minded State Surgeon*, openly declared, *they wished for nothing more, than the Citizens giving some Handle to the Army to cut them to Pieces.* In Consequence of which, let us now see how these most generous and loyal Subjects were harrassed, insulted and abused by the *Army*, all the last Winter.

It is on all Hands confessed, that nothing tending to a Breach of the Peace, or inconsistent with the strictest Civility, Decency and Decorum was offered to any Man, before the late Election, or the Persecution of Mr. Lucas, by the Citizens of *D——n*; for whom this *polite and learned*

Examiner, his *Associates* and their *Master*, can find no better an Appellation, than *disorderly, disaffected, popish and rebellious Rabble, Mob, &c. &c.* Yet, the Army was kept on a constant *Piquet* for a considerable Time; and not only those, who mounted the usual Guards, but they, who more for Pomp or Ornament than real Use, lined the Streets upon certain Occasions, were charged with *several Rounds of Powder and Ball*. This, the *wise Examiner* partly confesses, and fully applauds, p. 17, 18, I must suppose, by *Authority*, tho' *anonymous*. This was the *just Return* made for the long-approved and unshaken Fidelity and Loyalty of the Citizens of *D—n*, who are in most of their Charters since the *English* Foundation of that City, *thank'd and honour'd* by the *Crown* for *these Virtues* and for their *ready Services* upon all Occasions in *suppressing Insurrections* and other *rebellious Attempts* of the Subjects, as well *English and Scots as Irish!* This was also deem'd a *proper Compliment* to be paid Men of such distinguished Affection and Attachment to the present Establishment, as to have put themselves in *military Array, equipped and disciplined* at an immense Expence, and to have held themselves constantly ready for Service during the last *Scotish* Rebellion, determined to defend and support the King and Constitution of their Country, or die in the glorious Attempt!—But this was under the Administration of a *Patriot Governor*.—A Word to the Wise;—*In corrupted Governments, the Place is given for the Sake of the Man; in good Ones, the Man is chosen for the Sake of the Place.*—The Good-will of the Governed will be starved, if it be not fed by the good Conduct of the Governors. Marq. HALIFAX.

HOWEVER, this *military Government* was found most suitable to the Taste and Purposes of the Administration in *I——d* last Year. And therefore Schemes were laid to carry it further, to increase, extend and establish its Power: For, tho' our Parliament would not trust their great Deliverer King WILLIAM with more than twelve thousand Men upon that Establishment, even when the late King *James's* Power and Interest were hardly yet subdued there, and by an Act reduced the *Army* to that Number; and tho' in the Height of the late *Scotish Rebellion* less than one Third of that Number were judged and found more than necessary to defend the whole Kingdom; yet, this Year the *military Power* is augmented to the additional Expence of 48 or 50000 Pounds a Year to the Establishment, by
incorporating

incorporating as many Officers in the Room of private Men, as keeps up the limited Number, and as might serve, to command ten Times that Number; which at a very short Warning may furnish as great an *Army* as ever, confused the Bowels of these Kingdoms. And all this at that remarkable Conjunction, when *Britain* wisely reduced her *Land-Forces*, and when her *Patriots* at immense Pains and Labour got some of the *Stings* of the intended *Mutiny Bill*, drawn or blunted! — When a wise Ad———n thought it fit to give every Lord L———t of I———d, since *Queen Anne's* Reign, the *Lie*, by laying a Duty equal to a Prohibition on the I———th *H—p—n* Manufacture, which every preceeding Governor recommended to be promoted, improved and extended, by the Sanction of our Government, as some Sort of Equivalent for the *Woollen* Manufacture, by false Policy suppressed in that Kingdom, to the evident Destruction of that Trade in both Nations! — And when, in the Sight of the I———th P———t, the highest and most intollerable Insults, that were known since *Cromwell's* military Government, were given the *civil Power* of that unhappy Kingdom; of which I beg Leave to instance but a few.

No Election was ever known to be carried on more peacefully than the last in D———n; yet notwithstanding, one Mr. D———n, one of the City Sheriffs, and who is now reputed, in Reward of these, his Services, to have been appointed a *Deputy-Alderman* to one Alderman *Stanhope*, said to have passed a *Conge D'elire*, obliging that venerable Board of City Senators to elect him into their Corps; in order to shew that the *civil Power* was not able to make or support the Election of a Member of Parliament, without *military Force*, drew out a Body of the *Army* before the *Tholsel*, the last Day of the Election. — A small Specimen of I———th Liberty! — Of the Strength of, and Regard paid to, the *civil Constitution* of that happy Kingdom!

*Grant me, kind Heaven! to find some happier Place,
Where Honesty and Sense are no Disgrace;
Where once the harrassed Briton found Repose,
And safe in Poverty def'd his Foes.*

JOHNSON'S *London*.

AFTER the late Election, which may more properly be called, *The Imposition* of Members on D———n, the Spirit of the oppressed People naturally shewed it self

in the Theatre. There, a just Detestation of *Slaves*, as well as *Tyrants*, and the proper Applause of *HEROES* and *PATRIOTS*, were shewn upon all Occasions. This, it seems gave great Offence to the *confederate Managers* or the Administration; it must therefore, by all Means, be suppressed. But, their ill-timed and injudicious Resentment, rather incensed and enraged than appeased the injured Multitude. The Applause or Condemnation of Persons in the Drama or Incidents in the Plays were by an easy Transition, transfered to actual Persons, who performed Parts somewhat similar on the Stage of Life. Soon after, the Galleries erected themselves into *Mock-high-Courts* of Justice, and in Imitation of an *higher Court*, but upon clearer Evidence and better Principles, brought some great Delinquents to Trial, and, *nemine contradicente*, expelled some *Members* of the *House*, and voted them *Enemies to the King and Constitution of their Country*; at the same time, as justly and unanimously distinguishing others with due Applause and Honour. This could not fail of irritating the *guilt-galled Champions of Corruption*. And they tried all Means to suppress it. Where Law could not be drove, *military Force* was employed. The Galleries were then set with *armed Soldiers*, before whom it was penal to speak, hiss, clap or even to sigh. By these many of the Audience were snub'd and insulted upon the most frivolous Pretences. One Night in particular a certain Person sighed and groaned heavily; upon which, some of the *military Inquisition* took upon them to interrogate the *Groaner*, who, upon being asked with Fury and Violence, *why he dared to sigh and groan*, and *for what?* answered with Calmness and good Humour, *he hoped there was no Crime in giving a Groan for the old Woman in the Castle*. Which being by a *learned Law-Innuendo* construed to be a certain *great Man*, the *poor Groaner* was hauled out and sent under a strong Guard to *New-Gate*. Who will now presume to contradict Sir R——d C——x, the *great State-Surgeon* or *chirurgical Collector*, when he asserts and vaunts, *that the I——sh are all absolutely enslaved?* Sure this alone might serve to prove his Assertions!

O! BRITONS! O! my Countrymen! *beware*;
Gird, gird your Hearts; the Romans once were free,
Were brave, were virtuous ———

DYER's Ruins of Rome.

Let

Let whoever doubts read a little further and receive ample Conviction.

THE last Instance I shall mention, is of somewhat an higher Nature. This Preference given the *military* to the *civil Power*, and the Dominion exercised by the former over the latter, could not fail of exciting that Jealousy between the *Populace* and the *Soldiers*, which soon after shewed itself in the most frequent dreadful Riots between the one and the other, in which many were grievously wounded and maimed, and some lost their Lives. — When the public Peace was thus extremely disturbed, the civil Magistrate interposed. One of the Sheriffs had several of the Aggressors taken Prisoners, particularly two *Soldiers*, and had them committed to Goal. The *Soldiers*, flushed with many late Victories and Triumphs, became so incensed with this unexpected Indignity, that a considerable Party of them (tho' without any *visible Officer*, which shews how unnecessary it is to multiply Commissions there) marched to make Reprisals, *bravely* seized the *Sheriff*, who took their *Comrades*, hauled him thro' the Town to the Barrack, threatned his Life, and swore they would keep him a Prisoner there, 'till the imprisoned *Soldiers* should be enlarged; which he being unable to perform, they placed him under a Guard, while they went to the Prison, and demanded the giving up the *Soldiers*, on Pain of making a general *Goal Delivery*; which having, thro' Terror, obtained, they carried them in Triumph to the Barrack, and then were *graciously pleased* to discharge their *poor, pitiful Prisoner*, the Head, Peace or civil Officer, one of the HIGH SHERIFFS of the capital City! — Who can envy the Happiness of *this* free and flourishing Kingdom? Could all this have happened — in *Babylon*, while the prime *Bassa*, the *chief Governor* of the *civil* and *military Power* resided in that City, and while the *Divan* or Parliament was actually sitting there, without reaching some of their Ears? It cannot be presumed or imagined. And yet we find no Attonement, no Reparation is made for this Violation, this Extirpation of the *civil Power*! On the contrary, the *military* is encreased and strengthened after having thus trampled under Feet the whole *civil Government*, for whose Protection alone they are raised and maintained! — Are these the Fruits of some of the *Patriot Baronet's* boasted Services for his Country? the *Rights* and *Liberties*

Liberties for which he says he has so long and strenuously contended? — Yes; and those for the founding and effecting which, he got his hardly-earned Preferment! Who can envy such *conspicuous Merit* its *well-deserved Wages*? when,

*This mournful Truth is ev'ry where confess'd,
Slow rises Worth by Poverty depress'd:
But here more slow, where all are Slaves to Gold,
Where Looks are Merchandise, and Smiles are sold;
Where won by Bribes, by Flatteries implor'd,
The Groom retails the Favours of his Lord.*

IN the 18th p. this great *Man*, with his usual *Modesty*, contradicts, in part, and tacitly confesses in part, the Relation of the Proceedings against Mr. *Lucas*, recited in the *Review*, p. 49. It may be necessary to remind the Reader, that p. 16, he peremptorily *denies having been in any Consultation relative to Lucas, before the sitting of Parliament*; but here he plainly confesses *having held such Consultations, and concerted the Measures afterwards taken before the second Day of their sitting*. He cannot deny his refusing to make the Motion and calling it *dirty Work*, when Doctor C—p—r put him in mind of it the first Day in the House. — Strange! the *Doctor*, a Man whose *Sagacity* is equal to his *Honesty*, should pitch upon the Patriot Sir R—d to make this pretended *unpremeditated Motion, to do this dirty Work, without any previous concerting*! The *Knight* does not presume to deny this Conversation with the *Doctor*; which is pretty strong Evidence of a *previous Consultation* with him or *Somebody*. He does not attempt to vindicate himself from the Imputation of having *suspended his mercenary Arms*, like an *unpaid Swiss*, or of the Charge of coming the next Day *better prepared to do the Work*, by a Promise of the Place of *Collector* of one of the two greatest Cities. No; he is too modest, or too *timid* to go this Length. So he endeavours to cover the whole infamous Project with his usual Abuse of Mr. *Lucas*, whom he is genteely pleased to call, the *Bell-wether of the Faction, a desperate mad Apothecary, &c.* and of the most worthy and loyal Citizens, to whom he can afford no better an Appellation, than a *sedition, licentious, popish Mob, &c. &c.* In the Conclusion of this Sentence, he boasts of his Success, and of the salutary Effects, the Public feels from his Measures. Yet, I challenge

challenge him and his *Confederates*, with their *Master*, to shew any better Effects they produced, than the *discouraging* or *suppressing Liberty and Loyalty*, and planting in their stead, *Oppression and lawless Force*, which necessarily begot *Disaffection, Distrust and Discontent*; unless he insists on that *capital Service* of paying a *small Part* of the *national Debt*, by the *accidental Exceedings* of the Revenue; at the same time, laying a Foundation for loading the Public with near double that Sum before the next Session, to make an Increase of the *military Establishment*, as unnecessary, as burdensome to that People, and as dangerous to the civil Liberties of this Kingdom, as they have already proved destructive to those of that. — What Pity it is, that so *learned, so polite, so great a Man, so firm and illustrious a Patriot*, as Sir R. C. should be so far intoxicated with the bare *Court-promise* of a *Place*, as to lose his Shame, Sense, Memory and Manners! In him, proud Man, behold,

*Imbruted every Faculty divine
Heart-buried in the Rubbish of the World.*

YOUNG.

IN the 50th p. he asserts, that no Step was taken to interrupt the Freedom of Election, unless censuring a Man for Writings, little less than treasonable, no way relative to the Election, was an Interruption. And in this and part of the subsequent Page, vaunts upon Mr. Lucas's insinuated Error in saying, that D——n had at that Time no Representative in Parliament.

Now, that every Paper wrote this Year by Mr. Lucas was relative to Elections in general, to the impending Election in particular, every Man of Sense, that reads them, must see and confess: For, all his political Writings, as well as his public Speeches, shew the Strength and Excellency of the national Constitution; that all the Breaches made or suffered to be made therein were owing to the *Ignorance, Supineness or Corruption* of the Members of Parliament; as the Repairs of these and the Preservation of the Whole must ever depend upon their Wisdom and Virtue; and then set forth how far it was the indispensable Duty of every Individual to contribute to this good End, by restoring and maintaining the Freedom of Elections universally, but especially in the Capital.

H

Now,

Now, the *Commons* have no Right or Power to disqualify any Man for a Seat in Parliament, who is not before his Election disqualified by Law, as a Person of *unsound Intellectuals*, *attainted* or *outlawed*. Mr. *Lucas* was a Man of common Sense, if he was not *wise*, it may be reckoned a Blessing, as long *Oppression* might have made him *mad*; that he had offended no Law in being, his Persecutors have tacitly confessed, if not proved, by their extrajudicial Trial, Condemnation and Sentence; however, it is evident he was *not guilty*, not legally convicted of any Crime, that could render him incapable of being elected to a Seat in Parliament; he was a Candidate for *D——n*, at a time, when she had no Member in Parliament; and when the Election was posted to come on in a few Days, a *Vote* of the *Commons* was passed to disqualify him from being elected, by declaring him an *Enemy to his Country*, and ordering him to *Prison* and to be a *second Time tried*, and in an *inferior Court*, for a Crime *fix'd* on him in a *superior*! Yet, all this, with the *righteous* Sir R. C. II. is very *wise*, *legal* and *just*, — and *no sort of Interruption* to the *Freedom of Election*! — This is the *firm Patriot* of *happy I——d*! — Who does not admire the *Hero*?

BUT, this *wise* Man abuses the just old Maxim, *that every Individual has an Interest in every Member of Parliament*. It is easy to see thro' this coarse-spun Piece of Cobweb Sophistry. Every Representative in Parliament is to watch, guard and maintain the Interests of the whole Community in general, but more immediately of those in particular, for and by whom he is chosen and appointed to his Place. — *D——n*, as a Part of the Whole, had or ought to have an Interest in every individual Member in the House. But, as she had no Person immediately appointed to represent her, thoroughly informed of her Case and Circumstances and particularly interested in her Welfare, she could not be said to be fairly represented; and therefore, every Act at this time done in the *Commons*, must be deemed *without her Consent*, and consequently *injurious* to her *Rights* and *Privileges*. She had then one of her *Sons*, one of her *Candidates* cut off, *without her Consent*, nay, without the common Forms of Law, or the least Regard to the Rights of a Subject. And this too, when it was evident, no Injury, no Obstacle, no Delay to legal Proceedings against *Charles Lucas* could have attended the postponing the rash and illegal Censure passed upon him before

fore the Election, at which Time he was less within the Power or Jurisdiction of the House, than he probably would have been after ; before the Call of the House, and before half the Members had come to Town. How far Mr. *Lucas* can be supposed guilty of *treasonable* or otherwise criminal Writings, may best be judged from the *Information*, filed in the Name of the *Attorney-General*, a Copy of which is annexed ; and by considering the Answers given the same Charges in the *Critical Review*. But this with good Sir R. requires no further Consideration !—Very true ; the more he considers it, the more it stares his self-accusing Conscience in the Face,

—————*That formidable Spy,
Listening o'erhears the Whispers of his Camp ;
His dawning Purposes of Heart explores,
And steals his Embryo's of Iniquity.*

Consult this watchful Monitor, good Doctor, if you dare, and see if all your Artifice, with your promised Collection, can shield you from its poignant Stings and Arrows !

AFTERWARDS, this excellent Examiner peremptorily asserts, that Mr. *Lucas* was not called in to give Evidence against himself, nor was he ever called the Evidence on the Floor.—Observe how consistent this is with Truth and Sense, when in the same Sentence he says, *but he was called in, according to the constant and uniform Custom of Courts of Justice, to plead, guilty or not guilty.* Here you see, the House of Commons is made a Court of Justice ; tho' it is no more so, in this Respect, than a *Grand-Jury*, which has as good a Right as the Commons to make a supposed Criminal plead *guilty or not guilty* before they indict or present him. Yet such was the Justice and Legality of their Proceedings, that *Lucas* was never permitted to hear the Evidence taken against him, nor the Crimes with which he was charged, nor the Reasons why, or Purposes for which he was thus called in and questioned. If it were then just he should plead, how was it possible under these Circumstances ? But the Doctor has told us, p. 8, that the Commons had no Right to take Cognizance of *Lucas's* Crimes ; for, says he, *they were Offences not properly punishable in that Place.* Yet here, he says, *Lucas* was called in to be tried, and to plead—before whom ? A Tribunal of incompetent Jurisdiction ! or, to use the Examiner's own

Words, one, wherein *such Offences were not properly punishable* ! Then to what was he to *plead* ?—To an *Indictment* or *Impeachment*, for a Foundation for which the supposed Criminal's Confession was necessary ; yet which was, without that or any other legal Proof, then formed and fix'd at least in the Minds of the Persecutors, if no where else !

—Now, whether the *Knight* appears best qualified for a *Statesman*, *Orator*, *Judge*, *Lawyer*, *Examiner*, *Doctor*, *Collector* or *Tumbler*, let any cool, sensible, Man determine ; who has the Virtue to

*Turn from the glitt'ring Bribe his scornful Eye,
Not sell for Gold, what Gold can never buy,
The peaceful Slumber, self-approving Day,
Unfollied Fame, and Conscience ever gay.*

As for the Truth of Mr. *Lucas's* being called *the Evidence on the Floor*, I appeal to every indifferent Person, who was then in the House. And as for the little, low Reflection couched in the Conclusion of the Sentence, the *Doctor*, with his usual Consistency with Truth and himself, takes Care to shew it groundless ; for he charges *Lucas* afterwards, with *Pertness* and *Insolence* offered to the *Chairman*, and even *disrespectful Words* to the L. L. in the House, p. 23, 25, 32. Of which *fearful, little Criminals* are seldom guilty, even tho' the *greatest Criminal* should, at their Presence, wax Pale, and so falter in his Speech, as to promise to prove very good Crimes upon them, *Review*, p. 54. For me, let *such Heroes* proceed,

And satirise with any Thing—but Praise.

In p. 22, he says, *of a Piece with this Tale is that of the Chairman* ;—In this I shall for once agree with *his Worship* ; both are alike incontestably true.

HIS Examination of the Paragraph of the *Review*, quoted from the 52d p. is to be equalled with nothing better than his preceeding Criticisms. The only Part that requires or admits any Remark is, that the Reasons, why Mr. *Lucas* should not have answered a Question, which no Man or Body of Men had a Right to put to him, are fully and fairly stated in the *Review*, p. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, &c. Nay, even by the *Examiner* himself, in his 8th p. where he justly, but I suppose inadvertently, confesses, that Mr. *Lucas*

Lucas stood before an *incompetent Judicature*. Then he says, *the Chairman had the Book thrown almost in his Face*, p. 25.——This is either true or false: If it be true, it is probable, *Lucas* was not quite as timorous, as faltering, as *his Accuser*——would represent him, p. 22. If it be false, both Charges fall with it to the Ground. Indeed, it is equally true with the Conclusion, wherein he charges *Lucas* with *presuming to insult the Commons of the Kingdom* in Parliament assembled: A Crime, with which, his most inveterate Enemies, not even *Marshall, Tisdal* or *Morgan* ever presumed to charge him. I must own, I verily believe, that it was not out of any Sort of Regard to the pitiful Persons, that sat there, as the *C——ns* of *I——d*, (but who proved themselves in Fact, but little, low contemptible Fools, who, as they were prompted, took upon them to be the *Prosecutors, Evidence* against and *Judges* of this unfortunate, innocent Man) that he behaved with all imaginable Deference, Respect and Humility before them: No; I am persuaded, if I know Mr. *Lucas*, that it was out of pure *Pride* and *Self-Love*; that is, he had too much *Pride* and was too respectful to his own Person and Reputation, to do any Thing unbecoming a clear Character, a sober, sensible Man, or that might hereafter tend to fully his fair Fame.——Would to God! for the Sake of his Country, that his *Enemies* of all Classes could say as much for themselves!

How far *Kelburn's* Testimony is just or legal, let Gentlemen of Judgment in such Matters determine. The Evidence, he gave against *Lucas*, *Lucas* was not permitted to hear, and it could not therefore be contradicted.——How could he know *Lucas's* Hand? Or swear to the fair and exact printing of any Thing, when he never composed or printed a Line? But, *he obeyed the Summons of the House*, says Sir R.——Yes, and had the *private Documents* of *C-x*, who sent many of his Emissaries to tamper with Mr. *E——ll* to make him Offers and Assurance of Indemnity and Favours to induce him to become an Informer against Mr. *Lucas*. And the *Wou'd-be Collector* says, *E——ll would have done well had he done like Kelburn*. He might have said, like *C-x*;—for a *Bribe* or a *Promise*, betray his innocent *Benefactor* or *enslave* his Country. True; he might have escaped some lawless, external Persecution by so doing; but how should he escape the *Worm that dies not*, the insatiable, ravenous Vulture, that incessantly preys upon the
Bowels

Bowels of such *Patriots* as Sir *Richard II* ? *Lucas's* scourging of this Class at their *Champion's* Behaviour, brings to my View that beautiful Passage in *DYER's Ruins of Rome* ;

————— Even yet me thinks
The veb'ment Orator in rent Attire
Persuasion pours, Ambition sinks her Crest ;
And lo ! the Villain, like a troubled Sea,
That tosses up her Mire ! Ever disguised,
Shall Treason walk ? Shall proud Oppression yoke
The Neck of Virtue ? ——— ———

BUT I would ask this *firm Patriot*, was it criminal by any Law in being, to write these Papers ? ——— He must, to justify himself and his *Compeers*, with their *Master*, say it was. Why then was not the Law put in Force, without the violent, unprecedented Interposition of the H——se of C——ns ? Or, was it less criminal in the *Printers* or *Publishers*, who were the sole Gainers by them ? Against *these*, every Proof necessary to fix the *Printing and Publishing* could readily be made. Why were not *they* only struck at in the usual Manner instead of the *supposed Author*, against whom no legal Proof has yet been offered ? ——— The Answer to this, however plain and simple Question, is not to be expected from the *Collector*. But, it is undeniably this ; *The prosecuting the Printers and Publishers would answer no End to the Cause of Corruption, should the Prosecution have succeeded* : For, it could not interrupt the Freedom of Election. *Lucas* and *La Touche* must have been chosen and returned by a vast Majority, if not without Opposition, and some favourite Schemes, since carried into Execution might be in Danger of being frustrated or retarded. The cutting off *Lucas*, right or wrong, was the surest Expedient, as it offered an Handle, such as it was, to turn *La Touche* out of the House, however fairly, however freely elected and duly returned.

THE *Examiner*, with the same matchless Confidence that runs thro' all his Works, asserts, Page 26, that after *Kelburn's* Evidence, *Lucas* was asked whether he admitted the Books thus proved, to be his ? ——— Now I assert, upon as good Authority as C-x can produce, that in all the Forms in which *Lucas* was asked, whether the Papers produced were of his Writing or not, there being proved by this or any

any other Evidence was never mentioned nor glanced at, nor could *Lucas* have possibly known what Evidence was given against him when he was examined. But this is a trifling Piece of Exaggeration not worth touching on, in Comparison to the many others, to which our Author is obliged to have Recourse. I can also affirm, and I appeal to every indifferent Member, or honest By-stander to attest the Truth, that Mr. *Lucas* neither pointed out the further Day of Hearing, or promised to give a *Categorical Answer* upon any other Terms than those set forth in the *Critical Review*, p, 55, 56, 62 and 63, to wit, being brought before a *competent Judicature*, a Court of *definitive Judgment*, which the House of Commons is not, in criminal Matters. It would no Doubt be prudent in him to borrow Time to be better advised in such an extraordinary Case; but, two Days could have answered no End for him, tho' it plainly did against him. As for Mr. *J——n's* Sentiments, let him answer for himself; I do not pretend to be in his Secrets; for, I have not the Happiness of being in the Number of his Acquaintance; but *C——x* is Conjuror enough to know the most secret Sentiments and Intentions of all Men and takes upon him to express them to favour his own righteous Purposes.

UNTIL the learned and candid Examiner shews stronger Reasons to tax the Veracity of the Author of the *Critical Review*, than barefaced Assertions, as groundless as malignant and scurrilous, it is hoped the former will not gain more than the latter can suffer in his Credit with the judicious and impartial. Therefore, it cannot be incumbent on the latter, as the Examiner asserts, p, 27, 28, to name the Members who allowed his Innocence and Integrity, till the former publishes the Names of those, who avowedly and publicly condemned and censured him, and upon all Occasions expressed an Abhorrence and Detestation of Charles Lucas and his scandalous Works. Let these be first produced, and the Examiner may be assured, he shall have the Names and Places of Abode of the others made known, and the fullest Proofs given of the Matters asserted to this Purpose in the Review. How far the Fifty-three Members attempted to prove, that Mr *La Touche* had no Connection or joint Interest with *Lucas*, or regarded such a palpable and base Chicanery as is shamefully couched in the Charge, I know not; but that there was neither, I can positively affirm, and upon Occasion prove;

prove ; tho' it is more than probable, Mr. *La Touche's* Election was secured by its being generally believed, that he had countenanced and approved, if not imbibed and adopted Mr. *Lucas's* political Principles. But whether or no these Gentlemen *declared* and *avowed* that no good Subject could be of Mr. *Lucas's* Principles, or in his Interest, or even of his Acquaintance, I cannot take upon me to say, Sir R——d may arraign them as he will ; but if they thought his speaking or writing worth their Notice, it is more than probable some of them would contradict him publicly, as most of them do privately, who express their Regard to Mr. *Lucas's* Principles and Character, and their Compassion for the sad Circumstances to which the whole Nation was reduced by the violent and lawless Persecution of this honest Citizen and loyal Subject. But, C——x will escape all Censure by denying the Paper to all but the *Faction* and their *Master*.

THERE never was an Assertion more apparently repugnant to Truth and common Sense than the following will presently appear. Nay the direct Reverse is throughout C——x's own Works, not only confessed to be true, but charged as a Crime upon *Lucas*. It must be observed, says he, that *LUCAS* made it a common Practice, by his own Report, to pervert every private Conversation he had with his Superiors to his own Emolument, without Regard to Truth, or Respect to the Character he made so free with ; he never failed to misrepresent the wisest and greatest Men as Favourers, Encouragers, nay, Admirers, of him and his Practices, Examination, p. 28. — Now there is nothing more notorious in *Dublin* than that the contrary to this is the Truth : For it was proud *Lucas's* constant boast, and what not a little recommended him to the Favour of the honest, disinterested and discerning, that all those that C——x calls *Lucas's* Superiors, and the wisest and greatest Men were constantly in Opposition to, nay, at Enmity with him : And *Lucas* and his Friends would at any Time have thought it a Reproach to his Cause, that those whom he exposed and proved guilty of gross Breaches of Trust and general Maladministration in their high Stations, C——x's wisest and greatest Men, should seem Favourers, Encouragers or Admirers of him. But, for a further Vindication of Mr. *Lucas* from this malignant groundless Charge, take the Doctor's own Words. *Antidote* Number 1. p. 13. This *State-Surgeon* calls *Lucas* this

GRACCHUS of yours——Did Gracchus flatter the Great or say or insinuate they were of his Side?——No more did Lucas.——Afterwards he adds,—*Consider seriously, what Weight his Propositions probably would have, amongst Gentlemen, who have been all, generally or particularly abused and vilified, by him.*—Yet C—x says in his *Examiner* p. 28, that LUCAS afterwards got easy Access to these abused and vilified great Men, and misrepresented them as his *Friends and Admirers!*——What Pity it is, a Man that stands so much in Need of a good Memory, should have so short an one!——His Memory seems to serve poor Sir R——d like his Conscience; they both desert him sometimes, and leave him in the Lurch, as the Devil and his excellent Master seem to have done.

IN the second *Antidote*, p. 4, he charges Mr. Lucas with *provoking, slandering and abusing* those from whom a Reformation, or a Redress of Grievances are to be hoped; particularly——*the Gentlemen who are to preside at, and be the Judges of, his Election.* By which to be sure he means the new Electors, the House of Commons; p. 6, with *Affronts* to his Majesty and to all the Ministers of Government; p. 15, with *affronting the Government*; with *impudently presenting a Libel to the Lords Justices against the King, against Great-Britain, against the Parliament of Great-Britain and Ireland, against the Lord Lieutenant, against the Judges, and against all the Officers under the Crown in general*; p. 16, with *unjustly impeaching all the King's Ministers*: Charges of this kind are copiously and frequently made thro' all the rest of this great Man's Works; yet see how palpably he contradicts all here, and says, that Mr. Lucas *sought the Approbation of these wisest and greatest of Men, or insinuated that he actually had it, to gain him Credit with the wretched, ignorant People of Dublin!*——Let C—x himself consider the Inconsistency of these Jargons. But why do I speak of this Inconsistency? Is not his whole Life a continued Serious of Inconsistency and Contradiction? But, as our wise *Examiner* will, with his usual, his peculiar Effrontery, deny his being the Author of the *Antidote*, let me observe that he contradicts the Paragraph here recited from his *Examination*, p. 28. In many Parts of this same learned Tract, in the 3d and 4th Pages he charges Mr. Lucas with *villainously and barbarously sporting with the great Characters*; and shew, as one of the *Criteria* by which Lucas's Writings, or Speeches may be known, *his venomous*

and virulent Aspersions cast upon all ; who for the Sake of, Truth and the Rights of their Country differ from him. Then in p. 11, one of the manifold Crimes which he, with as much Virulence and Cruelty as Falsehood and Injustice, attempts to lay at Lucas's Door, is, his having arraigned the Judges in most abusive and scandalous Terms before the chief Governor, and then bringing the Characters of the Governor and other respectable Persons before the Tribunal of the lowest People, incompetent Judges of Law or Reason; and there treating every Name superior to his own, with that unbecoming Familiarity and Disrespect, nay, with that foul Abuse and notorious Injustice, that tended to create in the Hearers a Detestation of all Government and Order.

—— Yet now, our forgetful, our firm Patriot says, that Lucas to ingratiate himself with the Populace, first abused all the wisest and greatest of Men, then boasted that they were all his Favourers, Encouragers and Admirers !—— Thus Sir R——d is determined never to leave off 'till he proves, as he promised, some very good Crimes on this poor Exile. See how happily the great Man succeeds ! Well ; he may say to his excellent Employer as a Couple-Beggar to a Man, who for his running the Risque of solemnizing a Marriage clandestinely, had put him off with palming a Piece of false Coin upon him ; *You cheated me first*, says the Priest, *by giving me a false Piece of Coin, but I am even with you, for your Marriage is not a jot better.*—— A promised Collection ! false Coin ! false Work ! Repentance——or Damnation.

THIS Pattern of firm Patriots, that knows little of what pass'd between the Speaker and Mr. Lucas, or that with his usual good Intentions, he knowing and designedly misrepresents it, or speaks, thro' Virulency, at Random, is evident from the palpable Falsehood of this Position, p. 28, 29. Thus, he had a Conference with the S——r before the Meeting of Parliament, not after he was publicly accused, as he falsely asserts.—— Mr. Lucas was publicly accused on Wednesday the 11th Day of October ; the next Day he appeared before the House, which post poned further Consideration on the Matter 'till the Monday following. And on the Sunday preceeding, Mr. Speaker was pleased to honour him with an Hour's Conversation on his Case before his eldest Son, Mr. Boyle.—— But, poor C——x was glad of a new Opportunity of licking the Spittle of a great Man, who, upon repeated just Provocation, in misrepresenting him to the late Bishop Clayton of Cork, in speaking

ing Evil and Falsehood of him to several upon many other Occasions, and in endeavouring treacherously to supplant him in his Interest in the County of *Cork*, as he did in the Borough of *Clonikelty*, has often, as he still does, and ever must, treat *his Worship* most deservedly like a Dog. — See here a true Specimen of the *Spaniel* ! He will do any thing for a *Bit* and a *Blow* : He can *turn* and *turn* — *lie down* or *stand* — *walk* or *run* — *fawn* and *cringe* — *fetch* and *carry* — *leap over a stick* — *and lick Spittle* — Yet who can say he is not a Knight? yea a *Baronet* ? Honour to the Title ! Would thou wert a Gentleman !

Titles are Emblems of the *Good* and *Wise* ;
The *Knave* or *Fool*, that bears a Title, *lies*.

YOUNG.

WHERE our illustrious *Baronet* can not conveniently falsify, pervert or prevaricate, he has Recourse to his *Tumbling* Art. Here then he *skips* over above *five Pages* of the *Review*, and then, as usual, takes up a *Fragment* of a Paragraph to amuse, not satisfy, the Reader. Now he makes a pompous Parade upon this *Fragment* which is a Sort of Inference drawn from *Lucas's* Speech in the *Review*. The Paragraph begins thus, “ An Answer to this Purpose was “ probably expected from Mr. *Lucas*, by the *Ministry* “ and therefore, one of the L. L. — —’s Secretaries, unable to conceal how far *he* and *his Master* were concerned and interested in this Prosecution, brought the *Dedication*, *Addresses*, &c. with which poor *Lucas* had the other Day presented his E — —y to the H — —se in his “ Pocket,” &c. — Now, C — —x endeavours to make it appear, that these Papers were, in Effect, *extorted* from his E. by an Address from the House. But, it is most certain, no Address was presented, when the Books were produced in the House, nor before the final Censure was pass’d upon *Lucas*. And yet, this Address was formally entered in the *Journal* and *Votes*, tho’ made after the Addresses were produced.

I MEAN not to dispute the L. L. — —’s Right to send Papers offered him to be laid before either Houses of Parliament, for Advice ; The *Chicanery*, under which it was done, and the *Commons* submitting to be made in this, and other Respects, such *Dupes*, is what I blame and would

expose. But, let me ask *how did Lucas make this act necessary?* Or, *why has he no right, and the Public no Room to complain?* As it is asserted, p. 13. — Hear the Collector's Answer—*For the Honour and Privileges of Parliament were thereby vindicated, which are the Honour and Privileges of the People.*—That all the *Power, Authority, Honour and Privileges* appertaining to *Parliament*, are derived from, and held in *Trust* for, the *PEOPLE*, Lucas has every where publicly and privately contended, and every sensible Man has conceded. But, that when they are turned against, not used to the Protection and Defence, of the Right of their *Ward*, they are most dangerous and destructive, and the Parliament, which thus far recedes from the Principles of the Institution, acts regardless of the *Honour and Interest*, of the *Liberties* of the *People*, or speaks a Language foreign to the *honest and loyal Sentiments* of the *Constituents*, deserve not the Name of *Parliament*; they are no longer the *faithful Ministers and Servants*, the just *Trustees* and steady *Guardians* of the *PEOPLE*, their *Constituents* and *Wards*; they become their *perfidious Robbers*, their *Tyrants*, their *Inslavers*. Such were the *Commons* of whom the great and good Chief Justice HOLT says, *they assemble to swallow the Laws and Liberties of the Nation in the bottomless and insatiable Gulph of their own Privileges*. What Orator can prove this *long-standing Irish Parliament* of a better Mould?—Not this bold Advocate for *Corruption and Tyranny*. The best that can be said of the Gentlemen is, that they had no Security, but in Extremes;

He that is *cruel* must be *bold* in *Ills*,
And find his *Safety* from the *Blood* he spills,

ROWE'S *Lucan*.

AFTER what has been offered to prove the malignant Intentions and the premeditated Falsehoods of this extraordinary Hero, Sir R—d C—x, can any one expect, nay, bear, my pursuing him thro' all his low Subterfuges and Protean Forms any further?—Sure it is impossible!—When a Writer lays aside all Regard to Modesty and Truth, he becomes offensive to every Reader, and he that stirs up his Works can only hope to raise a Stench. The indignant Reader will however pardon our pursuing him, where he wears but the Appearance of Truth; let his Insolence and Slander die with his murdered Conscience.

FOR

FOR Decency's Sake, I shall pass over what he is pleased to Answer with his *usual Elegance, good Manners and Justice*, by calling it, *a Chain of Lies*, p. 34, which, to answer in Words and in public, would be defended to the contemptible Meaness of a *Clodius*, or a *C—x*. I shall therefore, pass it by for the present, and leave Time to bring the Truth to Light, while I examine the Quotation from the 61st p. of the *Review*, in the 36th p. of the *Examination*.

THE last Quotation from p. 28, of the *Review*, was but a Fragment, and here p. 36th, he takes another Fragment: Well known that broken Sentences alone can be wrested to his malevolent Purposes. I beg leave to observe, that the Part of the last Quotation, which he left out, as beyond the Reach of his perverted Sophistry, and which fills up the Blank, he leaves between that and this, is the following; “ The Gentlemen on the other Side came too well prepared to be moved by any thing, that would possibly be offered in the H—se : The chief Agents brought their Motions, the Sum of their respective Instructions, ready drawn in their Pockets. Then, the Report of the Committee, to which the Consideration of these Papers was referred, which according to Order, was called a Committee of the whole H—se, tho’ not one third of the Members was yet come to Town, nor ever does in Ireland, ’till the Elections are over, was received.” —Observe, all this is tacitly or verbally acknowledged or confessed ; and the utmost the Examiner can say against it is, *that tho’ it has been sometimes difficult to make up an House, that is forty Members, the first Day of the Session ; yet, this Parliament, was so well documented, that in the most memorable twelfth Session, they had their Number compleat and ready to do all the Jobs, of the Court !* If he could prove there was much more than the Number necessary to make an House, this political Conjurer would hardly fail of making it appear.

THE next Paragraph he treats in the like Manner by Fragments; but he points it out as an Heap of *Nonsense*, and then, by a bare Assertion, attempts to answer, or criticize upon, it ; and in this as in most other Points, attempts to put Truth out of Countenance, by Abuse and Impudence. —Not a Word of the *Flattery* offered the *Citizens* in the Gallery, nor of the *Compliments* paid the great Man upon the Success of his *Forces* in the *standing Parliament*, without the

the Aid of the *standing Army*, &c. &c. These are all to be buried in Silence, as nothing can be said to discountenance them !

IN his 38th p. he says, *the Persons threaten'd by anonymous Letters and Placarts went on calm and undisturbed : They felt the Composure of good Consciences.*—Indeed, C-x is the only Man of the whole Set of *national Banditti*, that can pretend to this : Witness the *military Force called upon*, the *twelve Rounds of Powder and Ball*, &c. &c. But C-x needed not *Conscience* to make a *Coward* of him ; for he became such, upon Record, after he was well known to have stifled or erased all Traces of *Conscience*. And since some mistaken Zealots threaten'd his Life, it is well known, that *Cromwell* was never more restless after the honoured HARRINGTON declared against him, and the brave Colonel *Titus* justly shewed, that *killing a lawless Reprobate and Tyrant was no Murder*, than C-x proved himself on this Occasion : For, he lost many an *elemosinary Dinner and Supper*, and many an Hour's Sleep by it ; nor dare he have ventured out at Nights without a Guard. Yet he, *good Man*, depended on the *Composure of a good Conscience* ! So did, *Wolfey, Wilde and Walpole.*—Let me advise thee timely my *valourous Knight*, to wear a better Mask, when thy Disappointments, and the Vacancy of long-abused Privilege of Parliament oblige thee to become a *Knight of the Post* and a *Collector upon the Pad*.

HERE our Doctor takes another Flight, by way of short Cut, from p. 70. to 77. In which he industriously overlooks Mr. *Lucas's* Character, the Proofs of his Virtue, his Loyalty, and the Address with which he opposed and calmed an enraged Multitude, and endeavoured to bring them with him, for Peace Sake, to a Submission, to the Resolutions and Orders of the *Commons* ; by which he saved not only the Lives of C-x, M——n, M——l, &c. with some of the *Aldermen*, which was hardly to be deemed a Mercy to Men, who by living, only the better secure their own Condemnation, but that of many a LOYAL CITIZEN, for whose *Massacre*, the *Army* was reported to be ready : In these also, is set forth the patient Resignation, with which Mr. *Lucas* resolved to suffer Imprisonment, 'till he had Assurance, that he was to be denied all the common Necessaries of Life in the Goal ; the Guilt and Infamy of which falls on some *masked great Men*, whom *powerful and well-aid* C-x cannot defend. In these, his giving up the Election,

tion, and recommending or approving on another Candidate to the Choice of the Citizens are set forth, beyond the Power of C-x to pervert. But all these are to be pass'd over in Silence, for Fear of bringing Truth to Light!—However, the *Doctor*, with *Modesty* peculiar to his ill-fated Face, wrests the last Circumstance to his baneful Purposes; and endeavours to insinuate, p. 39. 40. That a *Candidate approved or recommended* by Mr. Lucas, or in the *Interest of Lucas*, or formerly in *Friendship* with him, was *not illegible* a Member of Parliament!—Sure these Positions require no Rhetoric to expose them to the Contempt of every impartial and judicious Reader!—Yet upon no better Principles, than a bare *Suspicion* of an Intimacy between Mr. *La Touche* and Mr. *Lucas*, was the former to be *expelled* the House of Commons, as the latter was *expelled* and declared an *Enemy* to his Country!—Let this and the *Irish* Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies* II.'s Charge to the *Grand Juries* be considered, and it cannot fail of bringing this Thought of POPE's to View;

*Your Plea is good; but still I say beware!
Laws explain'd by Men—So have a care:
It stands on Record, that in RICHARD's Times,
A Man was hang'd for very honest Rhimes, **

I HAVE with Patience, I fear, superior to that of my Reader, followed our accurate *Examiner*, and traced him through many dark Labyrinths, and artful Subterfuges, nay, borne his many daring Insults to Truth, Order, Decency, and common Sense; and yet, I have not done with the *Doctor*. I now find myself at the latter End of the 40th p. where he sets out upon a Defence of Part of his Works, even that, from which he borrows his apt *Motto* for his motly Paper. He says, the Author of the *Critical Review*, p. 80, enters upon an Examination of this Pamphlet; which, he adds, affords many Instances of the *Examiner's* *Disingenuity*, &c. Whether this arises from *Forgetfulness* or a strong Propensity to *Falsehood*, let those who best know our *Examiner* determine. Here he skips over three or four Pages, with his usual Ease and Agility; because they shew

* Sir R——d C-x II. would have Lucas punished for a very good Crime. Crit. Review.

shew C-x's Disingenuity and Malevolence in a true Light, and an evident Contradiction of the above Position, p. 82, and afford a full Vindication of Mr. Lucas from the following pitiful Aspersions in p. 41. In this, he endeavours to cavil at an Assertion in the Review, p. 80, *that the Letter to the chief Magistrate, &c. could not have been published, the Day following Mr. Lucas's Accusation, had not, that and the Proceedings, for which it apologizes, been concerted before they were made public.* This however the modest Examiner denies.——How then come he by the good Intelligence he proves to have had, when he published his *Antidotes*? In the first of which p. 11, He says, *He ought to be expelled the Instant he takes his Place.* In his second, p. 6, He says, *it is to be hoped the honest Audience, deluded by this Incendiary, will recover their Senses, and throw off their Enchantment before the Middle of next October.* In his fourth, p. 16, He has this remarkable Passage, after reciting several *Knaves* and *Impostures*, particularly the pretended Prince of Passau who fled, as C-x commonly came in, and went out of Town, on a Sunday;—*Perhaps before November be past, We may hear of such another Escape; unless the King's Bench or the Serjeant-at-Arms have a sharp Look-out.*——Surely these and many such like Passages in the Speeches and Writings of Sir R——d, as well as in other Circumstances, that might be recited, prove these Proceedings to have been concerted before the 17th of October, or C-x a Conjuror.

FROM p. 80, he strides to p. 85, for his usual Reasons for such Flights. And here, he labours to point a Reflection on the L—— L———, how justly, let his E——— and the World judge. The Paragraph he quotes for this Purpose is from Lucas's DEDICATION of the City Charter to the KING, p. xxxiv. “As he, who injures
“ his Neighbour, or the Public, within the Law, or under
“ its Colour, or Sanction, is the worst and most dangerous
“ Villain; so, he, who is intrusted with any Branch of the
“ Administration of the State, and neglects or abuses his
“ Office, is the worst and most dangerous Enemy to the
“ KING and to HIS PEOPLE.”——What has this to say to that good L. L——? Or, could any Body, above the Degree of an hireling Wretch, enraged with Disappointment of the promised Preferment for his Prostitution, presume to find any Expressions of Censure in this most just Sentence suited to the Character of that most amiable Nobleman?

man?—Who gives the *worst* Treatment to the *best* of *V-ce R-y's*, *C-x* or *Lucas*, let the impartial World determine.

THE *Examiner*, with his usual Regard to Truth and Justice, strides again over three or four Pages more of his Subject, because they held a Glass, in which he must have seen a Figure, that galled his callous Conscience; then labours with his matchless Effrontery, to pervert and blacken an inoffensive figurative Sentence, which stands sufficiently vindicated in the *Review*, by only starting it fairly. After venting much Choler and more Invectives and Scurrility upon that Occasion, the *Examiner* flies from p. 89, to 114, because he could not bear to see Mr. *Lucas's* Innocency, his Loyalty and public Spirit, with the Violence, Injustice, Cruelty and Tyranny of his unparalleled Prosecution, set forth in the proper Colours and in a Light as just and unquestionable, as distressful and melancholy, which must at once have brought to *C-x's* View, the *Wickedness* and *Tyranny* of his Master, the *Scurrility* and *Corruption* of his *Confederates* and *Associates*, whether *Commons*, *Secretaries*, *Judges*, *Lord Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, or *Grand-Juries*, with the *superlative Virulence* and *Iniquity* of his own unnatural Heart.

As it seems morally impossible for this *worthy Knight* to do any thing that is fair and just; so has he hardly quoted a single Paragraph, or recited any one Passage with Candour. And to shew his Regard to the Uniformity of his Character, here he takes another Fragment for an Handle, to rail at, not a Quotation to investigate Truth and Justice. In order to justify myself, as well as the *undone Exile*, I must beg the Reader's Patience to look over the entire Paragraph, from whence this Fragment is torn, which I have distinguished from the rest, by double inverted Commas. The whole Paragraph stands thus. *Critical Review*, p. 113.

‘ WAS ever Persecution known equal to this, in any free Country?—Who can form a worse Idea of the *Spanish Inquisition*, than of the *I-sh*?—If this Man's Writings be so extremely criminal, how come the *Ministry* and *Magistracy* so supine as to let them run on uncorrected, unpunished, for Years?—Why were they not nipt in the Bud?’ ‘ The *Dedication* to the King, was presented and published the Beginning of *June* last; but, no Crime, no Fault, was found in it, ’till *October* last.’

‘ And even now, no Crime can, by Law, be made out in
 ‘ it; yet, the Author is treated with less Regard to *Justice*
 ‘ and *Mercy*, to the *common Rights* of a Subject, than if
 ‘ he were a *notorious Murderer, Traitor, or Rebel*: Such
 ‘ would have *indifferent Sheriffs, Juries and Judges*, all
 ‘ which he is denied. And all this without the least Form
 ‘ of Duty or Respect to HIS MAJESTY, to whom this De-
 ‘ dication is made! This poor Man, as he himself expresses
 ‘ it, in his modest, elegant and sensible Address to the Lord
 ‘ Lieutenant, *has appealed to Cæsar: Shall Cæsar’s Ser-*
 ‘ *vants obstruct his Appeal’s coming before the Throne, and*
 ‘ *even punish him for appealing!*’——Now, in what Part
 can this Man of Malignity attack the Sense or Truth of
 this Paragraph? He would insinuate, that the Charter and
 Dedication being returned, not transmitted to the King, by
 the Lords Justices, was a Condemnation of the Whole.
 But, their Excellencies, neither publicly, nor privately, when
 Mr. *Lucas* waited on them severally, so much as hinted at
 a Fault in either. They had no Intercourse with his Ma-
 jesty, but thro’ the Lord Lieutenant, and they, it seems,
 are but a Sort of Deputies to him; so that the sending it to
 him could not be hoped to be attended with any useful Con-
 sequences †. Moreover, let it be observed, that there is
 scarcely a Principle or Sentiment in this *Dedication*, that is
 not set forth as strongly, tho’ not as fully, in the *Complaints*
of Dublin, presented to the Lord Lieutenant in *December*
1747. For which the Author was applauded by those that
 now censure him for the same Doctrine.

THEN the *Examiner* informs us, what we saw properly
 exposed in some of the public Papers, *that the Printer was*
carried before the Lord Chief Justice, gave his Information,
and was bound by Recognizance to appear the next Term.
But, before that Time, he accompanied Lucas in his Flight.

MR. *Esdall*, the Printer, was at Noon-Day hauled by a
 Sub-Sheriff, a Tipstaff, and some Constables, before the
 Lord Chief Justice M——y, and unawares, by artful
 Questions and dreadful Menaces of Imprisonment, &c.
 forced to give Answers to some subtil Interrogatories, and to
 sign a Paper, which afterwards appeared to be a Recogni-
 zance, binding him to appear next Term, agreeable to the
 new Method in *Ireland*, to prosecute, or criminate himself.
 Is this to be looked on as a *Censure* of the *Author*, who was

† See the *Review*, p. 42.

never spoke to by his Lordship on the Occasion? Or, as a *Condemnation* of the *Dedication*? As for *adversary Writers*, they did indeed attempt to malign, *not to expose*, the Paper. *Surgeon C. x.*, for Instance, calls it *disaffected, affrontive, insolent, and almost treasonable*. But his saying so, does not prove it to be such. Then it is worthy of Observation, that the *Attorney General*, whose Knowledge and Probity as a Legislator and a Lawyer have stood the utmost Test, and who was *commanded* by the *L—d L —t*, and solicited by the Court of *King's Bench* to prosecute Mr. *Lucas*, can find nothing criminal in this *Dedication*, as he has declared, and as appears by its not being included in his *Information* annexed. And therefore, I have doubled the *Assurance*, with which the *Examiner* is pleased to charge me in the *Review*, and further repeat, that *no Fault was found in it*, from the first Day of Publication to this. But, on the contrary, that it received the Approbation of some of the *wisest* and *best* of Men, and was censured only by such *Knaves* or *Fools*, as found themselves deservedly lashed at and exposed in that Paper, and such, as the Author seems, in p. xxxv, xxxvi, to have foreseen, would be galled and cavil at that loyal and dutiful Remonstrance. And, as for Mr. *Esdall's* accompanying Mr. *Lucas*, in his *Flight*, it is notoriously false: For neither of them saw or knew any Thing of each other, 'till they met in *England*; the Truth of which, Mr. *Esdall* asserts, who may be easily found, as he is now closely confin'd in *Newgate*, in *Dublin*, by the good C——J——, who refuses to admit him to Bail, and threatens committing his Wife and Children, in order to extort a *self-criminating* Confession from him. *Gazetteer*, May 11th.

If Volumes were wrote upon this Subject, the Spirit of the *p—l—m—t—y Faction* in *I——d*, of *Surgeon C. x* and his *Master*, in particular, could not be made more manifest than this *skipping Examiner* makes it himself, in his 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th Pages. From these, it is plain, that Mr. *Lucas* was not the only Person struck at; but, that Mr. *La Touche* was from the Beginning intended to be, and in the End actually was, right or wrong, involved in *Lucas's* insinuated Guilt. *Lucas* is loaded with all the Infamy, that Malignity and Rage can devise; he is, as far as bare Assertions and pompous blackening Words can reach, charged with every Crime that can deform human Nature; in short, he is, tho' by *slandorous, false* and *scandalous* Tongues only, called a *desperate, disaffected, nay, a rebel-*

lious and traiterous Incendiary, an Enemy to his Country; and tho' not a single Point of this is, has been, or can be possibly proved; but on the contrary, that he has ever been a diligent, laborious, sober, regular Man, in all his private and public Occupations; tho' no Man has, or can prove himself *better affected* to the KING and CONSTITUTIONS of these Realms, and consequently, a *truer Friend to his Country*; yet, has not he alone been disabled from being chosen to serve his Country in a higher Station, and stigmatized and expelled, ruined and undone in his Family and Fortune; but, Mr. *La Touche*, upon a bare Surmise, a groundless Suspicion of his being in Intimacy, and connected in Interest with Mr. *Lucas*, was expelled the House! And this, *Surgeon C-x, the Collector of Cork*, says, is the Method of preserving the Freedom of Elections!

THE Truth of the Affair, which this *State Surgeon* covers over with Falsehood and Artifice, is this: The *Citizens* of *Dublin*, were made well acquainted with the legal Constitution, and the present State of their Country and their City, and saw the only Means or Prospect of reclaiming or preserving the one or the other, was by electing, upon just Principles, the Persons in all Respects best qualified to serve the Community. The *Candidates*, for the vacant Seats, were two *Aldermen* and four or five *Citizens*; the People were soon able to discover, that the Nation was well nigh undone by some *great Managers*, as the City had been compleatly ruined by the *Aldermen*. And moreover, it was evident, that neither of these two *Aldermen* could write or speak a single Sentence of Sense or common *English*, above an, *How d' ye, or, My Service to you*. It was therefore natural for them to chuse two of those, of whose Ability and Integrity, they had already made Proof: These were, Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *La Touche*; and these the *Citizens* would have chosen, had not the horrid Hand of *Corruption* and *Tyranny* interfered. In Spight to all the direct and indirect *Influence*, I might have said, the *Compulsion* and *Force* of the *Great*, one of them was chosen upon the same Principles that the other would have been, could he have stood it. But, he was expelled by the *lawless Sway* of the *Faction*, as before recited; I suppose, *C-x* will say, to preserve the Purity and Freedom of Elections; and to prove the Prudence, Wisdom and Resolution of the Commons of I——d! or rather of the illicit Power and sinister Influence of him and his Master! —Excellent Pair!

IN the 48th p. the *good Doctor* begins to grow a little more tractable; and treats a Fact, which happened to be misrepresented, in Terms only, by one of our Correspondents, with more Moderation and Decency than he ever before shewed a Man, behind his Back and at a Distance. This is the Account of the Gentlemen, who, in the *Review*, are said to have made an *actual Secession*. He quickly lays hold on this Lapse, and would rest the Truth of the whole Work upon this Assertion; which he does not, as usual, pronounce a *Lie*, but gently calls it an *arrant Fable*. So far as this, I confess the Relation erroneous; that our Correspondent mistook the Term, and upon seeing the Members counted, and the *fifty-three Negatives* going out, called it, a *Secession*, which it was not in Strictness, if any of them went back into the House, as it is confessed some did. Thus, this implacable and irreconcilable Antagonist or Adversary, may see, that a Friend to Truth, is ever ready to make every just Concession, let its Enemies make what Handle of it they can.

As for his Controversy about the Print of Mr. *Lucas*, I do not think it to any useful Purpose to enter upon it; as, related either Way, it shews the Malignity of Mr. *Lucas's* Persecutors: To do all imaginable Justice to whom, it ought to be confessed, that they were, in some Respects, *merciful*, that they did not pass an Act or a *Vote* to assassinate the Children, and to exterminate the very Name of *Lucas*, or to make it as penal to bear that Name, as it is hateful and infamous to go under that of a Sir S——/C—ke, or a Sir R——d C—x; tho', when the C——ns, under their *great Commander*, had the Honour of making *Lucas's* helpless, innocent Infants, *Orphans*, it would not have been much more inhuman to have sentenced or *voted* them to *Slaughter*.

I NOW beg the Reader's Attention to the last Charge, of which *Surgeon C—x* attempts to acquit his loyal H——e of C——ns, p. 51, that of taking upon them (regardless of the *first* and *second Estate* of the KING and the LORDS, and according to *Poyning's Law*, so often celebrated by the *Cork-Surgeon*, of the *Privy-Council* of Great-Britain, which now makes a Part of the *Irish Legislature*) to pass *Votes* to *curtail* or *restrain* the Power and Progress of the *Common Law*.——The *Examiner* vouchsafes to confess the Facts in the mean to be true; but that they are abated of their Rigour by some particular Circumstances. That
is,

is, the *Clergy* are prohibited suing for *Tythe Agistment*—— But, says he, *their Lawyers and Attorneys are not mentioned*—— And the Person called Lord *Cl——ty* is prohibited suing for his Estate in *Ireland*. But, says Surgeon *C--x*, *his Lawyers and Attorneys are included in the Prohibition only by Construction*—— Who does not honour this *ingenuous Examiner* for these his subtil and refined Evasions !—— But, his *Worship* would in all Likelihood have skip'd over his Charge, as usual, were it not to point two *Sarcasms* as false, as blunt, at Mr. *Lucas*. The first is a most infamous, false and wicked Charge, as I am properly authorised to inform Sir *R——d C—x* and the World ; viz. That Mr. *Lucas*, in one of his public Harangues declared the established Clergy to be the *Drones of the Nation*, and that he hoped to live to see them plucked from their UNHALLOWED SANCTUARIES, and dragged thro' the Streets, p. 52—— These are such impious Expressions as are not to be charged on any Man of the least Sense of Religion or Morality, and what I assert from undeniable Authority, Mr. *Lucas* never said, even of *C—x* or *M——l*, or any other of the most worthless *Placemen* or *Pensioners*, whom alone he always looked upon as the *Drones* of the People. As for the *Clergy*, it is probable he was so blind as not to be able to discover much of the *indelible Character* among them, or too obstinate to worship *Prunella* or *Lawn* ; but he always treated them as he did the *Commons* or *Aldermen* ; he revered and honoured the good, and contemned and exposed the *scandalous* and *wicked*. And, I am very confident it will be found, that the *Clergy* treated him as the *Commons* or *Aldermen* did : For, all those that knew his Principles and Motives properly, and were sensible, honest, free and independant, became early, and still continue his firm and unalterable Friends ; while those who would not, could not, or dare not open their Eyes, or their Ears, but paid implicit Obedience and servile Reverence to Power, regardless of the eternal Rules of Virtue, pure Religion, genuine Liberty and true Loyalty, and of the Dignity of their Functions, distinguished themselves by enveighing privately, and prostituting their Pulpits by preaching publicly against him. Sure every good Man is sorry there should be a Majority on this black Side ! The reverend and learned Doctor *H——y E——n* spoke the Spirit of this Class of his Brethren at the late Election. When he was going upon the Hustings, some of the
Citizens,

Citizens, at Court called the *Mob*, cried, *make Room for the worthy Doctor ; he is coming to give his Vote to support the Cause of Truth and Liberty.*—— “ You lie, you lie, you Blockheads, quoth the Doctor, I am come to “ vote for the *Aldermen.*”

You'll find, if once the *Monarch* acts the *Monk*,
Or *Cobler-like*, the *Doctor* will be drunk ;
Worth makes the *Man*, *Want* of it a *Fellow* ;
The rest is all but *Leather* or *Prunella.*

POPE.

THE second Charge is relating to the Person called Lord Cl——ty. The *Examiner* asks p. 52, “ But which “ of his Adversaries would produce against him, (*i. e.* “ *Lucas*) more glaring Evidence of the Rottenness of his “ political Principles, than this *Critical Review* has ex- “ posed in the respective Treatment of a Person descend- “ ed from a Race of *Irish Traitors*, and who was expressly “ excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity*, following the late “ horrid Rebellion ? Is there any Sense or Decency, in “ calling an Estate, which was legally forfeited, and pur- “ chased by *Protestants*, under a *British Act of Parlia- “ ment*, that Nobleman's Estate ? ”——Sure of all Men living, Sir R——d C——x, should be the last in reflecting the *Sins of the Fathers* upon the *Children* ; because no Man is more deeply involved in that sort of Guilt than he, tho' he charges it as one of Mr. *Lucas's Crimes*, p. 56. He knows that were not some few *original Papers* destroyed, his *ill-gotten* consuming *Patrimony* would have been forfeited with the *Life* of that truly amiable good Man, as he calls his *Grandfather*. But, this Descendant of *Irish Traitors*, as he calls him, was born in *England* and educated a *Protestant*. And, during his Father's Life, he was paid all the Respect due to the eldest Son of an Earl, stiled, Lord *Muskerry*, and bore a Commission under the Crown. Upon his Father's Death, he had the same Right to his Titles ; and he had the Opinions of the best Lawyers in *England* and *Ireland*, that he could not have been included in the *Attainder* or *Forfeiture* of his Father. He went to *Ireland* to take the Benefit of the Law ; to sue for his Father's Estate. If there had been any Statute or Common Law or Equity against his Claim, it was easy to shew it and put him at once to Shame and Silence. But, it appear-
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ed that his Demands were *legal* and equitable ; that his *Estate* was indeed in the Hands of *Protestants* ; but, as the Law makes no religious Distinction of Persons in the Determination of Matters of Right, there was no way left to foil the *Plaintiff*, and to stop his Proceedings, and to secure these Possessions, but by Violence. Therefore, not a new Law was made by the Ascent and Consent of the King, Lords and Commons, which could not justly be obtained ; but, a Vote of the Commons was *pass'd*, to stop all Proceedings in Law and Equity. The Author of the *Critical Review*, declares, p. 117, that he argues, *neither for the Clergy, nor for his Lordship, but for the common Rights of Men, under the Law.*—Was this Man allowed the common Rights of a Man? No; he was robbed of them most shamefully, most wickedly. And, if he has since turn'd out a *Deserter*, a *Traitor*, or a *Rebel*, it is hardly to be wondered at, and every considerate Man will see, the Foundation of these Crimes were laid by the Commons of Ireland. “ Our Constitution, says the NOBLE PATRIOT often before recited, is a Government of LAWS, not of Persons: Allegiance and Protection are Obligations that cannot subsist separately ; when the one fails, the other falls of Course.”—It is no Matter to the Aggrieved, from what Quarter the Grievances spring ; whether from King, Lords or Commons, jointly or severally, the Mischief is the same. What Incentive to Allegiance, Affection or Loyalty to any Government, is left a Man, when he is not permitted to enjoy any Benefit of the Laws of the Country. What Inducement is left to such a Man, to stand in Defence of such a Government, of such a Country? All Parts of the World must become a-like to him, who is denied the common Right and Privilege of a Subject at Home. A *despotic Monarch* can hurt him no more than a *despotic Democracy*. And he must have uncommon patriot Virtues, who would not, to obtain his Right, or to gratify a *pass'd*, tho' a private, Resentment, risque the Peace and Safety of the Whole. As for this Lord Cl——ty, as he is called, I know nothing of his Person, his Character, or his Family ; no, not so much as his Name. But, if he has since become an Enemy to his Country, as I hear is charged, I know not how justly, upon him, tho' I shall heartily blame him for it, when I am assur'd it is true, yet, I must still think him not near so culpable as the Commons of Ireland : For, I believe it is no unreasonable Presumption, that had this Man been allowed the

the Benefit of the Law, were he but admitted to try his Right by the ordinary Course of Law, he might have continued as good a Subject——as Sir R———d C-x ; at least, there would have been a better Stake, better Security for the *Allegiance* of the one, than there is for that of the other, even with the Title of *Collector of Cork*. Had this unfortunate Nobleman been allowed the Protection of the Law, or permitted to use it in the Recovery of his *Property*, he would hardly have exchanged that, with the full Enjoyment of *British Liberty*, for *Poverty* and *Slavery* in a strange Land.— But in *Ireland*,

*Men grow great from their Revenue spent,
And fly from Bailiffs into Parliament.*

YOUNG.

FROM Circumstances of this kind it is, that *Surgeon C-x* takes upon him to prove Mr. *Lucas's* Propensity to *justify* all the *Rebellions* in *Ireland* ; how justly, let all true honest WHIGGS and sound REVOLUTIONISTS determine.

BUT, however the *Collector* may plume himself upon his imagined Confutation of these Points, and upon the Defence of the most *wise, just, and august House of Commons*, which he offers against the Charge of abusing their Power and Privilege to the Injury of the Subject and the Subversion of Laws, it is certain many incontestable Proofs of the Truth and Justice of the Charge may be produced from their *Journals* ; whence, however partially they be entered, it will appear, that not only private Persons have often been robbed of their Property and Liberty, but even that *Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Juries* and *Inquests* have fallen under the Censure, and have suffered extremely and illegally under the Power, of a *Long-standing* and combined *House of Commons*. The Detail of these intollerable Abuses would make a Volume ; I shall therefore, confine myself at present only to one remarkable Instance.

A GENTLEMAN purchased a considerable Estate on which there was a Borough, in the sad Situation of most of the Boroughs in that Kingdom, without a resident Magistrate, or Burgesses within the Franchises, or many Miles thereof, tho' the Charter absolutely requires their Residence. Against certain of these disqualified Burgesses, the Gentleman moved for an *Information* in the King's Bench ; against granting which, the Case of *Dublin*, wherein the same

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Judges

Judges refused an Information, was cited as a President, which we learn prompted Mr. *Lucas* to publish his *Complaints of Dublin*. The Information was granted; and every Point of Law appeared so strongly and evidently in favour of the Gentleman, that the Burgesſes muſt have been ouſted in a Term or two, by the ordinary Courſe of Law. By this time the Parliament met, which ſoon concerted Measures to obſtruct the Progreſs of Juſtice and Law: *Heads of a Bill* were fram'd by the *Heads of the ruling Faction in the COMMONS*, under the plausible Pretext of amending an *Act for the better regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in PARLIAMENT*, in which a Clause was inſerted to ſilence this Suiter, by enacting, *That no ſuch Aldermen or Burgeſſes ſhall be ouſted of any ſuch Franchiſes, or be any ways ſued, proſecuted or moleſted for Non-Refidence, &c.* The Gentleman offered a Petition to the Houſe againſt this Clause, ſhewing the many Hardſhips and Inconveniencies attending it, and praying to be heard by his Lawyers at the Bar of the Houſe; but this, tho' a Petition of *common Right*, which by *Right*, ſhould have been heard and granted, was peremptorily rejected, and the Bill paſs'd. Who cannot ſee, that by the ſame Means, the *Four-Courts* may be rendered abſolutely uſeleſs? It is but engaging ſometimes *one*, or at moſt the Majority of *four or five Managers of I——d*, they fix their *Faction*, and if a *Vote* be not reckoned ſufficient, why it is but paſſing a *Bill* or a *Clause* in a *Bill* to ſtop the whole Progreſs of Juſtice and Law.— Thus the People are *cheated* by the *Name*, and *enſlaved* under the *Form*, of PARLIAMENTS; while the fell *Tyrant, Faction*, in a *long-ſtanding, corrupt PARLIAMENT*, rules all with a *moſt arbitrary and deſpotic Sway*! —“ But it “ is a gracious Piece of the Cabal of *Tyranny* to deceive “ the People with the Shadows, *Fantaſms*, and Names of “ *Liberty*,” ſays the great HARRINGTON.

THUS far, I have endeavour'd to trace this *ſubtil, malignant Caſuiſt* thro' all the puzzling Mazes of his Perverſeneſs and Sophiſtry, and now I come to a Conclusion of a Piece with the reſt of the irregular Performance. In this, he takes upon him to give not only the Genealogy and Hiſtory of Mr. *Lucas* from his Birth, but to point out his Character and preſent Circumſtances and Actions. And if he be as much miſtaken in the former as in the latter, it is eaſy to perceive, that as little Regard is to be paid this *illuſtrious*

trious *Baronet*, as an *Historian*, as we have already demonstrated to be due to him, as a polemic *Writer* or a *Politician*.

As for Mr. *Lucas's* Family and private Character, I leave them to be set forth or vindicated as they deserve by those that know them. I can only say, as to the first, that he never was known to claim any Honour or Merit from his Family, nor in any Sort to boast of his Pedigree, tho' he is well known to be descended from a Race of Ancestors well worthy of the public Regard. In this Respect, he may be allow'd to bear some Resemblance of *CICERO's* Disposition, *who prefer'd being the Head or Founder of a little Family, to being deemed a dependent Branch of the greatest*. As to the second, his private Character, if he was not virtuous and religious, he was a very deep Hypocrite; because he bore the outward Appearance of Morality and Religion; and whatever his Vices might have been, of which as a Man, he cannot be supposed quite free, they were done so secretly, that his worst Enemies could never say worse of him than *C-x's* does, *insinuate Crimes without being able to offer Proof, Cause, or Grounds*; while they are all forc'd to confess him diligent and laborious in his Profession, faithful and honest in the Discharge of all the Offices of Society, that came to his Lot; and cannot charge him with any Degree of Intimacy, or ever keeping Company thro' Choice, with any Person of an immoral Character of either Sex, or of any Intercourse with Persons suspected of Disaffection to the Government. But, I shall drop this Subject, as foreign to the Purpose, and no more enquire whether Mr. *Lucas* was indeed a *Gladius* or a *Cato*. Time will bring that Truth to Light; here let me only remark upon some more of the *Examiner's* groundless Aspersions of a public Nature.

IN p. 55, he says, *the Contests between the Commons and Aldermen of Dublin ended in a Reference to the late Recorder, who gave an Opinion clearly against the former*. Now, let us see the Weight of this boasted Opinion of a Gentleman, whose Speech in Parliament against Mr. *Lucas* was lately published under the Title of, *the Honest Man's SPEECH*. This Gentleman was long deemed in the popular Interest; his Character is slightly glanced at in the *Review*, p. 65. We shall say no more of it here, than that the *Commons* paid him the Compliment of consulting him upon their Case, and would have retained him their Law-

yer. He wisely and justly declined it, saying, *That he was a Servant of the City, and if it had the Misfortune to be divided, he would not join with one Part against the other; that he would not therefore, be concerned for the Commons against the Aldermen, nor for the Aldermen against the Commons; but, if both joined and desired his Opinion as a Lawyer and their Recorder, he would give it freely and indifferently.*—— This the Commons applauded, and moved that he should be consulted; to which the Aldermen consented, and soon after the Opinion was produc'd. But, in that very Assembly, it was proved by Mr. Lucas, at once to the Satisfaction and Surprize of the Sheriffs and Commons, that the Recorder was most grossly mistaken in the whole Matter, that he did not recite one Charter or Record fairly or justly, and that his Inference and Conclusions of Course were erroneous. The Opinion thus dissected was soon after published in a Pamphlet intitled, *Divelina Libera*, which remains unanswered to this Day. After this, when the Suit was brought into the King's-Bench, the Recorder, the Honest Man, regardless of his Promise to the Commons, appeared at the Head of the Band of Lawyers for the Aldermen, against the Commons and Citizens; where several new Mistakes or false Assertions were proved upon him in the Face of a partial Court, by Mr. Lucas, of whom, let this serve to explain Mr. Stannard's late Treatment.

IN the same p. the Examiner asserts, that the Prime-Serjeant and Attorney-General delivered clear Opinions, in Favour of the Aldermen. What Subterfuge C—x takes here, I cannot conceive. Now, whether there be a titular Prime-Serjeant and Attorney-General in Ireland, to whom C—x and his Tory Aldermen had Recourse, I cannot take upon me to say; but, must suspect it, as I presume no Man dare libel the worthy Gentlemen who then did, and now do, fill these Stations, Mr. Malone and Mr. Caulfield, with saying, they gave Opinions in Favour of the Aldermen, and at the same Time, and in the self-same Case, gave Opinions in Favour of the Commons: The Truth of the latter appears from the Opinions of these Gentlemen being published in the Proceedings of the Sheriffs and Commons, and afterwards by their pleading for them at the Bar with just Zeal and Vehemence, against these very Aldermen, and against the Frowns of an insolent and corrupt Court. These
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are Facts, too well known to be shaken by C—x, with his abandoned Faction of Prostitutes, or their shameless and remorseless *Master*.

ENOUGH sure has been said to shew this *Examination* with its *Author* and *Procurer*, in a true Light, to every honest, disinterested and dispassionate Reader ; to such, more would be but tedious, and to the unfair, self-concerned or prejudiced, it would probably answer no desirable Purpose. However, somewhat yet remains to be said on the last Paragraph, which we judge proper to postpone, to give Way to the hopeful Issue of a little *Irish Seneſcal*, Grandson of the memorable *Irish Sacheverell*, and now rising upon his worthy Grandfather's Principles reversed. This mishapen Cub was, by the *Court*, wisely father'd upon the *Attorney-General* and ordered to bare his spotless Name, as a necessary Recommendation.

The I N F O R M A T I O N.

County of the City of Dublin, }
To wit, }

‘ **B**E it remembered, that S. G—— C——, Esq; the
 ‘ Attorney-General of our Lord the now King, who
 ‘ for the said Lord the now King, in this Behalf, prosecutes
 ‘ in his proper Person, comes here in the Court of the said
 ‘ Lord the King, before the King himself, at the King’s
 ‘ Courts, on the *Saturday*, in fifteen Days next, after St.
 ‘ *Martin*, in the same Term, and for the said Lord the
 ‘ King, gives the Court there to understand, and be in-
 ‘ formed, that *Charles Lucas*, late of the City of *Dublin*,
 ‘ in the County of the said City, *Apothecary*, being a per-
 ‘ nicious, malicious and seditious Man, and of a depraved
 ‘ Mind, and wicked Disposition, and unlawfully, falsely,
 ‘ maliciously and seditiously intending to disturb the Peace
 ‘ and Tranquility of this Realm of *Ireland*, and to bring the
 ‘ said Lord the now King, and his Government and Admi-
 ‘ nistration of Justice in this Kingdom, into Hatred, Scan-
 ‘ dal and Contempt with the liege Subjects of our said Lord
 ‘ the now King, and also to bring the Parliament of this
 ‘ Kingdom into Hatred, Scandal and Contempt with the
 ‘ said liege Subjects of our said Lord the now King, and to
 ‘ raise Jealousies and Fears, and to stir up and excite Sedi-
 ‘ tion, Discord and Insurrection in the said Subjects of the
 ‘ said Lord the now King of this his Realm, and to bring
 ‘ to

to effect and perfect his said wicked and malicious Machi-
 nations, Practices and Intentions, he the said *Charles Lu-*
cas did, on the 25th Day of *August*, in the 22d Year of
 the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord *George II.* now
 King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, Defender of
 the Faith, and so forth, with Force and Arms, at the City
 of *Dublin*, in the Parish of *St. Andrew's*, in the Ward
 of *St. Andrew's*, in the County of the City of *Dublin*
 aforesaid, wickedly, falsely, unlawfully, unjustly, mali-
 ciously and seditiously make, compose and write, a certain
 scandalous and seditious Libel, intituled, To the Free-Ci-
 tizens and Free-Holders of the City of *Dublin*, and then
 and there caused the same to be printed and published, in
 which Libel is contained, among other Things, a malici-
 ous, scandalous, false, feigned and seditious Assertion, in
 the Words following, to wit, *And to our peculiar Honour*
and Happiness, we (meaning himself the said *Charles Lu-*
cas, and the other Citizens of the City of *Dublin*,) *are the*
only Body Corporate in the Kingdom, (meaning the
 Kingdom of *Ireland*,) *that have preserved our In-*
dependence in Elections.—And in another Part of the
 said Libel are contained, among other Things, malicious,
 scandalous, false, feigned and seditious Matters and Sen-
 tences, in the Words following, to wit, *Let not then my*
Brethren, seeming Security beget Sloth, look about you and
see if we, (meaning the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ire-*
land,) *do not bear many too evident Marks of a declining,*
I (meaning himself the said *Charles Lucas*) *might have*
said an enslaved State: The freest People are constantly be-
set with sundry imminent Dangers of falling into Slavery,
we (meaning the Subjects of *Ireland*,) *cannot therefore be*
too vigilant, too active in preserving the Remnant of Free-
dom left us; since we cannot be assured this is not the very
last Time we (meaning the Citizens of *Dublin*,) *may be*
called together as Freemen, to chuse for ourselves a Repre-
sentative, (meaning a Citizen to represent the City of
Dublin, in the Parliament of this Kingdom of *Ireland*,)
 —And in another Part of the same Libel are contained,
 among other Things, malicious, scandalous, false, feigned
 and seditious Matters and Sentences, in the Words follow-
 ing, to wit, *Was it not proposed within the Memory of*
most of the Citizens, (meaning the Citizens of *Dublin*,)
in a fourth, (meaning this present Parliament in this King-
 dom of *Ireland*,) *that the Subsidies should be granted to the*
 Crown

' Crown for 21 Years, which was carried in the Negative.
 ' by the single Voice (meaning Vote) of one Patriot, who
 ' rode Post to save his Country, meaning the Kingdom of
 ' Ireland,) and just entered the House (meaning the Cham-
 ' ber where the House of Commons sit in Parliament, in
 ' this Kingdom of Ireland,) Time enough to give his saving
 ' Voice, (meaning Vote;) what has once happened may a-
 ' gain, I (meaning himself the said Charles Lucas,) cou'd
 ' say more, but this is enough to shew you (meaning the Ci-
 ' tizens of Dublin,) what we have already suffered by the
 ' Corruption or Supineness of our Commons, (meaning the
 ' Members of the House of Commons in the Parliament of
 ' this Kingdom of Ireland,) and what we are still to dread
 ' from those Quarters, (meaning the said House of Com-
 ' mons) and to prompt you, (meaning the Citizens of Dub-
 ' lin,) to the necessary Prudence and Caution, as well as
 ' Freedom in your Choice, (meaning the Choice of a Citizen
 ' to represent the said City of Dublin in Parliament.)——
 ' And also to fulfil, perfect and bring to Effect, his most se-
 ' ditious and malicious Machinations and Intentions, he the
 ' said Charles Lucas, afterwards, to wit, the 3d Day of
 ' September, in the 22d Year of the Reign of our said Lord
 ' the now King abovesaid, did, with Force and Arms, at
 ' the City of Dublin aforesaid, in the Parish of St. Andrew's,
 ' in the Ward of St. Andrew's, in the County of the City
 ' of Dublin aforesaid, wickedly, falsely, unlawfully, unjust-
 ' ly, maliciously and seditiously make, compose and write,
 ' another scandalous and seditious Libel, intituled, A second
 ' Address to the Free-Citizens and Free-Holders of the
 ' City of Dublin, and then and there caused the same to be
 ' printed and published, in which Libel are contained, a-
 ' mong other Things, malicious, scandalous, false, feigned
 ' and seditious Matters and Sentences, in the Words follow-
 ' ing, to wit, It is Time to lay Self aside, but let me first
 ' inform you, that though I (meaning himself the said
 ' Charles Lucas,) have publicly offered myself a Candidate,
 ' for the Place of a Citizen to represent you (meaning the
 ' Citizens of the City of Dublin,) in Parliament, it is
 ' but to let you see my Intention and Desire, however weak
 ' and insufficient you may find me, (meaning him the said
 ' Charles Lucas,) to serve the sinking Cause of Liberty and
 ' my Country, (meaning this Kingdom of Ireland,) from the
 ' same Motive, incapable as I (meaning him the said Charles
 ' Lucas,) am of the Task, if the Citizens of Dublin com-
 ' manded

' manded me (meaning himself the said *Charles Lucas*) on
 ' any Emergency, to lead an Army (meaning an Army of
 ' Soldiers,) for them, (meaning the said Citizens of Dub-
 ' lin,) I (meaning him the said *Charles Lucas*,) should cer-
 ' tainly obey them, their (meaning the said Citizens of Dub-
 ' lin,) free Choice shall ever determine me, (meaning himself
 ' the said *Charles Lucas*,) in all Matters.—And also, to
 ' fulfil, perfect and bring to Effect, his most wicked, sediti-
 ' ous and malicious Machinations and Intentions, he the said
 ' *Charles Lucas*, afterwards, to wit, the 22d Day of Sep-
 ' tember, in the said 22d Year of the Reign of our Lord the
 ' now King abovesaid, did, with Force and Arms, at the
 ' City of *Dublin* abovesaid, in the Parish of *St. Andrew's*,
 ' in the Ward of *St. Andrew's*, in the County of the City
 ' of *Dublin* abovesaid, wickedly, falsely, unlawfully, unjust-
 ' ly, maliciously and seditiously make, compose and write,
 ' another scandalous and seditious Libel, intitled, A fourth
 ' Address to the Free-Citizens and Free-Holders of the City
 ' of *Dublin*, and then and there caused the same to be print-
 ' ed and published, in which Libel are contained, among
 ' other Things, malicious, scandalous, false, feigned and
 ' seditious Matters and Sentences, in the Words following,
 ' to wit, *Since the Bulk of the Citizens of Dublin want but*
 ' *this Branch of useful Knowledge*, (meaning the Knowledge
 ' of the political Constitution and Government of the King-
 ' dom of *Ireland*,) *to make them vie with, nay, out-shine*
 ' *all the Cities of these Kingdoms*, (meaning the Kingdoms
 ' of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*,) *in exerting the Spirit of*
 ' *Liberty*, by Force and Fraud, too long suppressed among
 ' them, the chief, the sole Contest among us, my beloved, my
 ' honour'd Brethren, should be, who should first lay the Con-
 ' stitution of our Country (meaning the Realm of *Ireland*,)
 ' open to our View, and explain the Powers and Preroga-
 ' tives of those entrusted to govern, and the Freedom and
 ' Privileges of those to be govern'd: When these are fully
 ' known, your (meaning the Citizens of *Dublin*,) steady
 ' Virtue cannot fail in restraining the one, and supporting
 ' the other, by proper Means and Bounds: The Standard of
 ' Liberty must then be raised in your City, (meaning the
 ' City of *Dublin*,) and it can never be in the Power of Ty-
 ' ranny or Artifice to pull it down, while such Numbers of
 ' well-disciplined Freemen (meaning the Free-Citizens of the
 ' City of *Dublin*,) are voluntarily enlisted under the glorious
 ' Banner,——And to fulfil, perfect and bring to Effect,
 ' his

his most wicked and seditious Intentions and Machinations,
 and to justify the several horrid and bloody and unnatural
 Insurrections and Rebellions, from Time to Time, raised
 in this Kingdom, by Papists and other Traitors, he the
 said *Charles Lucas*, afterwards, to wit, the 20th Day of
January, in the 22d Year of the Reign of our Lord the
 now King abovesaid, did, with Force and Arms, at the
 City of *Dublin* abovesaid, in the Parish of *St. Andrew's*,
 in the Ward of *St. Andrew's*, in the County of the City
 of *Dublin* abovesaid, wickedly, falsely, unlawfully, unjust-
 ly, maliciously, scandalously and seditiously make, com-
 pose and write, another scandalous and seditious Libel, in-
 titled, A tenth Address to the Free-Citizens and Free-
 Holders of the City of *Dublin*, and then and there caused
 the same to be printed and published, in which Libel are
 contained, among other Things, malicious, scandalous,
 false, feigned and seditious Matters and Sentences, in the
 Words following, to wit, *But it probably was then as well
 known, as it must now be confess'd, that there was no ge-
 neral Rebellion in Ireland, since the first British Invasion,
 that was not raised or fomented by the Oppression, Insti-
 gation, evil Influence or Connivance of the English Gover-
 nors, let the World hence judge, whether from these, any
 Handle may be taken to tyrannize over all Classes of Men
 in this Kingdom, (meaning the Kingdom of Ireland,) in-
 discriminately.——* And further to fulfil, perfect and bring
 to Effect, his said most wicked and seditious Machinati-
 ons, Purposes and Intentions, he the said *Charles Lucas*,
 afterwards, to wit, the 7th Day of *February*, in the said
 22d Year of the Reign of our Lord the now King above-
 said, did, with Force and Arms, at the City of *Dublin*
 abovesaid, in the Parish of *St. Andrew's*, in the Ward of
St. Andrew's, in the County of the City of *Dublin* afore-
 said, wickedly, falsely, unlawfully, unjustly, maliciously
 and seditiously make, compose and write, another scanda-
 lous and seditious Libel, intitled, An eleventh Address to
 the Free-Citizens and Free-Holders of the City of *Dub-
 lin*, and then and there caused the same to be published, in
 which Libel are contained, among other Things, malici-
 ous, scandalous, false, feigned and seditious Matters and
 Sentences, in the Words following, to wit, *We hear no-
 thing more generally and justly censured by all sensible and
 free Englishmen, than the Treachery and Barbarity*
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practised

' practised by the Spaniards, upon the Natives of Mexico;
 ' in the Conquest of that Country. Thus Men, insensible of the
 ' Beams in their own Eyes, discover Motes in the Eyes of
 ' their Neighbours ! Strange ! that Men who well knew the
 ' Value of Liberty, were sensible of its being an Inheritance
 ' to which all the Sons of Adam, were Co-heirs ; and
 ' who claimed and enjoyed all the Advantages thereof in their
 ' Country, as their peculiar Birth-Right ; should think
 ' of invading the Rights of others, who did not interfere
 ' with them, or that they should think Tyranny intollerable
 ' from any Hands but theirs, when it must be more grievous
 ' and distressing from British than any others ; yet, not-
 ' withstanding, with Shame and Grief I (meaning himself
 ' the said Charles Lucas) tell it, the Mexicans were never
 ' used worse by the barbarous Spaniards, than the poor
 ' Irish (meaning the King's Subjects of this Realm of Ire-
 ' land) were for some Centuries by the English Governors,
 ' (meaning the King's Subjects of England)——And in
 ' another Part of the said Libel are contained among
 ' other Things, malicious, scandalous, false, feigned and
 ' seditious Matters and Sentences, in the Words following,
 ' to wit, *Thus the poor Irish* (meaning the Subjects of this
 ' Kingdom of Ireland) *were upon all Occasions treated worse*
 ' *than any Christian Nation treats her open Enemies, or*
 ' *as common Out-Laws, they* (meaning the said Subjects
 ' of Ireland) *are in many Charters and Statutes called Irish*
 ' *Enemies to the Crown, tho' if ever they proved such it*
 ' *must be confessed they* (meaning the said Irish) *were im-*
 ' *pelled to it by Oppression and Tyranny.*——And in
 ' another Part of the said Libel are contained, among other
 ' Things, malicious, scandalous, false, feigned and sedi-
 ' tious Matters and Sentences in the Words following,
 ' to wit, *And all this when all sensible Englishmen must*
 ' *confess that no Civil War or Rebellion was ever raised*
 ' *in Ireland* (meaning this Kingdom of Ireland) *since the*
 ' *British Invasion, but by the Oppression and through the*
 ' *Encouragement and Connivance of the English Governors,*
 ' (meaning the King's Lords Lieutenants, Lords Deputies
 ' or Lords Justices, or other Chief Governors of this
 ' Kingdom, at the respective Times of such Rebellions
 ' in this Kingdom.)——And in another Part of the
 ' same Libel are contained, among other Things, malici-
 ' ous

ous, scandalous, false, feigned and seditious Matters and Sentences, in the Words following, to wit, *Now, my best beloved Brethren, you (meaning the Citizens of Dublin) have seen a rough Sketch of the political State of your Country, (meaning the Constitution and Government of this Realm of Ireland) in which you (meaning the Citizens of Dublin) must have seen its present greatest Grievances, the impending Dangers of Dissolution to which it is exposed, (most seditiously and wickedly meaning that the political Constitution and Government of this Kingdom of Ireland, is in great Danger of being dissolved) and learned the Means by which alone these Grievances may be redress'd, and the Constitution (meaning the political Constitution and Government of this Realm of Ireland) restored and secured, in manifest Contempt of our said Lord the King, and of his Laws of this his Realm of Ireland, with an Intention to incite, move and procure Sedition, Ill-Will, Distrusts, Jealousies, Fears and Discord between our said Lord the King, and his Subjects of this Realm of Ireland, and among his said Subjects themselves, and to the evil and pernicious Example of all others in the like Case offending, and against the Peace of our said Lord the now King, his Crown and Dignity, and soforth, whereof the same Attorney-General of the said Lord the now King, for the said Lord the now King, prays Advice of the Court here in the Premises and due Process of Law in this Behalf to be made against the said Charles Lucas, to answer the said Lord the King aforesaid in the Premises and soforth, for the King.*

As of Michaelmas Term in the 23d
Year of Geo. II. King, and soforth.

BOWDEN, Attorney.

S. G—— C——

I SHALL not trouble the Reader with any further Animadversions on this extraordinary Proceeding, than to recommend it to his Consideration how, consonant it is to the Sense and Intention of two Statutes of the 25th and 42d of the great EDWARD III. by which it is expressly provided, *That for preventing Mischiefs done by FALSE ACCUSERS, none shall be put to answer, unless it be by Indict-*

ment or Presentment of good and lawful People of the Neighbourhood, where such Deeds be done. Then surely, if this modern Method be pursued, this great Law becomes obsolete, and *Grand Juries* are abolished. And, there can now be no Difficulty in cutting off the most inoffensive and innocent Person alive: A little *Law Sophistry* in an *Information* will serve to criminate any Man, that reads aloud or repeats some Texts of HOLY WRIT. Mr. Lucas, in his *twentieth Address*, quotes several Passages of Scripture, which a *Marshal* or a *Tisdal*, or even a *C—x* or a *Robinson* could, by a few *Innuendoes* and some *blackening Epithets* readily pervert into *Sedition* or *Treason*. For instance; *The whole Head is sick, and the whole Heart faint. From the Seal of the Foot, even unto the Head, there is no Soundness in it, but Wounds and Bruises and putrifying Sores.* — *How is the once-faithful City become an Harlot! It was full of Judgment, Righteousness lodged in it; but now Murderers!* — *Thy Rulers are rebellious, and Companions of Thieves: Every one loveth Gifts and followeth after Rewards.* — Is there one of the *Faction*, from the *Head* to the *Foot*, from the *Task-master-general* to *C—x*, that is not struck with these Sentences, as much as the *royal Adulterer* was, when the holy Prophet pronounced, *Thou art the Man?* — If Proceedings of this kind be repeated with Impunity, who will wonder at finding, under some future Administration, an *Information* brought against the SACRED SCRIPTURE, and at seeing it censured as a *Libel* upon the Government, burnt by the Hands of the common *Hangman?* — But, to return to our *Examiner.* —

IN this last Paragraph, Sir R. — d labours with all his Diligence to oblige his *Master*, by proving Mr. Lucas a *Jacobite* and an *Enemy* to the present *Establishment*. This is an old Trick, that has been play'd over and over in *Ireland*, upon Men of Fortune; but, this I believe, is the first Instance of attempting to drive a Man by Force from his Allegiance, who had not an Estate to forfeit. Here from Lucas's Poverty, one might expect some Security to him: For, had he had an Estate, it is more than probable some of the *rebellious* or *lawless Rulers*, *Associates of Thieves* or *Robbers*, *Lovers of Gifts* or *Followers of Rewards*, would have charged him with *high Treason*,

son, and upon as good Evidence, as he was lately found an Enemy to his Country, and by as just and legal a Trial, have convicted him of that Crime, and confiscated his Effects. But, this unfortunate Man's Persecutors have made his Destruction as necessary for them, as if they were to succeed to an Estate by his Death : For, their wise Conduct has reduced them to this Alternative : If *Lucas* be real, *old Whig*, and an innocent or well-meaning Man, they are as great *Fools*, as the blundering *Irish* Parliament, that made the Loss of one of the Criminal's Ears the Penalty for every Repetition of the Offence ; or as great *Villains*, as ever murdered an innocent Man and his Family, or betrayed the Liberties of their Country. Therefore, they must not stop at proscribing and undoing the unhappy *Lucas* and exposing his numerous, orphaned, helpless, innocent Infants to Beggary and Slavery, but they must destroy the Life or Reputation of the wretched Refugee ! ——— Unparalleled Cruelty ! ——— I cannot prevent their murdering the Man : in this present Circumstances, it may be doubtful whether or no saving his Life would be a Mercy ; but, I shall endeavour to do Justice to his Fame.

THE Ways and Means, by which this poor Man was banished his Country, are sufficiently set forth in the *Critical Review*. It is not therefore necessary to trouble the Reader with a Recital. Here, we mean only to shew, that he has not, since his Exile, led a Life, that can give his Persecutors the least Colour to surmise him, what they, in horrid Justification of themselves, are endeavouring to represent him, an Enemy to his Country, or one, who courts the Countenance of the Disaffected, every where, justly despairing of the Favour of any, who are Friends to our present happy Constitution, as charged in the Examination, p. 61.

THIS unhappy Man was torn from the Bosom of his bleeding Country, parted from his mourning Family and Friends, and forced into Exile, the 16th of October, 1749. And, tho' he has already suffered such Penalties, such Grievances, as are not to be warranted by any Principle of Law, Justice, Reason, good Policy, or common Humanity, he is yet to find no *Affylum*, but is, it seems, to be persecuted and hunted out of his Majesty's Dominions, as he was robbed of
the

the Benefit of the Laws! He is to be *out lawed* next Term! —What can all this be for? It can be done with none other View, than to try, to verify their Sentence, if it be but *ex post Facto*, to give this unfortunate *Refugee*, like others, an Hatred and Dislike to a Government, under which he cannot obtain the *Protection* of the *Laws*, for his *Liberty* or *Property*, and to *drive* him by Force from his *Allegiance*. —Would to GOD! that all the like Projects of the open and secret Enemies of our Constitution, may prove alike abortive, as this nefarious Scheme has hitherto done!

DISTRUST and Suspicion of their Integrity or Loyalty, has often drove many honest and well-affected, but weak, Men, to the contrary Extremes. —What may not then be dreaded from such Inhumanity, such lawless Violence and Oppression, as has been practised upon this innocent, this honest and most loyal Subject, without leaving him the least Prospect of Redress, or even Redemption? And yet, his Behaviour under these melancholy and shocking Circumstances prove the Excellency of his Principles, and his undaunted Resolution to maintain them, beyond the Reach of the utmost Malice and Detraction of his most potent and wicked Enemies.

HIS MISFORTUNES have indeed broke his Constitution, and impaired his bodily Health so far, that, since he came to *England*, he has often been reduced to the Verge of the Grave, and has never pass'd a single Day, (I might have said an Hour,) free from Pain; yet, the few Friends and Physicians, that have, thro' pure Humanity, visited him in the different Parts of this Kingdom, in which he has hitherto sojourn'd, testify, that his Mind is, and amidst the utmost Distress has continued, strong, firm and unmoved.

HE has been courteously treated by some Men of Distinction, who would pass in the World for *Patriots*: Some of these have made him actual Tenders of such Favours, as few Men in his oppressed Circumstances would refuse; and have advised him to Measures, which must in all Probability have extricated him out of his Troubles and Exile; but, when he found, that these could not be accepted or observed, consistently with his Principles of Morality, Liberty and Loyalty, he rejected and opposed them, with such invincible Fortitude, as exposed him to new Enmity. And, I will be bold to say, that this Man's greatest Misfortune, or

at

at least the Continuance of his present Troubles, are owing to his being neither of *Paul* or of *Cephas*, of no Party or Faction, that he has yet discovered, having hitherto been so unfortunate as to meet with none agreeable to his Principles, real and true CONSTITUTIONISTS, without Regard to Name, Family, or private Interest; for, such alone are with him deemed *Patriots*.——Thus it is, that Mr. *Lucas* aggravates his Guilt,——in the Eyes of *Cox* and his *Crew*, and for this it is, that he is probably doom'd to Destruction, in this World, tho' so evidently far from fulfilling the Character, *Cox* is pleased, or ordered to draw for the *Exile*.
——Hapless Picture of our Times!

BUT, why should I attempt to represent Mr. *Lucas's* Case, as unhappy, unfortunate or melancholy?——To a Mind like his, it must surely be so much the Reverse, that he would not exchange Stations and Circumstances with any of the *modern Heroes*, at least, of his own Country. Adversity is at once the School and Test of Virtue: For, according to that shining Honour and Ornament to his Country and his Rank, the great Lord SHAFTSBURY, “Had Goodness never met with Opposition, nor Merit lain
“under a Cloud, where had been the Trial, Victory or
“Crown of Virtue? Where had the Virtues had their
“Theatre? Or whence their Names? Where had been
“Temperance or Self-denial? Where Patience, Meek-
“ness, Magnanimity? Whence have these their Being?
“What Merit, except from Hardship? What Virtue,
“without a Conflict?”——Not very remote from these, are the Sentiments of one of our greatest Poets, which we beg Leave to apply, tho' it puts us under the Necessity, in some Sense, of comparing the *Small* with the GREAT.
“Think, says Mr. *Pope*, of TULLY, BACON, and CLA-
“RENDON; is it not the latter, the disgraced, Part of their
“Lives, which you must envy, and in which you would
“chuse to have lived? To shine abroad and to Heaven,
“ought to be the Business and the Glory of your present
“Situation. Remember, it was at such a Time, that the
“greatest Lights of Antiquity dazled and blazed the most,
“in their Retreat, in their Exile, or in their Death: But,
“why do I talk of dazling or blazing? It was then they
“did Good, that they gave Light, and that they became
“Guides to Mankind.”

I WOULD

I WOULD not however be thought by these or any other Applications, to minister to the Vanity of Mr. *Lucas*; there is nothing I detest more. I do not pretend to set him up as an Original. And, I think it a sufficient Honour to him, and at the same Time, a full Extenuation of any Crime to him imputed, that he neither said, nor did, any Thing that has not been said and done before him, with great and lasting Applause, by PYM, HAMPDEN, SYDNEY, RUSSELL, KING, LOCKE, MOLYNEAUX, MOLESWORTH, and many other great and celebrated Patriots, with whom, especially the latter, it is Mr. *Lucas*'s greatest Glory to co-operate and to agree in moral and political Principles: So that whoever condemns the *one*, must arraign the *other*. With such *Allies*, who would not wish to stand, and dare to fall?—— Here, the patriot Sentiments of our illustrious Countryman, Mr. GORDAN, present themselves;——“ Who would not “ rather be a CICERO, even in Exile, than a *Clodius*, his “ Enemy, tho’ triumphing over that virtuous *Roman*? An “ ALGERNOON SIDNEY, sentenced to die for the everlast- “ ing Principles of Truth and Liberty, than a *Jefferies*, “ infamously exalted in the Tribunal of Justice, and pro- “ nouncing that wicked Sentence?” I shall not say, the unfortunate *Irish* are bless’d with a CICERO or a SIDNEY; but, *C-x* and *M-l-y* daily shew how far they are curs’d with a *Clodius* and a *Jefferies*. To those, with whom the last recited Sentiments of Virtue and public Spirit have due Weight, Mr. *Lucas*, tho’ exposed to all the Calamities of this Life, will rather appear the Object of Envy, than Pity. And I dare affirm, if Mr. *Lucas* was to be offered his Choice, the Place and Station of any, or all of his Persecutors put together, or his present Circumstances, he has his Option: For, who would not rather in a low and humble Station, have acquitted his Conscience in the Discharge of all the social Duties, have contended for the Restoration and Support of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and the general Good of the best System of civil Government in the World, against all the infamous *Tyrants*, abandoned *Slaves* and other *Profligates*, that have disgraced the State, tho’, in so doing, he should, by the oppressive Hand of lawless Power, be plunged into the deepest Adversity and Distress, than to hold the highest Place of Power, Profit and Honour in a Nation, in such a Manner, as to countenance and encourage every Sort of Immorality,

Immorality, Profaneness, Lewdness and Prostitution in both Sexes; to subvert the common Principles of Right and Law; to overturn the Constitution, and to substitute a *military* for a civil Government; to extinguish the true Spirit of Liberty and Patriotism, and to suppress the Idea of genuine Loyalty; to oppress and plunder the innocent and worthy, and to reward with Places, Pensions and Titles, the most disloyal and perfidious of Subjects, the worst of Criminals, and the most worthless of Men; to authorize public Violence and Injustice, and to be deaf to the Complaints of the injured; to live in all Respects beneath the Character and Dignity of the Station; to perpetrate every public Vice that might gratify ill-guided Ambition or sordid Avarice, and to affect every private Vice, tho' beyond his Atchievement, that might gratify an impotent Lust, to the Ruin of infant Fame and Chastity? — Who can stand the Comparison? — The one must for ever, and upon all Occasions, be loved, admired and revered, while any Sense of Virtue and Liberty, or any Traces of our Government subsist; whilst the other must be *despised* in *Life*, and in *Death* *forgot*; will in public, become a *By-word*, the Scorn and Reproach of the Multitude, and in the Height of his Pomp and Power, will be *hissed* and *hooted* at, *curfed* and *contemned* to his Face, by every sensible and free Man; and in private, will only secure common Regard, while he is able to pay his servile Mercenaries and Prostitutes.

LET who will for *Lucas* unenvied enjoy the latter Estate; while he in humble Obscurity, in Poverty, in Banishment, exults and triumphs in the *heart felt Happiness that dwells with Virtue*, and is able of a Truth to say, to the KING and CONSTITUTION of his Country, with the honest Heathen; “Oppress’d by a Combination of my Enemies, and the Imputation of false Crimes; since no Place is left here to Truth and my Innocence; to the immortal Gods, I appeal, that towards you, CÆSAR, I have lived with most sincere Faith.” GORDON’S Tacit.

SINCE then, this most loyal Subject, this persecuted Patriot’s Appeal is not permitted to reach CÆSAR’S Hands, it is hoped, his Appeal to Heaven, will soon rid him of all worldly Care. Then, we may say to *Lucas*’s Persecutors, as *Paterculus* tells us, was said to a Roman Tyrant, upon a somewhat similar Occasion; — “Thou hast done nothing, MARC ANTHONY! thou hast done nothing, by setting a Price on that divine and illustrious Head, and,

“ by a detestable Reward, procuring the Death of so great
 “ a Preserver of the Common-Wealth. Thou hast snatch’d
 “ from him a troublesome Being, a declining Age, a Life
 “ more miserable under thy Dominion, than Death itself;
 “ but, so far from diminishing the Glory of his Deeds,
 “ thou hast increased them: He lives, and will in the Me-
 “ mory of all Ages, while thou art curs’d for thy cruel Act
 “ against him.”

Middle-Temple,
May 15th, 1750.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- P. 11, l. 10, for Principals, read Principles.
 P. 21, l. 14, for *Crimmial*, read *Criminal*.
 P. 65, l. 37, for Serious, read Series.
 P. 85, l. 15, for bare, read bear.

Northern Revolutions:

O R,

The Principal Causes of the Declension
and Diffolution of several once flour-
ishing GOTHIC CONSTITUTIONS in
EUROPE.

In a Series of LETTERS

From the *GHOST OF TRENCHARD*,
Once a FREE BRITON.

*What wouldst thou, gracious Figure?
There's something Rotten in the State
of Danemark.
I'd take the Ghost's Word for a thousand Ducats.
Shakespear's HAMLET.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, in *Pater-noster-Row*.

M D C C L V I I .

[Price Two Shillings.]

E R R A T A.

Page 2. line 5 for noctural, *read* nocturnal.

30 after as, add ever.

35 after got, add in.

6. line 19 forward, *read* backward.

7. line 5 for impenitent, *read* impertinent.

13. line 14 for prefered, *read* preserved.

27. line 13 for that, *read* their.

line 37 for was, *read* were.

42. line 10 for affirm, *read* confirm.

44. line 31 for they, *read* these.

72. line 11 for thinking, *read* unthinking.

122. line 26 for explained, *read* explain.

128. line 10 for allevation, *read* alleviation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this incredulous Age, when the Generality are argued out of all Belief of the Existence of any Spirit, beyond those of powerful Gin or Brandy, it will probably be questioned, nay perhaps will be openly denied, that the following Letters were dictated to the Editor by a Ghost.

Unfortunately, it is a Point, to which no legal Evidence can be given: Ghosts in general do not chuse to appear to more than one at a Time. And nothing is known to strike more at the Authenticity of *Shakespear's* ingenious (and no doubt, authentic) History of *Hamlet, Prince of Danemarch*, more than the Ghost of the King being seen to two or three Officers of the Guards, as well as *Hamlet*, all at once.

I own, I believed as little in Ghosts or Apparitions as any Body, till very lately. And, though I have conversed much with People, that have assured themselves or me, that they were gifted with Spirits; I had not Faith enough to assure me that any but the sacred Writers were ever properly fully inspired.

But, I am now come to another Way of thinking, and can demonstrate, that, notwithstanding what interested People industriously spread to the contrary, Spirits or Ghosts do appear to a few chosen, intellectual Eyes, and may be seen by any Persons duly qualified. In that Number, I thank the Moon and Stars,

am I. There is not a Day of my Life, that I do not hold most intimate, most familiar Converse with the Ghosts of some of the most famed Spirits, that ever did Honour to this enlightened Isle. I am in no high Station in this Land; yet, Spight to my contemned Obscurity, I often breakfast with *Edward III*, dine with *Harry V*, and sup with good Old *Queen Bess*. And even the Spirits of the defunct Ministers of these world-withdrawn Potentates, laying aside the more than regal Pride of their Places, do not disdain to Chat a little with me. *Hampden* often meets me in my Closet, and sometimes, walks with me unseen, in the most crowded Assemblies. *Cromwell*, though he never intrudes till *Hampden* is gone, gives me some Minutes of his Company every Day. His fullen Brow, frequent mention of Dunkirk and furly Menaces against France and most against French Englishmen, could not fail of disgusting the placid Spirits of this Age of Pleasantry. How often does *Sidney's* guardian Spirit and martyred *Russell* wrest me from the World and fill my admiring Soul with Joys unknown to such as hold not frequent Converse with such patriot Spirits. I could name many more that often honour me with Visits. Nay more, I could, and in due Time perhaps may, shew fit Persons, if such may be found, how they may attain to the like Honours from those immortal Sages. I will not promise to shew the Multitude, how the Spirit of *Oliver* may again be brought in burnished Steel to visit his well-loved, native Land: This angry Spirit may not perhaps be so easily layed, when
once

once disturbed. But, let me see the Man, who next to his God, loves his Country ; who never of cool Purpose or Deliberation did public or private Wrong ; who despises all private Regards, that come in Competition with the public Good ; and whose great Ambition is to be found the noblest Work of God, that rarest Wonder of our Age, an honest Man. Let him come forth and he shall forthwith behold and converse with the greatest and best Spirits of the departed Heroes and blessed Saints, that ever were Ornaments to this Land.

But, here let me stop ; lest my Secret should fall into vulgar Hands, who not conceiving may abuse it. I shall then only tell my Reader, that having by an Art, not yet to be communicated to the Public, found Access to these glorious Spirits, which have not yet given up their favourite Charges of Guardians to our Isle ; upon consulting them seriously and zealously to learn how their good Purposes may yet be by Man promoted, *Trenchard* was appointed by a grand Council of British Spirits to reveal to me some historical Facts relative to the Affairs of Europe, which he had not Time to impart to the World in the Days of the Flesh.

This most reverend Spirit, for many Nights past appears to me in a purple Robe spangled with the most brilliant Diamonds. His Head is covered with an Helmet, which dazzles with most resplendent Gems. His manly Breast is inclosed in a Cuirass of polished Steel. On his left Arm, he holds the dreadful *Ægis* ; while his right Hand by turns presents the Spear of Britain's

tain's Genius, and an Heaven-lighted Torch, whose Light dispels the darkest Clouds of Error and Superstition, and rouses the rational Soul to noblest Actions. In his benign Countenance Cheerfulness inthroned in Wisdom sat Majestic. Thou mortal, said the awful Shade, ' who thus ' quitest the alluring Gaieties of Life in thine ' Age more sought, than any the World has ' known before, and preferest the good of Man- ' kind and thy Country's Weal, to thine own ' Ease and Peace on Earth ; take up thy Pen ; set ' down the Truths thou hast from us received ; ' and in due Time impart them to the World. ' If they have Ears they well hear. If under- ' standings, they will digest. Thy Task thus ' finished, they have no more to hope ; bid ' them farewell, and come, join those Spirits, ' in whose Alliance, thou shalt true Comfort ' find at last.'

What Sceptic could withstand this Charge ? I obeyed the guardian Vision. He cannot take it ill, that I give these Papers, his venerable Name. Whoever doubts the Fact, may go and ask *Trenchard*. If he disowns them there is no Faith, no Truth in Visions, and the sensible Reader may shake Hands with the worldly Author, who pleased himself with the Office of Emanuensis to *Trenchard's* Ghost.

I think I hear some of the deep-red, long-headed Politicians of our Age enquire, ' who is ' this *Trenchard* ?' Well asked : In Truth a very odd sort of a Fellow, though he be dead. A Man whose general Knowledge made him the best Patron of Men of Science ; whose love for Virtue,
for

for Liberty and his Country made him write or dictate the best Parts of *Cato's* Letters, and whose Zeal for pure, practical Religion made him laugh out of Countenance all the Austerities, Fopperies and Superstitions, with which foolish or knavish Men had disfigured and disgraced it ; in his incomparable independant Whig. And what is still more strange, and to most incredible, who condescended to accept of the most lucrative Office in the State, provided the Sallary of that and others were reduced from some Thousands to a few hundred Pounds a Year ; enough to pay Men qualified, but not to tempt the disqualified to engage in such Offices ; and who would not submit to accept any Employment, but upon these Terms, purely to serve his Country.

Let no Man, who is well bred enough to dislike this Character, venture to meet his Ghost here or hereafter.



L E T T E R S

Relating to the

CAUSES of the Destruction of the Free Governments of NORDWEG and DANEMARCH.

L E T T E R I.

*Relating to the Revolutions of Governments in Nord-
weg and Danemarch.*

WH I L E I found my wife Country-
men were taken up and divided into
zealous Parties, each, with becoming
Fury, contending for or against a *Gipsy*
or a *Canning*; while our Coffe-house Sages were engaged
in setting up some Player for the Standard of Beauty,
Dress, Elocution and Oratory, and warmly harangued
to shew only, which acted most like himself; while
our fair, regardless of Devotion, Love, or Dress, seem-
ed contented with hurting themselves alone, at Cards;
and puny Beaux with aping cocknies joined to sup-
press a Dance; while our Merchants in spite to Laws,
gamed under the Colour of Insurance for Minorca;
and French Dogs or Italian b——s divided Persons
of Quality and refined Taste; while these like impor-
tant Matters engaged our wife Public, I lay by, wrapt
B up

up in silent Admiration, glad to find the Multitude, like me, disdain to throw away a serious Thought on their Country, on Posterity or their precious selves.

But finding the Tables so far changed, that all our nocturnal Assemblies and Ridottos al fresco ; all our Billiard-tables and Stews ; all our pipings, singings, ballancings, tumblings, dancings, &c. &c. &c. are no longer sufficient to keep us in our gay, unthinking Mood, since the Magistrates have not thought fit to find out some adequate Amusements ; and people now begin to talk so seriously of important Subjects, as may give room to dread many Self murders about the first full Moon in November ; I think it time to stand forth and strive to amuse them with some Trifles, that may happily divert their Thoughts from home.

And here I cannot help mourning the Loss the Public sustains, by the Death or Silence of our late Groupe of Novel writers ! Why should one Age produce the inimitable *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, *Pamela*, *Peregrine Pickle*, *Clarissa*, &c. and not now leave one Writer to save his Country to make the World laugh or weep, at foreign Trifles ? What is become of the Man that promised a Plan for an endless Romance ? Or is there not one more Courtesan of Quality to furnish out another Tale of Bawdry, to amuse the Public, and save a poor Scribe from mistaking his Talents and turning Critic ? from Starving and Damnation ?

Had these lived, our Places of public Resort might have been as gay and amusing, as instructing as even Scandal and trifles might destroy Reputations and kill time ; but they might prevent gloomy Moments, and spare some Lives. Courtiers would not frighten themselves, from enjoying the full Emoluments of Places got a manner unheard of, in Britain, by bartering Consciences, with the disagreeable Sound of *French Invasions*. Citizens would not be heard to grumble in their Beer and Smoak, *our Italian and Turkish Trades*
are

are lost with Minorca. Hang B——g! Change the A———y! Damn the M———y! Our Patriots had then been too well diverted to complain of *Taxes, foreign Troops*, or cry out for a *Militia-bill*. Nor would the unthinking FREEHOLDERS of *Ireland* insult our Administration as well as their own, with daring to propose to arm, even at their own Expence, to the number of upwards of seventy thousand, and offering to serve in Defence of this Country as well as their own; when the Wisdom of the Legislature had already declared that foreign Mercenaries were a safer Guard to us than a national Militia. It can be no small Comfort to the strange Gentlemen, who have been so kind as to come a great way to eat Beef and Pudding in Defence of our Constitution, and to pay their Princes Debts; to find that the Lords Justices of Ireland were too wise to permit these officious Freeholders to arm themselves for the Defence of their Country, being determined to let them see the Necessity of getting foreign Troops for that Purpose in Ireland as well as here.

In hopes to deter my Countrymen from so disagreeable, so useless a Task, as looking seriously into any thing relating to the Public; in the Dearth of Amusements that exposes them to this Folly, I purpose to offer some Means to divert them; and since they have unfortunately turned their Heads to Politics, more than is meet of late; let them attend me through some of the cold neighbouring Countries by whose Revolutions they may be amused if not instructed, as well as by seeing a man of six Feet high going into a quart Bottle, or a Monster jumping down his own Throat.

Swedeland, Nordweg, and Danemarch, were once under one General Gothic Government, which suffered from time to time a great Variety of Changes; the Power of every constituent Part rising or falling according to the accidental Force or Weakness of the

Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy ; and sometimes the whole has been reduced to the most wretched Anarchy.

In the various Contests betwixt the different Members of the State, the Territories were divided, and each Division, in time, set up a particular Government, always keeping close Analogy to the Mother Stock.

It is unnecessary to my Purpose, and useless to the Reader, to spend Time in dry Chronology, in specifying the particular Points of Time in which these Divisions were made. Let it suffice, that in each of the Countries mentioned, a separate and independant Form of Government was set up ; and Nordweg and Danemarch no more acknowledged the Sovereignty of Swedeland ; but each become a distinct free State, governed like Swedeland, by an elective King, Nobles, Clergy, and Commons, which constituted the States, Diet, or Parliament of each Country.

How Nordweg was first reduced to Slavery, and how Danemarch, soon after, necessarily shared the same Fate, and Swedeland lately narrowly, and for a while, escaped it, may be set forth in the Sequel, if the Public be not otherwise better amused.

L E T T E R II.

THE Historians of these three Countries most warmly and verbosely contend for the Antiquity and Dignity of their respective Nations. We shall keep clear of their Disputes, as well as of their fabulous Legends, and confine our present Considerations to the most true and probable Part of these obscure Histories. Tho' it is more than probable this may disgust, if not quite discourage, a certain Class of Readers, who might receive equal Instruction, and more pleasing Amusement, from the Histories of the Feats of Lapland Witches, than from those of the Revolutions of Northern States. Yea, I have reason to fear, this
Paper

Paper will meet with few or no Readers; because it has not enough the Air of a Romance, and promises but little of the marvellous.

I remember, when Lima, in America, was overwhelmed by an Earthquake; if we in Britain did not actually feel the Shock, we felt it in effect: our newspapers and magazines were filled with tragic, frightful Stories of such Convulsions in different Parts of the Globe, and every body was more or less involved in the Calamities of that overthrown City. I shall say nothing of the Ravings of a Madman, who prophesied the like Disaster to London, making all our pious Christians fly out of Town, on that portentous Day, to avoid the dreadful Catastrophe.

If we suffered much Disturbance by the fate of Lima, we were infinitely more distressed and alarmed at the horrid Earthquake at Portugal. We mourned the Losses of our own Merchants there; we pitied all the Sufferers; but most of all the sacred Person of the King, from the first Merchant in Europe, reduced to the Want of a dwelling-place, of Raiment and of Food! We felt his Necessities, and speedily relieved them. The horrors came now nearer home; we heard of many more Earthquakes. Nay, we felt, or imagined we felt them, in different Parts of England. The Motions of Boats upon the Waters gave some, of exquisite Sensibility and lively Imaginations, the Vapours, and were called Earthquakes; and the Noise and Motions of Carts and Coaches in the Night terrified all, but the less sensible Drivers. What restless Nights, what Anxieties, what Pannics, what Devotion, were not universally occasioned by these natural Motions in distant Parts of the Earth? Have these Perturbations been allayed? — Most compleatly. But, how? We made perfect Oblation for all our past Sins by one Day's fasting and going to Church; and since, drowned all Care and Thought betwixt Drury Lane and

Covent-garden, Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and Sadler's-wells.

What happy Constitutions can modern Britons boast? Frightened, shocked by remote Evils! calmed and comforted with present Trifles! A few Houses thrown down by subterranean or meteoric Fire, in any distant Region, can never fail of moving deep Distress, for a while! But free States may be overturned; limited Magistrates may become Tyrants, and Free-men be made Slaves, on every side of us; who is moved at it? Who has Attention to read the melancholy Account?—hardly one!

The late Lord Moleworth, I beg his Pardon, I mean Mr. Moleworth, for he was not then a Peer, told us how Denmark, once as free a State as any I have described, was, within the Compass of four Days, reduced to an hereditary, absolute Tyranny. The noble Historian did not look forward and learn the Cause; a Series of illicit and corrupt Administration of many Years standing; on which, if any body will read it, I shall endeavour to throw some light.

But, why should I expect it? ——— This Revolution, more dreadful to us than the overwhelming the entire petty State of Denmark in the Sea, or the converting it to a Volcano, gave not the least Alarm, the least Disturbance in England; and I will venture to say, that the History of *Roderick Random*, or the Trial of *Elizabeth Canning*, are now to be found in many more Hands here, than this Account of the Subversion of the Government of a neighbouring State, not long since as free as ours.

But, if we come to the present Times, who among us has lost a Night's Rest, or a Meal's Meat, for the curious Court Plot for overturning the civil Constitution of Sweden, which, by some unlucky Accident, miscarried the other day? Why so unconcerned? The good, the pious King wept bitterly, and the gentle gracious Queen swooned, and well nigh died,
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at the tremendous Abortion. Oh! moving Scene! The loss of Lisbon did not cost the Court of Portugal so much: Yet we fasted once, and mourned, and were frightened a few Days for their Loss! If one impenitent Corporal, a Cobler by Trade, had, by any pious Hand, been stabbed or strangled; had a few fatal Hours silently revolved, the righteous King of Sweden, by making himself instead of an elective, limited Monarch, a despotic Tyrant, with a divine hereditary Right; had freed his People of the intolerable Burden of Assemblies of the States, Diets, Senates, or Parliaments, of course of numbers of Placemen and Pensioners, and disburthened them as effectually of all Notions of Freedom and Rights, as his worthy Brother of Denmark had before him thus eased his Vassals. Can we hear this unmoved? No sure; who is not sorry for the Disappointment of the Lord's anointed? and of his sweet Royal Consort? I dare say, to our Honour and Happiness be it spoken! more among us are grieved at the premature Discovery of the Plot, than shocked at the Attempt. To such a comfortable Pitch of Inattention and Insensibility, to such a total Extinction of the public Spirit, of which our ancestors idly boasted, are we, their wiser Progeny, arrived!

Come on then, ye wavering Spirits, who are not so foolish as to spend your Lives in thinking of any serious Matters that concern your Neighbours, your Posterity, or yourselves; I will now and then help you to a northern Tale, or a Fragment of one, quite remote from all your narrow Concerns, which after employing your Eyes for half an Hour in the morning, without burdening your Intellects, may dispose you, like any of your favourite Novels, to laugh or to weep, perhaps to sleep for a while; and then may be applied to some other useful Purpose. Farewel!

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R III.

A fragment of Northern History, glancing at the Causes of the Downfall of Danemarch.

HOWEVER the Northern States of Nordweg and Danemarch may contend for Antiquity and Superiority; it is certain the Part most neglected and despised at this day, was so far from being contemptible in early Ages, that if the Estimate be made from Power and Conquest, as is generally the case, few Nations will be found to have been so considerable, in her Time, in Europe, as Nordweg, before she became unhappily connected with her once ungrateful, unnatural Sister, and since her haughty Mistress, Danemarch.

There are few Countries on our western Continent, that have not felt and suffered under the Power of Nordweg. There is great Reason to judge, that she had the first Naval Power in Europe: By which she became not only the Terror of her Neighbours upon that Element, but often invaded their Coasts, pillaged the Country, or planted Colonies in it, as seemed best to these conquering Lords. It is probable that Ireland was peopled from this Scythian Hive. She gave Princes to France, and Kings to Britain. But no more of this; Wise Men will keep clear of Home, for Reasons too obvious to be pointed out here.

If we should attempt to trace out the Origin of Nordweg, and to set forth the long Catalogue of Kings, which their Historians enumerate, or their Bards have sung; I should surely tire myself, if not my Reader, and but a little, if at all, advance my Purpose.

I shall only observe, that since their Records were tolerably well kept, which has been only since their
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Conversion to Christianity, about the latter End of the Tenth Century; their best Historians enumerate about Twenty-one Kings, with some Anarchies, pointed out as Interregna, before they were by a fatal Marriage joined and subjected to the Crown of Danemarch.

The List of the Kings of Nordweg, that stand fairly recorded in the Annals of that ill fated Country, begin about the Year 976 and end with Haquin, about 1375.

Haquin was the only surviving Son of Olaus III. King of Nordweg. In his Reign, Waldimir III. died, leaving the only Issue of his Race, Margaret, to inherit the Crown, or be deposed, at the Option of the States; who, after some Pauses and Deliberations, concluded, that if a Match between Margaret and Haquin of Nordweg, originally of the same Stock, could be brought about, they would elect him and her King and Queen, and agree to call the worthiest Person of their Issue to succeed to the Throne.

The poor Nordwegians, not discerning the Consequence of this Alliance, were in general quite passive; while others, of seeming greater penetration, appeared pleased with the Match; never thinking that Nordweg would thereby become in Time an Appendage of Danemarch; but judging that Danemarch might be a considerable Acquisition to the Strength and Consequence of Nordweg.

See the Effects of this ill-judged Alliance! Nordweg, before this Time, was, if not the richest, one of the freest and happiest States, and perhaps, one of the most formidable Powers in Europe, to her Neighbours.

The Country was divided into five Provinces or Prefectures with proper Magistrates to govern them; all subject to a King, who was but one and the first of the five Estates, that constituted the Diet or Grand Council of the Kingdom; and when they were not
assem-

assembled, he was the General and Chief Commander of their Land and Naval Forces, and the Grand Executioner of their Laws; under the Direction of the Diet.

The Diet consisted of the Nobility of the Realm, the Deputies of the Clergy, the Burgeses or Deputies of the Cities and Towns, and the Commonalty or Representatives of the Paisants; a Majority of each of which was necessary to make or repeal a Law, or to carry any Question in the Assembly of the States, General Council, or Diet, as it is indifferently called by most Historians.

These four States, in Conjunction with the King, made, amended, altered and abrogated Statutes; elected the King, giving Preference to the next of Kin of the Royal Family, till that became extinct; and then made a new Choice. These constantly watched over the Conduct of the King, and restrained or directed it, as they judged most consonant to the Laws and consistent with the Good of the States; to which, if they found any Prince run counter, they forthwith deposed him, and chose another.

But, as the Diet could not sit constantly, they appointed a Senate; a smaller Number of the principal Members of the Diet in Point of Understanding and Integrity, and whose Fortunes or Stations enabled them to attend the King, to be a Council to direct his Political Conduct, and even to judge of his public Transactions, and correct or report them to the States General or Diet.

The King then presided in their Councils, but never ruled or controuled them. He commanded their Armies and their Navy, and appointed their respective Generals, Admirals, and other Officers; in which, however, he was liable to be checked by the Senate or Diet, without whose Concurrence, he could not declare War or conclude a Peace. He directed the Coinage and Currency of Money; but
that

that once done, could not be altered without the joint Authority of the Diet.

The King also had a Right to appoint all the great Officers of the Realm. But this is said by some to have arisen only by Usurpation ; all great Offices being originally filled by the States, with the Concurrence of the King, not otherwise. As such a Power is inconsistent with the Principles of the Government ; it may be justly looked upon only as an Usurpation, and what in Process of Time contributed to the Destruction of the State.

The great Officers of the State, sometimes also called Officers of the Crown, from the like Usurpation sometimes prevailing, were,

1. The Marechal of the Dyet, who like our Chancellor, presided in the House of the Nobles ; an Officer the next in Honour and Dignity to the Crown, while the Diet sat ; during the Recess, giving Place to

2. The High or Chief Justice ; who, in the King's Absence, was his Vicegerent, especially in the Administration of Justice. He presided in the Supreme Court of Judicature, which consisted of the Chief of the Nobles and Senators ; unless the King sat there in Person ; which he might do, when the Crown or any of his Officers or Favourites, were not Parties. To him the Chief Justice then became but an Assessor.

3. The High Constable, who was intrusted with regulating the Conduct and Discipline of the Army in Times of Peace, presiding in all great Councils of War, Courts Martial, &c.

4. The High Chancellor was the principal Officer for Administring Justice under the Crown, or dispensing the regal Office, by dispatching all public Affairs, keeping the Great Seal, &c.

5. The High Admiral, who was intrusted with the immediate Care and Management of the Fleet, and

and executing the Orders of the Crown or State in Naval Matters. He presided in all Naval Councils and Courts Martial.

6. The High Treasurer, who was intrusted with keeping the Publick Funds, presided in the Chamber of Accounts, somewhat like our Exchequer; paid the Civil and Military Lists, and was accountable for his Conduct to the Diet alone.

7. The Primate, the Archbishop of Bergen, was to be considered as one of the great Officers of the State; though he had none other Civil Employment, than that of presiding in the Assembly of the Clergy, which made the third Estate of the Nation.

8. The Burgomaster of Bergen, or Opslo, where ever the Diet sat, was to be enumerated with these; for he was President of the House of Burgeses: And.

9. The President or Speaker of the House of Commonalty or Paisants, by them chosen from among themselves. These during the Session took Place in this order after the Marshal.

Besides these, there were several inferior Officers and Courts of Judicature in all Cities and considerable Towns, in all Counties or smaller Divisions of the Counties, with an Appeal to the chief Provincial Court, whose Officers and Judges were chosen by the Inhabitants of the several Districts, subject to the Approbation of the Diet. And for the greater Security of Property, from these, an Appeal to lay to the supreme Court of Judicature at Bergen or Opslo.

This is a just Epitome of the State of Norweg, taking it upon a Medium: For, at some irregular Times, it must be confessed, Anarchy arose from the Predominancy of the Power of some or other unruly Members of the State. But when Feuds subsided, and Matter were legally settled, this was the lawful Establishment and sacred Constitution of the Realm.

The States all to the Nobles, were annually elected, tho' it often happened, that many of the
same

same Members were elected over every Year of their Lives. And as there were but few Places and still fewer Pensioners about the Court ; there was no Exception to the Election of any but Officers of the Army and Navy into the Diet

I hope it can be no offence to any Body, Comparisons being always avoided, to applaud this ancient Gothic Form of Government. It is said by the Swedes, who have nearly retain'd it, to have taken Rise with, and been derived from them. This shews their Applause of it. After the late Shock, the bungled Conspiracy, let us see how long they will hold it.

Till the Year 1660, the Danes preferred this Form of Government, at home, however they thought fit to violate it in Nordweg: Which shews, while that People retained any Sense of Freedom, this equal, popular Government suited their Tempers.

Some of the essentials of this Kind of Commonwealth are still kept up in Poland, as far as intruding Military Force, that Bane to Peace and Freedom, will admit.

This Form of Government the Franks bore with them into Gaul, and planted all over that extended State; where it flourished with very little Alteration, till overturned by the Intrigues of foreign Courtisans and Mercenary Soldiers, between the Reigns of Lewis the XI. and the XV.

And to our unspeakable Comfort, the Essentials of this form of Government were introduced and established by some or other of the invading Northerlings of Nordweg, Danemarch, Saxony or Normandy, here in Britain, where, as in a more favourable Clime, they have grown up and flourished in more exquisite Perfection than in any other Corner of the Earth; and where I hope, without Offence to our Betters, they will, regardless of the Vicissitudes of Seasons, flourish to the End of Time. But let it be

be remembered I keep clear of home. Our Affairs are happily committed to wiser Heads, and none dare doubt the Integrity of their Hearts. Let me only inculcate, that for Ages past, our sage Counsellors did not despise the Stock from which their Polity was drawn. And how strictly they attend to their own, the present happy and great State of our National Concerns at home and abroad, removes far beyond the Reach of Doubt.

Was Nordweg once the happy, free Country we have pointed out? Was such the Policy of Denmark? And did Swedeland enjoy the like Blessings? None can be ignorant of the Truth of the Affirmative. What is their present State? Abject Slavery of the worst Kind in Europe has fallen to the Lot of the first and second, and how long the third will keep clear of it, Heaven alone can tell. Perhaps, though some time under the Influence of French Modes and Intrigues of Government, the Measure of their Iniquity is not yet filled.

Methinks, I hear some few inquisitive Readers ask how came these horrid Changes in these Northern States? No Nation ever thought the Countries worth the invading? I shall answer him, they had that, to which we happy Britons are Strangers, home-bred, innate Vice, Depravity and Corruption, the Consequences of Riches and Luxury, enough to make the Multitude in Time lose Sight of every Principle of Virtue and good Policy; so that without the Aid or Interposition of any foreign Force, without one mercenary Soldier, from any other State, the Danes were able, with a little Court Craft and some Industry, to overturn the free Government of Nordweg first; and when that was completely effected, in less than four Days the same shameless People put on Yokes and Fetters on their own Necks and Limbs, and rivetted them so effectually with their own Hands, while yet they could use them, that they were never able to shake

shake them off to this Day, but have since hung like Criminals in Gibbets, as Examples to the other States of Europe.

Thank the Stars ! We stand in need of no such Warning ! Our Withers are unwrung ! We must ever exult, when we find that we stand happy and secure in our own Integrity ; that Corruption could never raise her hated Head in any Election or other Part of our Administration ; that we are secure in the Wisdom and Virtue of our Councils, which cause a free Dispensation of Law and Justice with Mercy to be equally extended to the remotest Parts of our Dominions. And when our Enemies must soon with us confess the invincible Fortitude of our domestic and confederate Forces by Land and Sea. On these Matters, no Man that is not concerned, has Room to throw away a Word or a Thought. Away with them then ! and let us examine the *something rotten in the State* ——— of *Danemarch* ; first permitting me to comfort myself if not amuse you, with an Anecdote in the Life of one of our Kings ; which will hardly appear impertinent, to every Body.

When Mr. Moleworth, that shining Ornament to his Country, laid open the dismal History of fallen Danemarch, emphatically, but not deeply enough ; it was translated into the Languages of all the Countries of Europe that retained their Freedom. A German Translation soon got into Danemarch, and so galled that unhappy People, now recently, fatally, feeling the Difference between Freedom and Vassalage, that it rendered the Court so hateful, and so raked up the Wounds and Bruises of the newly enslaved Subjects, that, had any of the ancient Spirit of Freedom subsisted, it must have raised an Insurrection.

But this Performance galled the King more than it did any of his Subjects : Many of them bore their Stripes and Bonds well, very well, and had acquired such

such a Degree of Callosity, as extinguished all Sensibility. But he, who before held his Sceptre and his Crown by and for the people, derived his Power and Majesty from, and held it but in trust for, them ; now, as by Inspiration, saw himself *the Lords anointed, a monarch by the Grace of God* with an *indefeafible, hereditary Right*, which was confessed as well *Divine*, as *Military*, to *tyrannise*. He, no doubt, thought all Kings despicable, that were not as despotic as he : And probably, by the Help of a few active Flatterers, Weeds that grow rampant about every Court, was made to think himself more of a God than a Man.

It is hardly to be imagined, that this up skip Despot could bear an Insult from a mere Man, which, compared to Majesty, could not be estimated above a Brute. And being the more incensed against the Man, who sharply exposed his Majesty's lately assumed Divinity, and threatened to disturb his Despotism, he could not help giving some Vent to his Choler, and, by his Ambassador, demanding Satisfaction for the Injury offered him by one of the British Subjects, which the Danish Tyrant looked upon as such Vassals, as he had lately made his own People.

The King of Britain received the Danish Ambassador with due Respect ; heard his Remonstrance against Mr. Molesworth with great Attention ; and expressed his Concern, that any of the British Subjects should offer any Offence to the King or Subjects of Danemarch : and could not help promising do all in his Power to satisfy offended Majesty.

Nothing being likely to be done in this mighty Matter, the Ambassador, or perhaps his Master, grew more importunate, and seemed to blame our King for not more speedily inflicting some violent, arbitrary Punishment, beyond his Power. Upon
this,

this, our King confessed himself at some Loss, and desired to know what Satisfaction his good Brother demanded? To which the Ambassador replied, ‘ Sir, the King my Master, however injured, is too respectful to your Majesty, to prescribe any Method of punishing your offending Subjects. But, if one of his had offended any Monarch, especially your Majesty, in such a Manner as one of yours has done; the King would straitway order him to be confined for Life in a Dungeon, where he should never breathe fresh Air, see the Light of Heaven, or hear a human Voice’.

Whereupon our King quickly rejoined, ‘ Good Sir, speak softly, and keep this intirely to yourself: For, if it should come to Mr. Moleworth’s Ears, in Spite of all I can do to the contrary, he will certainly put it into the next Edition of his Book.’ Thus the Ambassador of a petulant, Mushroom Tyrant, was silenced by the true Spirit of a British King. See the Difference between a wild, lawless Tyrant, and a just King governing by Laws made by a wise and free People, by the Counsels of his political Children! But away with odious Comparisons, and to the Purpose.

Till my next leisure Hour, Farewell!

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R IV.

NO sooner had Haquin wedded the Daughter of Danemarch, and got himself settled on that Throne, than he began to slight his antient Kingdom, removed his Court, and settled his Residence entirely in his new Kingdom; judging it sufficient to govern his old Realm by a Viceroy or Substitute.

For the greatest Part of the Reign of this King and Queen, the Jealousies of the duped Nordwegians were prevented from rising to any visible Extremes,

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by keeping up the Forms of a Court at Bergen, and sending one of the most respectable and powerful of the Nobility, and sometimes one of the Royal Family, to convoke the Dyets and to hold the Reins of Government in that nearly abandoned Kingdom.

But these gnawing discontents of the Nordwegians were calmed, or rather suppressed for a while, by the Death of Haquin, who was a proud Man, of an haughty, imperious and fiery Spirit, which the Wisdom of his Queen was barely able to moderate.

Upon this King's Death, his Son, Olaus VI. a well disposed, but weakly Youth, was called to the Throne of Danemarch, and, for Want of knowing a fitter or a more likely to protect them, he was soon after acknowledged as their King by the Nordwegians; not without some Murmurings of Discontent against the Issue of a King who had abandoned them, and the Queen of a People who looked upon their Kingdom with so evil an Eye as the Danes.

But knowing no better Expedient, they submitted. They were very agreeably disappointed in their Apprehensions: For the young King was entirely governed by the Counsels of his Mother, which were equally wise and just. They had a Viceroy, once in a Year, in peaceable Times; and had their Dyet annually convoked. But in Wars and Troubles, a Viceroy was seldom sent, and then a Stranger was appointed, who made but a short Residence among them; which prevented their Animosities subsiding.

Olaus, being Grandson of Magnus Samech, late King of Swedeland, he demanded that Crown, which was sometimes permitted to descend in a Kind of hereditary Succession, as all the Northern Crowns on some Occasions were: But this hopeful King's premature Death prevented his seeing his Demands fulfilled, as they were in some Measure in his Mother.

As I desire to accommodate myself to the Capacities of my Readers, of which, under the Rose, I have not the highest Opinion ; I wish I knew some Means of conveying to them, just Ideas of a Character which I fear is beyond the Conceptions of the ordinary Politic-mongers of the Age.

Most of you have read, at least the News-Paper Accounts of that illustrious Heroine, and at present faithful Friend and Ally of our Country, whose House, for its many conspicuous Virtues, particularly in preserving the Freedom of the Elections of Emperors of Germany and Kings of the Romans, in moderating the Rigour of ecclesiastical Tyranny, and propagating and protecting the Protestant Religion, and in supporting a Branch of the Royal Family of Britain in its just and lawful Title to a Principality and Electorate in the Holy Roman Empire, if not to a Kingdom ; and for other like Excellencies, has been for Ages supported at the Expence of many Thousands of Lives and several Millions of British Pounds. In searching the same Legends, you have read of the present chaste and pacific Empress of Russia, or perhaps of the late magnanimous Czarina : Put all their Sense and all their Virtues together ; they could convey but a faint Idea of Margaret of Danemarch.

Some of you may possibly remember, or have heard your Grannums talk of, her, who, for a while raised the Glory of her Country, and shook the neighbouring Tyrant's Throne, before false Counsellors in her Decline of Health, diminished the Lustre of her Reign, our Royal Anne ; but even here, the Comparison will hardly hold.

Are there any among you who know any Thing of the Golden Days of that Paragon of good Princes, the Wise, the Learned, the Magnanimous, the Public-spirited, the Patriot, the Great, the good Queen Elizabeth ; she, who gave every just Encouragement to good Sense, Learning, Valour, Arts, Science-

and Commerce; who paid due regard to Merit in the humblest Station; promoted the Virtuous and Wise, regardless of their Ranks and Fortunes; who bestowed the public Employments upon Men that were capable of discharging the Trust, rather than on Courtiers that wanted them; who by the Prudence and Justice of her Conduct, suppressed and frustrated Plots at Home; and by her Wisdom and Fortitude, dissolved Conspiracies of the most powerful States about her against her and her People; she, whose Frown struck Terror into more than Half the Globe, while she secured the Peace and Freedom, the Greatness of her own Subjects, so as to make them envied by the Rest of Mankind? If to this glorious Character you add the best Part of that of Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, without any of her Faults, you may form an Idea of our Heroine.

Upon the Death of her Son Olaus, the Danes and Nordwegians chose Margaret for their Queen. She took her Sister's Grandson, Erick, called Pomeran, from his Country, to be her Associate in the Government: She waged War against the Swedes, defeated them, and took their King, Albert, Prisoner; soon after which, the States of Swedeland declared for Margaret, and chose her their Queen.

She detained the conquered King with his Son, Prisoners, till they formally and solemnly renounced all Pretensions to the Throne of Swedeland. Upon which, she got Erick chosen King in his Place.

All this had not redounded much to the Honour of this Queen, in the Estimation of cool Heads, had she not visibly taken all these Pains for the manifest Interests of the Northern Kingdoms, without any Tincture of private Views: This is evident from her causing a general Assembly of the States of Swedeland, Danemarch, and Nordweg to meet at Calmar, in the Year 1395, where, by the persuasive Force of her Wisdom and Eloquence, she brought the States

States readily to agree to a Scheme of Polity, which she had framed, calculated upon the wholesome Principles of the antient Polity of the three Kingdoms, which she now revived for the common Good of them all.

In order to unite these three Kingdoms effectually, and prevent the Bloodshed and Desolation, which continual Struggles for their several Crowns, upon the Death of almost every Prince occasioned; this wise and worthy Queen now proposed, that the three Kingdoms should be, to all Intents and Purposes, united under one common Head, constituting but one elective Monarchy; that, upon the Demise of the reigning Prince, or during his Lifetime, by his Consent, the Successor should be elected and declared, by the joint, equal Suffrages of the States, of the three Nations in Diet assembled; that each Kingdom should be governed by it's own Laws and Customs, defended by it's own Troops, by whom alone all the Fortresses should be garrisoned, and that no Foreign Soldiers or armed Men, even from any one of the united Kingdoms, should upon any Pretence enter the other, without the general Consent of the States; that no Stranger should be ennobled, or preferred to any civil or military Employment, or to any ecclesiastical Benefice, and that in each Kingdom, it's own Natives, being found equal in Merit to those of the others, should always be preferred; and that the General Diet should be composed of the States of the three Kingdoms in equal Numbers, and should for the future assemble once every Year on a stated Day at Helmstadt, in the Province of Halland, and as often as the Emergencies of the State should require, upon the King's Summons.

Thus Margaret immortalised herself, by contriving that Union, which bore the Name of Calmar, where the States freely, joyously, thankfully gave it their Solemn Sanction; the good Effects of which nothing

but the Perverseness of human Nature could obstruct.

The heroic Queen, now pleased with the happy Prospect, she had thus provided for the People, resigned, with greater Pleasure than she had ascended the Throne, and soon after, about the Year 1396, had the additional Satisfaction of seeing a grateful, free People chuse her Kinsman and Coadjutor, Erick, her Successor. She lived retired the Remainder of her Life; and changed it for Immortality in the Year 1412.

Erick gives us fatal Proof of the sad Uncertainty of human Affairs. He soon forgot or despised the Union of Calmar, which alone entitled him to a Crown; he governed by his Passions, without any Regard to Law, and soon rendered the wise Provisions of the Great Queen Margaret useless.

He despised all his Subjects, and held them in great Contempt, making some despicable Foreigners his Minions and chief Confidants. This irritated the Swedes and disgusted the Danes. But of all the Kingdoms, he despised Nordweg most, and was pleased with every Opportunity of shewing his disregard: For he seemed to disclaim their Affection; tho' he was afterwards forced to seek it, when he could not presume to meet the States General at Helmstadt.

The King's growing and visible Contempt of the Nordwegians was daily increased by a jealousy, which his favourite Subjects the Danes strongly expressed. These cried out, that the Nordwegians were a strong, a bold, an hardy, a numerous and a warlike People; that they had many convenient Ports and Harbours, and lay between them and the Northwest Trade, and that they must prove dangerous Rivals to Danemarch, if the Government did not find Means of humbling them, of suppressing their warlike Spirit, restraining their Trade, and bringing them into strict Subjection to the Diet of Danemarch; without which, they thought themselves in perpetual

tual Danger, notwithstanding the King's fixing, at the present, his Residence among them, of becoming in some Time dependant on Nordweg.

This perverse Spirit grew daily stronger, and shewed itself more and more in every succeeding King of Danemarch, as well as in the whole People. And for its Gratification, it was judged expedient to abridge the Viceroy's Stay among them, as well as to send Persons of inferior Note and sometimes the most contemptible, the most abandoned and detested of the Cast Courtiers, to serve that once honorable and important Office; and after a while, it was made a Rule of Danish Policy not to suffer a Native of Nordweg to come into that or indeed any of the other great Offices of the Kingdom; which were henceforth to be filled with Danes only.

Dupes as the Nordwegians long remained, they could not always continue insensible of these Sights and Oppressions. It could not fail of giving a more sensible and spirited Aversion to the Danes and all their Measures of Administration, and raising such a general Distrust in the Crown, that they began in some succeeding Reigns to enquire into the Causes of these Impositions, to dread worse Calamities, and to propose to one another some Means of redressing the present and obviating future dreaded Grievances.

The Nordwegians had yet retained just Sense enough to resent this illegal and unjust Treatment, and some went so far as to judge themselves bound to pay no Regard to a King, who trampled the Union of Calmar and the other Laws under Foot; and therefore resolved to chuse a King for themselves.

Various Persons were by angry Heads, in tumultuous Assemblies, proposed; but few found equal to the Task. The Court had had Charms enough to attract all the Nobility of Weight to Danemarch; where they found Means of running out their Fortunes, and then were content to rely on the King for Subsistence. The

Clergy, who in all Countries flourish best within the Verge of a Court, went in Flocks thither. Many of the considerable Burgeſſes thought it not proper to live in a Country thus deſerted; and the few that remained with the Peaſantry were ſo divided for Want of Heads or Leaders, that all their Attempts, promiſing no Succeſs, were at length laid aſide in a Kind of Deſpondency.

This, to the Court, and indeed to all the Danes, appeared a complete Victory; they triumphed greatly upon it; and ever after, affected to look upon the Nordwegians as a ſpiritleſs, even as a conquered People, who for the future were to be treated as ſuch, by impoſing not only Kings, but all other Officers of State upon them, without any Regard to the Union of Calmar or their Concurrence in the Election, and ruling them by Laws, to which they could not give their Conſent. The very characteristic of Slavery!

Here began the Tyranny of the Danes, and the Reduction, the Slavery of the duped Nordwegians. And from this Æra I date the Downfall of Denmark, which Mr. Moſeworth tells us took it's Riſe, and came to a Concluſion within the Compaſs of four Days only.

The poor Nordwegians were not intirely inſenſible of the Ruin like to enſue theſe violent Outrages. And what rendered their Grievances the more intollerable, they ſaw themſelves utterly deprived of all Means of redreſſing them: Their Navy was neglected and reduced; their Councils broken and headleſs; and no probable Means of extricating themſelves from the preſent, or of obviating future Calamities, could offer amidſt the direful Confuſion that muſt have attended this Shock.

All this however might hardly have kept the enraged Populace quiet. There was a more powerful Motive. They, as well as the Danes had long had a Jealouſy of the Swedes, which at Times broke out
into

into furious Wars, which always kept up a mortal Enmity between the three Nations. This made the Nordwegians dread a falling out with Danemarch, the Consequence of which might be falling under the more dreaded Yoke of Swedeland : The one they as yet looked upon as a somewhat less Evil than the other ; and therefore let their Resentment to the Danes seem to subside in Hopes of a fairer Opportunity of regaining their lost Liberties.

In this Dilemma, they received some Satisfaction from the seeming Lenity, or rather the Cunning of the King, who sent his near Kinsman, Bogislaus, Son to the new Duke of Pomerania, to be their Viceroy. The Splendor of this Prince's Court brought back some of the Nobles, Clergy, and Burgeffes, who had for some Time attended the Court at Danemarch. It pleased the Rest, while it served to amuse the Paisantry and the whole Populace.

Now, they begin to conceive some Hopes of a Restoration of their Government to the proper Channel, and seemed to be contented with the Shadow of Majesty in a Viceroy ; provided the other Parts of the Administration were carried on in the legal Form and Course.

This Governor finding out the Disposition of the People, studying his own Ease, and above all, judging violent Measures dangerous and destructive of the Ends in View, which were, by all means to subjugate the Nordwegian State to that of Danemarch ; agreed to the summoning an Assembly of the States.

This greatly rejoiced the People in general, bespoke a Regard to the Crown, and raised a great Confidence in the Viceroy.

The Diet was freely chosen and met in seeming good Humour. The Viceroy declared his Commis-
sion, the tender Regard, the King, his Kinsman and Master, bore them, and his Determination to preserve their Rights and Liberties ; shewed that it was

not then in his Power to come in Person to visit them; but that he should ever be attentive to their true Interest. Said, that his Majesty demanded nothing but what they judged proper for the Support of their Establishment. Recommended the Review of the Laws, due Care of their Land and Naval Forces; the Extension of Trade; the Improvement of Arts, and every Thing else that was popular.

This, like a Charm, instantly, effectually regained the Affections of the People. In Answer to it, each House made a proper Address to the Viceroy. Soon after, some proposed the granting of Subsidies; but wiser Heads thought it best to begin with electing a King. This could not fail of giving some Alarm to the Court. But, all Fears were removed by finding they only meant to chuse for themselves the same King, they had before chosen at the ineffectual Union, and prevent his being imposed upon them by the Danes; so they passed an Act electing the present King in Form, as they had done some of his Predecessors.

When this passed all the Forms and received the Royal Assent, not before, the several States made their respective Addresses to the King. The Nobles and the Clergy would have done it sooner; but dreaded to bring upon them the Resentment of the Burghers and Paisants, which must have been followed by that of the People at large.

When this was done, Subsidies were granted, and every other Part of the publick Business was dispatched to the general Satisfaction of the Court, as well as to that of the Country, who had now lodged a mutual Confidence in each other. And all being brought to a Conclusion, the Session ended in all Appearance, happily.

Nothing of any remarkable Controversy arose during this Session; except some Disputes about certain Forms of Procedure both in the Diet and in the supreme Court of Judicature. To complete these,

these, new Laws were proposed. But these Motions were artfully opposed by some, who moved, that they should be referred to the King and supreme Court of Judicature at Danemarch; where, it was presumed, there were not only Men of Indifference and Integrity, but Lawyers perfectly knowing in the fundamental Laws of all these Northern States, which stood upon much the same Basis.

None had Penetration enough to see through this artful Motion, which for Peace Sake past. Nothing could please the Court and all the Danes more than such an Application to them, as seemed to acknowledge a Superiority in that Court. The Court therefore took it into solemn Consideration, and most formally, indeed satisfactorily, decided the Question, and sent it pompously ingrossed, under the Seal of the Court, as a solemn Decree.

This being done to the Satisfaction of the Movers of the Question, was, upon their Motion, also received and recorded as a final Decision of the Points in Dispute. But it has proved the most fatal Stumbling-Block, that could be thrown in the Way of a falling People: This laid the first Foundation for the Danes or their Courts assuming any Sort of Superiority over those of Nordweg. And from this single Application to their King at a Distance, for his paternal Advice and Interposition to solve the Doubts and compose the Misunderstandings of his Nordwegian Subjects, have the Danes ever since claimed a Superiority in Jurisdiction to the supreme Judicature in Nordweg, and subjected the People, at immense Hazards and intollerable Expences, to appeal from the Determination of their Court, to that of Danemarch, from that Day to this.

It is hard to say, that the first Kings, who ruled at once Nordweg, Danemarch, and Swedeland, should so early, and while their Titles to the Throne was but elective, lay Schemes to enslave the former first,
to

to facilitate their Intentions of including the latter in the same Yoke.

But it shews, that all supreme Magistrates, let their Title be what it may, and whoever is to succeed to their Authority, are ever grasping at Power. This is a Lesson to all Men, that regard their Freedom or that of their Posterity, to watch and guard against every, the slightest Incroachment of their Magistrates; since those, who are possessed of the Power, are seldom or never found to give up any Point, that tends to strengthen or enlarge their Dominion. Nero wished that all Mankind had but one Head; only for the Difficulty he found to manage the many. No King likes to head more than one considerable Government, and to this would make all his more distant Territories subservient.

How far our Schemes of Policy prove Exceptions to this Rule is very obvious; when all the World knows, as well as you, that the remotest Dominions of our Crown have their free and independant Parliaments, Councils, &c. where nothing is demanded, nothing done, but in due Course of Law; and that the Subjects are universally governed by Laws, to which they give their Consent; which denominate a free People, from whom, all Marks of present Fear of future Slavery are far removed. But no more of this; since Home is perfectly secure by the Means of wise and uncorrupt Councils and formidable foreign Forces, without any Likelihood of being infested by a Mob of Militia; let us amuse ourselves wisely at the Expence of our Neighbours; looking unconcerned at the various Revolutions and Declensions of their States, upon the never-failing Assurance of our infallible Security at Home.

When I thus endeavour to amuse the plodding Politic-mongers of this and the neighbouring Isle, and to divert them from the dangerous and now epidemic Frenzy of reading News-papers, and thinking and speaking

speaking of Naval Equipments and Engagements; of hanging or burning untried, unheard, presumed Offenders; of Game Acts, Militias, against Foreign Troops, and other such like Matters, that must ever lie beyond the Conception of the Vulgar, and such as are not deeply versed in the impenetrable Secrets and profound Mysteries of State-Managers; I expect to be attended to, and to find that my Labours are not in vain; that you smoke your Tobacco in silence, and touch no more upon Home Politics; and that you follow me through the colder Climates of the North. Adieu!

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R V.

The Causes of the Destruction of the Free Governments of Nordweg and Danemarch continued.

MOST supreme Magistrates, by whatsoever Titles they are distinguished, unavoidably shew an Aversion to the calling of Councils. Most Men have an insatiable Lust for Power. Pride rises generally in proportion to the Zeal or imaginary Extent of Power possessed. And, being forced to consult Men, looked upon as his inferiors by infinite Odds, must be no small Mortification to him, that is, or would be, a Monarch; as it must hurt his Pride; and may curb his Ambition.

In this illuminated, happy Age, it may be difficult to conceive this in Britain, whose Kings, for Ages past, as well as this, have been so illustrious an Exception to this Observation, that none dare charge them or their Substitutes, in the remotest Parts of the Dominions, with having shewn any Unwillingness to meet and consult their Parliaments; when they were composed of Men to their mind, or appointed for a sufficient length of Time, to learn the Duty of Members to their Sovereign, or his Representatives.

Since then, annual and triennial Parliaments are by sage and deep penetrating Heads deemed dangerous

rous to the People, or unfit for the Purposes of our Wise and Righteous Rulers ; free-elected, uncorrupt, yea, uncorruptible Parliaments, appointed to serve the Length of an ordinary Apprenticeship, or occasionally longer, if they see it expedient ; have been called to assemble every Year ; to the Honour of the Sovereign, the Happiness of the People in general, and the particular Satisfaction, not to say emolument, of the Majority of the Parliament. And whatever might have been transacted by them ; on the Behalf of the Crown, it is notorious, that nothing has been demanded, in the Memory of Man, here or in Ireland, by the King or his Lieutenant, more than the usual, necessary Supplies. Then, to shew to what a Pitch, the Patriot Spirit has improved here, beyond any thing known in any other Nation, or in this, in any former Time ; instead of our Members receiving Wages from their Constituents for every Day they served in one of the short Sessions of their Antient annual Parliaments ; we see generous, great Men now, not only soliciting for the Service, but spending Eight or Ten Thousand Pounds, yea, sacrificing their whole Fortunes and sometimes running the Risk of their Lives, to have the Satisfaction of serving the Public, without demanding any Wages of them ; and that not for a Twelvemonth or so, but for Seven long Years or more. Let any Age or Country boast as much. And who but a Fool, can throw away a thought upon the Public Concerns committed to the Conduct of such Wise and Virtuous Hands?—But, I see, I insensibly catch Infection from the bad Company one meets now a Days in every public Place, where incoherent, jarring Sounds of Ministry—Admiralty—Standing Armies—Fleets—Foreign Mercenaries—Law—Justice—Courage—Parliament—Virtue—Execution—Promotion—Invasion, &c. &c. grates our Ears from every puny Whipster, whose Mouth is not filled with Tea or Tobacco.

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Whatever might have been the Dispositions of the Kings of Nordweg, while they kept their Court in that Kingdom; they now thought no more of it, than as of a necessary Appendage to Danemarch, or rather as a Tract of Land, that they wished destroyed, rather than preserved, and only kept it in their Hands, to keep it out of the Hands of neighbouring Powers, who might render it in all Respects formidable to its new Tyrants. One only Advantage, was seen in keeping it, by the Court, and for which alone, a Shadow of the antient Government was kept there from Time to Time; the Advantage was this.

The late, well instructed, Royal Viceroy settled the Schemes of the Court so well, that certain Finances were granted in perpetuity to the Crown. These were given on a pretence of easing the Subject of all future Impositions; to enable the King to support the civil Establishment, as it then stood among them; and to maintain a sufficient Force by Land and Sea to defend the State.

These Grants raised considerable Sums more than was expended in the Service of that Government; and this, the Present and all succeeding Kings applied to what Purposes they thought fit, in Danemarch, Jutland or elsewhere. So that in some succeeding Reigns, we shall find it applied to the worst Purposes, that could be devised; to debauch, to make and to pay Prostitutes of various Denominations: Sometimes the Court Sycophants of Danemarch, and sometimes the Royal Handmaids got Pensions upon the Nordwegian Establishment; sometimes, it was given to corrupt a Danish Election, or to bribe the Elected, by way of present or annual Pension. And thus Nordweg became a convenient privy Purse to the King; who did not think himself accountable to the Diet of either Kingdom for any Sums, he could draw thence; for, at Nordweg, the King's Mandate for any Sum

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was allowed by the States a sufficient Discharge for the Treasurer. This however was attended with some useful Consequences; for, on account of this alone, every King thought himself interested in protracting the Ruin of Nordweg upon which the Danes were long intent. How widely different from the political Oeconomy of the King and People of these happy Kingdoms? O! Wise, O! Great and happy Britons! Scots! And Hibernians!

It is scarce possible for a modern honest Briton to believe that such abominable Perverseness could get footing in human Hearts: We are to bless our Fate, who find, that no King so wicked as to demand perpetual Taxes, no Parliament so foolish, so slavish, so perfidious as to grant them, ever infested any Part of our happy Dominions; and especially when we find no Part of the Funds, calculated for the Support of the States, are or can be squandered upon Panders and Parasites, or to efface all Sense of Virtue and Freedom, by bribing and corrupting the Servants of the States. While this is the Case, Britain may exult, assured of the Permanence of her Freedom and Power, and look down with Pity and Contempt on those despicable People, that with their Virtue have necessarily lost their Liberty. Thanks to the propitious Stars! Such Slaves are far removed from these free Kingdoms; therefore, let us look abroad; and trace out the Causes of the downfall of Danemarch, if you do not Freeze in the Climate, or Narrative.

These Subsidies, thus secured in Perpetuity to the Crown; it was now judged quite unnecessary to be at the Expence of sending a Viceroy to reside in Nordweg continually. Therefore, one was sent there once in Two or Three Years and sometimes only occasionally, when the Court wanted to give some of it's Schemes the Sanction of the Diet. And then, Somebody of inferior Note served the Purpose, whose stay there was no longer than the executing his Commission; which generally succeeded within the Compass of a few Months. This

This could not fail of shocking the more sensible Nordwegians, who murmured at it in Secret. The less Discreet cried out loudly against it. But, each soon saw the Folly of their ill-timed feeble Resistance: Their Diet had given perpetual Subsidies to the Crown, and these kept up a standing Army, before unknown in Nordweg, constantly on Foot, and now able, and ordered, to keep the whole People in Awe and Subjection. But, the Impositions of the Government did not stop here. When these Oppressions went quietly down, others were soon after imposed. The Diet was by antient Laws to be elected, as well as convoked, every Year. This, the Court judged troublesome; and ever hereafter summoned the old Diet occasionally, without any new Election, during the Life of the Member or the King, unless upon some Dislike, they were dissolved. So a Seat in the Diet of Nordweg was reckoned for Life. An Evil unknown in these free Kingdoms.

Thus were the Danes gratified by the duping and enslaving these mistaken Objects of their Dread and Envy, by overturning their political Constitution. In consequence of which, they thought themselves bound in Gratitude to make some Return to their co-operating King; whom they now considered as a victorious Hero, that had just vanquished their most dangerous Foes: The King, (how unlike our most gracious Kings of Britain!) Resolved to avail himself of the political Complacency of the Danish Subjects. He prudently resolved not to be too High in his Demands, and therefore at first contented himself with desiring, that the Appointment of the great Officers of the State, of the Senators, of the Burgo-masters, or chief Magistrates of Towns and Cities, and of the Landgraaves, or Governors of Counties, Officers bearing some Analogy to our Shirereeves or Sheriffs, should be veiled solely in the Crown.

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Though this was a Demand of a most extraordinary Nature, one which no good King could make, and which no wise, free People could grant; yet, after some inconsiderable Opposition in the House of Peasants, it passed into a Law. So that the infatuated Danes, by giving into the Hands of the King, this exorbitant Power, of nominating all these great Officers, the Judges and Executioners of the Laws and the Presidents in the Elections of the Members of the two most considerable States of the Legislature, gave the Crown an Interest and an Influence, which these short sighted Mortals did not at first apprehend, and whose dire Effects, in process of Time, they severely felt.

What Briton can decline exulting, who sees how clear our righteous Kings have kept from the like destructive Ambition? How far our wise and faithful Parliaments, from such slavish, such perfidious Concessions? This King and his People might have been great and happy, had he but squared his Conduct by the Union of Calmar, or the other Laws of the Land, or by any Rules of Honour or good Policy. He set out, by the Agreement of the three States, King of Nordweg, Danemarch and Swedeland; and for a while, pleased them all. But in Time, he forgot himself, began to be intoxicated with his great Power; thought it could never end; and judged he might rule each Kingdom sometimes arbitrarily, provided he could keep upon Terms with the two Others. He began with alienating a Part of the Territories of Danemarch; the Island of Rugen, which he granted in perpetuity to his Kinsmen and Successors, the Dukes of Pomarania. This, the Danes bore with, for a while. When he thought the Resentment of the Danes had subsided; he made his next Attack on the Rights of the Swedes. He made free with the Public Treasure, violated the Privileges of the Diet in many Instances, particularly
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in filling the vacant Employments of the State, giving them to Foreigners, his Pomeranian followers, without the Consent of the Senate or the States.

The Preferment of Foreigners caused great Jealousies. These gradually rose to sharp Discontents, which made the People at length cry aloud, that the King did not govern them agreeable to his Coronation Oath.

He was now disturbed by these growing Discontents, to such a Pitch, that he thought it necessary for his Ease and Safety to retire into Gothland. Where, he meditated, and to his Confidants spoke of, the appointing a Successor to the Thrones; for which he named his Kinsman and trusty Viceroy in Nordweg, his Couzin Bogislaus, now Duke of Pomerania.

His residing in Gothland gave Offence to all the States. But his presuming to appoint a Successor enraged the Danes excessively. The two Kingdoms cried out at once against him, (Nordweg by Oppression being put out of the Question;) and almost unanimously agreed to cast him off, as an abandoned, perjured Tyrant. They therefore degraded and obliged him to quit the States for ever. He, with Reluctance and by Force, obeyed, returned to Pomerania, where in melancholy Madness, he ended his unhappy Life, bereft of his Dukedom, his Crowns and his Senses, about the Year 1439. A sad, but just Example to Tyrants!—Quite unnecessary to be shewn in Britain.

Upon the Deposition of this Tyrant, his Nephew, Christopher Duke of Bavaria was elected King, a Man of an inoffensive, pacific Disposition, who took Things, and left them, as he found them, without giving much Satisfaction or great Dissatisfaction to any of the States. He died peaceably in 1448.

After the Death of Christopher, the Danes would have chosen Adolphus, Duke of Sleswick, their King; but he declined it, on Account of his Infirmary and Age, recommending to them his Nephew, Christiern, Count of Oldenburgh. And in these Families, the Crowns of Nordweg as well as Danemarch continued by a Sort of Rotation, in General more like an hereditary Succession than a free Election.

During the Reigns of *Christopher* and *Christiern I.* no Diet was assembled in Nordweg, excepting the second Year of the later; and then nothing more was done, than acceding to the Election, before made by the Danes. The People now began clearly to see the Perfidy of the Kings of Danemarch, as well those they had acknowledged, as those that were imposed upon them by the Insolence and Cruelty of the Danes, whose galling Jealousy and strong Aversion, the Nordwegians could not fail of perceiving very sensibly.

It is easier to conceive than describe the heart Burnings, the Distresses and Anguish of the poor broken Nordwegians, when they saw the wretched Pass, to which they were unthinkingly reduced. In vain, they made various Attempts to break their Bonds and to set up a King of their own choosing: They found themselves beset with false Brethren, who betrayed their best Schemes, and with a standing Army, whose Force they were never able to Stem; so that every Struggle, this unhappy People now made to regain their Liberty, served but to rivet on their Chains the faster; while every King, who laid any new Imposition upon them, was sure of receiving some Addition to his Power over the Danes, by the ill-judged Concessions of a stupid, besotted, corrupt People, who in Time fell into the like Pit, with that, which their unhal-
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lowed Hands had dug for their unoffending, their inoffensive Brethren of Nordweg.

How hardly can Free Britons conceive, that any Country should produce such cruel, such short-sighted Slaves, as the Earth-born Race of Danes! While Nordweg and Danemarch were in Hearts, as in Name, united; while they had one common Head to govern them, one common Interest to serve; no Power could prevail against them; they must have been able to support each other against the utmost efforts of Tyranny, at Home or from Abroad, to break their Union, or to abridge their Liberties. Nothing but Jealousy could disunite them. That hellish Passion, combined with Envy, filled the malignant Breasts of the Danes, and made them run every Risk to their own Freedom and Peace, to overturn or destroy those of the Nordwegians.

It must be confessed, they succeeded to their utmost wishes: They saw all their Schemes against the Nordwegians take Place, to their entire Satisfaction: These were gradually spoiled of every Thing that sensible Men hold dear: They were restrained in their Trade, and completely bereft of their Liberties. But, no sooner were the Nordwegians thus entirely inflaved, than the succeeding Kings of Danemarch judged they might now with Safety and Success, practice upon the Danes, those very Arts, which they had taught, and which proved so successful in overturning the States of Nordweg.

To this, the Tyrants had no Obstacles to dread; as the Powers of the only Country, that might have been interested in supporting the Danes, in any Emergency, were now reduced, and the peoples Aversion raised to Extremes against the Authors of their grievous Calamities. But, let us trace out the principal Means, by which these once

free States were reduced to the abject Vassallage, with which they are now broken and disgraced. This will properly fall under our Consideration in the next and succeeding Reigns, which are to be reserved for the Subject of subsequent Letters; if these be read.

Let me conclude this with observing, what a Fund of boundless Joy is laid up for us Britons, when we can see ourselves and Posterity out of all Danger, all Possibility of suffering any Thing like the Fate of this forlorn People; as the Genius and Measures of our Government and Administration are as different, as the Climates in which we live. O! comfortable Infallibility! O! glorious Security!

Let me not then find that one of you quits one favourite Diversion, to think seriously of any thing, especially in State Affairs. Spend your Mornings in Visiting and Gaming. And for your Evenings, solicit some of the late great *Minorca* Ministers, to secure you an Italian Opera; but let the Females be qualified as the Male-warblers are, to prevent such disappointments, as in the last. Then suppress all English Operas, for the better Support of the Foreign mutilated Choristers. See if you can also get an unintelligible Burletto, and by all Means, engage a set of French Tragicomedians, and dancing Dogs. At the same Time, see that the British Theatre be enslaved by Law or kept in servile Subjection by lawless Force. Be all Managers, and rejoice in your own Noise and Confusion of all Order and Decorum. Recall the wandering Mother Midnight to revive her Oratory; and when the squeamish Magistrates will not suffer you to enjoy these innocent, edifying Amusements, till the fourth Commandment be repealed; go to the Coffee-house, in the Morning, to read this Paper, if you be not better engaged at Cards, and in the Evening, indulge your Devotion, or take a Nap with
Orator H——. Let

Let me not for the World find you with wrinkled Brows and Arms infolded, crying, *there was a Time—there may be Men—We could if we would—In the next Session—account for Misconduct—If the M——y was Honest and Wise——If Patriot Orators——If P—— could be depended on——The city Remonstrate*, or any other of the like mis-giving Sayings or doubtful Insinuations. Leave these Things to proper Hands. Look upon them as out of your Spheres. Be not faithless, but believing. Think that all things are Right and return to your pretious trifling. In which, you may now and then be assisted by,

YOURS, &c.

L E T T E R VI.

Concerning the something Rotten in the State of Danemarch.

THE inflaved Nordwegians at the Death of every King of Danemarch, flattered themselves with hopes of obtaining some Redress in the Successor.

Upon the Death of the late King, his Son John was called to the Throne of Danemarch, and as of course, ruled over Nordweg, under the same Title, which was afterwards formally ratified by the Nordwegians. This became a bold aspiring Prince, and, like others invested with the same Rank, thought of nothing less than extending the Power of the Crown and constituting an hereditary, absolute Monarchy in his Family.

This King had more Craft than most of his Predecessors, and practised it, to all his Purposes, with great Success. He determined to aggrandise himself and his Family. And saw, the only Way of effecting his Intentions, was at first to affect a Mildness and a sort of Indifference, in Matters of Go-

vernment; seeming to leave all to the Senate and Diet; in each of which, he first took care to secure some trusty Agents, powerful enough to prevent any Measures, disagreeable to their Master, being taken, if not to carry his Schemes into Execution.

Having made this intended Impression on the Minds of his Danes, secured to himself the utmost Prerogatives possessed by the most ambitious of his Predecessors, and gained some new Points in the Diet; he next, cast his Eye towards Nordweg, where he found the People labouring under distresses and Discontents, not easily aswaged. These, he judged might prove some Bars to his Designs; therefore, necessary to be removed.

He resolved on sending a Viceroy to Nordweg, and pitched upon Baron Gortsman, a Nobleman of an antient Nordwegian Family, of a considerable Fortune, of a smooth, mild Deportment, with Cunning and Resolution to execute any Schemes.

The Appointment of a Viceroy of any kind, could not fail of comforting and reviving the drooping Spirits of the poor Nordwegians. They liked the Man appointed, and longed to receive him. He arrived amidst the Acclamations of the People; who soon rejoiced more highly upon his giving them to understand, that he came to call a Diet, in which the King resolved, the States should correct past Errors in Government, redress Grievances and provide against future Evils, of every kind.

This Declaration, which was shortly after enlarged and ratified, in a Speech upon opening the Assembly of the States, gave the most universal Satisfaction. And the Diet, as in a kind of Transport, seemed to have forgot their intended Demands, to give up the long sought Redress of Wrongs, and to rest contented with the Clemency of the King and his Vicegerent.

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However, they had the Wisdom to re-elect the King or rather to recognise his Title; and then, to thank him for his paternal Care of them and to give Assurances of their strict Fidelity and Obedience to him and his noble Viceroy.

Yet, amidst the strongest mutual Assurances of Love and Duty past between the King and Diet; some Accidents arose, that had well nigh frustrated all their Schemes for Peace.

During the Time, in which the Diet was not called in Nordweg, in which many Tumults and Insurrections were raised throughout the Country, though quelled before they could take Effect; the Danes took upon them to make many Ordinances or Statutes to bind the Nordwegians, without their Consent; hoping thereby to fix upon them the Character of Slavery, indelibly.

It was moved in the House of Peasants, that all such Laws as were at that or any other Time imposed upon them without the Consent of the States legally convoked, which alone could give just Validity to Law, should be rescinded and declared not only null and void, but contrary to the Rights of the Nordwegian Subjects, which stood upon as firm a Basis as those of Danemarch or any other State. To these, some Terms were added, which charged Cruelty and Perfidy more strongly on the Danes and the several preceding Kings, than were thought consistent with the Peace and Concord, at present necessary to be preserved, for the crafty Purposes of the Crown.

All this met with no Opposition in the House of Burgesses. But, the Clergy softened it more to the Taste of the Court. And in the Nobles, who had lived for some Time mostly in Danemarch, it would have been quite rejected, had not the prudent Viceroy feared it's incensing the Diet and the uni-
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versal Populace, to the frustrating his favourite Schemes.

This artful Minister gave his Minions to understand, and they industriously propagated it, that there were many wholesome Laws included in those, they were now going to reject, and that it was better to adopt them and all the other good Laws of Danemarch, that related to Government, by receiving and giving them the Sanction of the Diet, which he was ready to affirm, than hazard the losing the Opportunity by their unseasonable Disputes. To which was added, that if the Diet should afterwards agree upon a Statute, declaring all Laws for the future made, in Danemarch or elsewhere, to bind Nordweg, without the Consent of the States, null and void; the Viceroy would readily give it the Royal Assent.

All cool and peaceable Heads agreed, that this was the best Expedient. So, the former Bill was put off to a long Day. A new one was Framed, receiving and approving all the Laws and laudable Customs of Danemarch, with respect to Government, and making them of perpetual Force and Obligation in Nordweg. And another Act was made, to render all Laws contrived for and offered to the Nordwegians, without the Consent of the States, null and void, and making it Penal in any Subject, of what Rank soever to enforce, attempt to enforce or pay Obedience to such.

This gave universal Content and gained the Viceroy the most unbounded Confidence of the People. They now looked upon themselves as restored to all their antient Rights and Privileges and secured in them by the Grace of the King and the Wisdom and Virtue of his Vicegerent.

The Viceroy now laid himself out for keeping up the Confidence of the People, thus reposed in him; as the only Expedient by which he might promise
Success

Success to his other Projects. He kept a sumptuous, open Court; was affable and placable; hospitable and liberal; and entertained the People with Sports, Shews, Interludes, Games and other Amusements, of such Kinds and Varieties, as surpassed the Conceptions of the wondering Nordwegians. He is said to be the first that introduced Music and Poetry into that Country. By which, he greatly softened and enervated that rough, and till then hardly civilized People. And it was in his Time, they first got a Tincture of Gaming. A Vice, which multiplied in future Reigns, and most of all Things tended to corrupt and deprave the Minds of the People, and thereby, to hasten their impending Destruction.

This great Governor was not contented with entertaining the People of the Capital with his Shews; but he had some Games instituted in different Parts of the Kingdom. And when he found the Notions of his Integrity were established beyond the reach of Suspicion and that his Sports fully engaged the Attention of the People; he purposed executing his grand Project. This, he imparted to his most trusty Minions in each Assembly of the States a few Days before he intended carrying it into Execution, and charged them, that without hinting at their Intentions, or his Designs, they should stay in Town and continue to sit and adjourn, for some Days.

In the mean Time, he determined to divert the Attention of those Members, whose Credulity he had raised in the former Parts of his Administration; so as to lull them into a most profound, stupid Inattention, by instituting Games of Tilts and Tournaments for several successive Days upon the Plains of Hisham, several Leagues distant from the Capital, to evade a Law, that wisely prohibited Sports and Interludes of all kinds being had within a certain

certain Distance of the Seat of the Government, during the Sittings of the Diet. Here, a magnificent Seat was erected for the chief Governor himself, who, as artfully was given out, would attend there in Person, during these Sports.

Had the Diet of Nordweg been as unmindful of Sports in the midst of their Sessions, as attentive to Business, as distrustful in their chief Magistrates, as watchful of their Conduct, as our most Wise and faithful Parliaments have in all Ages been of the Conduct of our Sovereigns; the most designing King or crafty Minister had never been able to dose the People into such a State of Stupidity, as to leave the Rulers such Opportunities, as they chose, to gain the wicked Ends they sought. With us, such Things are now judged absolutely impossible: We are not than to think about them.

The Nordwegians, seeming relieved from their late intolerable Burthens, by the apparent Clemency and Indulgence of the King and the Viceroy; fell into such a State of Tranquility and Content, as Men freed from bodily or mental Pain are wont to enjoy. They began to forget their former Distresses, and giving themselves up to untasted Pleasures, set no Bounds to their Joys, but embraced every kind of Amusement that offered, with Eagerness.—Insensible! Thoughtless! Undone People! How unlike us Britons and Hibernians?

When the Viceroy found them wrought to this Pitch, the Games of Hisham were proclaimed. And when they began, as the crafty Governor judged it, all Ranks and Conditions flocked to see them. Scarce a Patriot Member of either House in the States could be found to deny himself the Enjoyment of a new Entertainment, though in the midst of the Session. Thither then all indiscriminately ran, as unsuspecting, as undesigning of ill.—Forlorn Wretches! Inattentive to all the calls of Reason, their Duty, their Country! The
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several Members of the States, who were intrusted with the Important, the fatal Secret, were faithful to their latter Trust, perfidious to the first and great One; their solemn Engagements to their falling Country. Who dare say, that any Thing like this was ever heard of in the great Councils of Britain, or Ireland? None; such fraud, such perfidy on the Part of King or Parliament, I hope, never has nor ever shall be found upon our spotless Records!

Now, while the Members, who lately bellowed till they were hoarse for Liberty and their Country, forgot their Charge, and were indulging in the wanton Sports, calculated to amuse them from their Duty; those, whom the subtle Viceroy corrupted for the nefarious Purposes of his perjured Master, neither slept nor slumbered, in their Task. The packed Remnant of the States met; the most active Ministers proposed the Scheme; which met with no delay, but from their Zeal in contending who should appear foremost in carrying it completely into Execution. A Bill framed upon the fatal Project took it's Rise and so suddenly and secretly past, without Opposition, through the several Estates, that not one of the Members, who suffered themselves to be diverted, by the lightest Trifles, from the most weighty and important Part of their Duty in Life, had the least Intimation even of the projecting such a Bill, till it past through all the Forms; so that those watchful Guardians of the Liberties of their Country came just time enough to the General Assembly to be the wretched Spectators of the last Agonies of their murdered Country; to be the sad Witnesses of the giving the Royal Assent to a Bill, in which it was enacted, that the States of the Realm should never presume to assemble, till upon the Remonstrance of the Viceroy to the King and Senate in Danemarch, Permission from the Crown, under the great Seal, should

should be obtained ; that, when thus by Permission assembled, they should not presume to frame any Bills or deliberate or debate upon any Matter, till the King and Senate were certified of the Expediency of such Bill and Matter to be debated, and had given the Royal Permission. And that no Bill, though thus permitted to be framed and past through all the Forms, should receive the Royal Assent before it should be presented to the King and the Senate in Danemarch, and by them solemnly approved, and returned under the great Seal. And to make the Bonds perpetual and unalterable ; it was additionally enacted, that disobedience to any Part of this Act should be deemed and punished as Treason ; and that the moving for or otherwise attempting the Repeal or Alteration of this Statute, without the Permission of the Crown, should be punished by Confiscation of Goods and Chattels to the Crown, and Imprisonment or Banishment of the offender's Person for Life or during the King's pleasure.

This great and fatal Work being finished, the Viceroy, in the Name of their most gracious Sovereign, thanked the faithful Diet for the extraordinary Regard, they paid the King, and the Favours, they had shewn his zealous Minister ; all manifested in that remarkable Readiness, that commendable Unanimity, with which they dispatched the public Business, particularly the last Act, which his Majesty and all his good People of Danemarch, had so much at Heart. He told them, he had now finished the great Work, to effect which, he had the Honour of being sent. That he must now take his Leave of them, by dissolving the Diet ; that they may return to the Country to enjoy the Sweetness of these Laws, they had so wisely provided and so unanimously past. And that, at his Return to the Royal Presence, he should not fail of representing

senting the Allegiance of the Diet and Subjects of Nordweg in the true Light. Horrible Treachery! Insolence! And Cruelty!

Did ever People pay so dear for Sports? Yes, all that suffer themselves by such Allurements to be diverted from the more Important calls in Life, must sooner or later share the like Fate every where; except in these happy Isles. Were it possible that such hellish Machinations as these could have been at any Time contrived against any Part of the Dominions of our Crown; free Britons must have been so far from receiving such an iniquitous Imposition, under the dread Sanction of Laws, that the Perpetrators of the nefarious Scheme could never escape condign Punishment: For, he that enslaves a British Subject any where; by Men tender of their Liberties as Britons were ever found, must ever be deemed a common Enemy of the worst Kind. Such is the Sense of Freedom, such the Genius of this happy Government!

How different was the Case in Danemarch? The Danes knew the Value of Freedom, and wished to enjoy it. But, they would not allow it to any others, not even to their neighbouring fellow Subjects of Nordweg; but to overturn or even to curtail the Liberties of this People, would voluntarily risk or even give up some Portion of their own. Though in the end, it will appear, that without overturning the Constitution of Nordweg, that of Danemarch could never have been endangered, much less have ingloriously fallen, as it has done, within the Compass of four Days, into the worst State of Vassallage in Europe.

The sporting Counsellors of betrayed Nordweg had hardly Time to get any Intimation of the Act, which they, fated and almost wearied with their Sports, precipitately ran to see past, the last Day of the Session. They never dreamed that any
Business

Business could be done in their Absence; and astonished at finding not only the general Assembly of the Diet sitting, but the Viceroy gone to put the finishing Hand to some important Business; they began to be alarmed, ran to the House, and just came in and took their Places, time enough to see the fatal Wound given their Country.—O! Well deserved Slavery! Had unoffending Posterity but escaped it!

Till the Diet was dissolved, these absent Members were not apprised of the Nature of the horrid Act. They had then Time to read it and repent their Folly and Baseness at their Leisure. It was not till then, they had Time to see, that their Inattention had betrayed and undone their Country.

The great Work being done, the Viceroy thought it prudent to retire, and so prepared all Things ready for his Departure, against the Time in which he should have executed his grand Design. Having therefore ordered a sufficient Guard of Horse and Foot to Escort him to the Water's side, conscious of Guilt, and consequent Danger; he embarked, and soon after arrived in Danemarch, where he was received with more universal Acclamations of the People, than at his first Arrival in Nordweg; and at last was honoured with the Caresses of Majesty, for his great and faithful Services, in compleatly subduing the Kingdom of Nordweg; as the first and great Step towards making him or his Successors Despotic in Danemarch.

We shall hereafter see how this Scheme wrought the Effect, unforeseen by the stupid, corrupt People, sought by the King; though it required much more Time, than it's wicked Projectors at first apprehended. How can we sufficiently admire the Excellency of the Governments of these confederate Isles? The Greatness and Goodness of our Kings? The Wisdom and Probity of the Legislatures? Their

Their unwearied Watchfulness and inviolable Regard to the public Liberties of their respective Kingdoms? Their acting in Harmony, in perfect Unity together? Their preventing all Jealousies and giving the People of both States, one common Interest to serve, which must ever connect and Strengthen them both, and keep the one, an impregnable Bulwark to the Liberties of the other? While Danemarch, now too late, fees and repents of the evil Effects of her tyrannising over her Sister Nordweg. If there were any Similitude in your Cases, or any appearance of Danger, you might pray, from the wretched Fate of Danemarch, Good Lord deliver Us! While I should most heartily say, *Amen.*

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

A continuation of the Causes of the Subversion of the Freedom of Danemarch.

A House divided against itself can hardly stand. And the Union of confederate States, once broken, must sooner or later be attended with the Weakening, if not the Downfall of one or all of them. This has been verified in numberless Instances, antient and modern. The fate of Nordweg and Danemarch is a sufficient Example. I need relate no other.

Nothing proves the Wisdom and Virtue of the Head and Members of our great Government more than their constant Attention to the Perfect and inseperable Union of the different States of our Dominions, as the most certain Means of Strengthening and Securing the Whole. It is unnecessary to give instances of the Regular and uniform Distribution of Laws, and even the Profusion of regal Favours, poured forth in all Ages of our

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Government upon the remotest Parts of our Dominions : The Union of two most different regions into one Kingdom ; and the equal Protection, Freedom, and necessary Equality in Trade, granted and maintained to another Part, are lasting Monuments of this Truth.

But, if any should be Blind or Absurd enough to doubt it, let them see what Sense of the Necessity of this Equality was retained in Britain even in Times of Usurpation and Anarchy. This, I shall shew in an Anecdote in the Life of CROMWELL ; which, though well attested, has hitherto escaped the Historiographers of that Age.

When our good Neighbour, the Grand Monarque of France, meditated the Salvation of the Souls of our Ancestors and the Inlargement of his Dominions, by the Conquest of these Nations, and an Invasion was then threatened as now ; it was judged Expedient to Arm and Array the Inhabitants in their own Defence, as no foreign Soldiers, I presume, were then to be hired ; as it was also judged requisite to Fortify some of the principal Ports, on the Side next France.

This was proposed in Council, where the Tyrant, dignified with the great Title of Protector, presided. Various Ports were mentioned, as the most Important and Necessary to be Fortified. His Highness heard each Member with Attention, and then gave Utterance to his own Sentiments. ‘ Are there not,’ said he, ‘ Some other Ports, of no less Importance to us than these, that deserve our Attention ?—Whether Ignorance or a little of the Danish Spirit prevailed in this mock Council is not now material enough to be examined ; it is enough, that they answered in the negative. ‘ What,’ Says CROMWELL, ‘ Have we not such Ports as Cork, Kinsale and Waterford ?’—‘ Yes, my Lord,’ replied the Council, ‘ but these are not in England.’—‘ And why are
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‘are they not in England?’ rejoined the Stern Protector; ‘As the Lord liveth’, added he, ‘If I continue Protector of this Common-wealth, they shall be in England; let them be Fortified.’

When an Usurper could thus level all Distinctions between the different States under his Government, or Protection, and declare, in Terms not outdone, if ever equalled, by any Hero of Antiquity; that they should be but one common People, united in the same Principles and Interest; it is easy to judge what must have been the Sentiments of our lawful and rightful Sovereigns on this Subject. It is not even to be supposed, without Injury, that they could at any Time make Distinctions, cause Jealousies and Divisions among their People; give one Part Preference to another, or set up one Nation in Opposition to another. The good Intelligence and Concord subsisting between the People of all Parts of our Dominions, their uninterrupted Freedom and just Equality in Trade are incontestable Proofs of the Truth of this Argument. See how I have insensibly digressed from my Subject! Let the unthinking skip this over as it relates to Matters, that never engaged their Attentions. And let the Humane and Sensible, if this falls into any such Hands, indulge me in contemplating, in exulting upon the Wisdom and Greatness of our Government, which can never swerve from the Principles of it's Institution. Could Danemarch say as much, she had not now worn the galling Yoke of Bondage. O! short-sighted, infatuated, abandoned Slaves!

John having thus obtained his great Ends in subjugating the Nordwegians, as by their own Consent, in due Form of Law; gained the utmost Applause and good Will of the Danes; so that hardly any Thing could be refused him in the Diet, that he could ask. He bestowed the Crown Lands, though by Law unalienable, on his Favourites. The Diet granted him armed Guards for his Person, the first Soldier

that were kept on Foot in Danemarch, in Times of Peace ; and this, upon Pretence of some Danger apprehended from the Discontents raised in Nordweg. Any Thing serves for a Pretext for a Tyrant's raising or increasing the Number of his Army.

Had the ambitious Disposition of this Prince continued, he might have compleated the Despotism of the Crown in Danemarch. He waged War against the Swedes to make good his Title to the Crown, conquered them and was crowned King in the Year 1497. But Steen Sture beat him out of Sweden, and supported a War against him, till growing fonder of Peace, the Differences were amicably composed, and he gave himself up to Ease and his Pleasures. As he grew old, he became avaricious. His chief Passion was now filling his Coffers ; and while he gave up his principal Attention to this, he was called to Eternity ; not before all good and wise Men became ashamed and wearied of his long, lascivious Reign. But Men of this Cast were not now very numerous, in Danemarch. So neither Grief or Shame yet reached the motly Multitude, on this Occasion.

This King added one material Point to the regal Power, without the Authority of the Diet or Senate, which none of his Predecessors had ever presumed to attempt, without the Sanction of the States.

When every other Estate of the Legislature was elective, and even the Crown itself, it was not to be presumed, that the Nobles were to be left to elect themselves in Succession, much less, that they should be appointed by any of the other Estates, without the joint Consent of the whole Legislature.

The Nobles were always Counsellors to the Crown, and made up the principal Part of the supreme Judicature of the Realm ; before whom also, a Nobleman could only be tried for an Offence. They had Privileges above the Commonalty. Every individual then, in the State, became interested in the Appointment

pointment of Nobles. It was at least evidently necessary to limit their Number. In the first Place, their Rank and Office was the only one that was hereditary in the Kingdom. In the next Place, it was not fit they should be dependant on, nor subservient to, the King; nor was it thought safe in wiser Times, to let the Crown make Nobles at Pleasure; because, it was filling up the supreme Tribunal with his Creatures, overturning the Balance of the Legislature; when any Number of the Commons might be enobled; consequently endangering the Safety of the Nobles themselves, which might be outnumbered and overpowered by Creatures of the Crown; as well as setting the House of Burgeffes and that of the Paisants at nought, to say nothing of that of the Clergy. Hazards and Grievances, to which no Free and sensible People could, in any well-policied State, submit.

Therefore, before Corruption took Root in the Reign of John, no King took upon him to create or appoint a Noble, in Danemarch or Nordweg, without the joint Concurrence of the States. The utmost that had ever before been done was for the Crown to recommend a Person of distinguished Merit in the State to the noble Rank, and to give him the Title; which was but an empty one, till it was ratified by the Assembly of the States. In like manner, any other Estate in the Legislature might recommend a Person of conspicuous Worth, who had done signal Services to the State, particularly in Battle, or a Kinsman of the Crown, to be enobled; and such Recommendation, which rarely came from any other than the Nobles themselves, seldom failed of obtaining the Ratification of the general Diet; without which, no Man could be enobled or obtain a Seat in the Assembly of the Nobles. This must have made the Nobility most respectable and desirable, as it is always among Us.

But, such an Ascendant had this artful King unaccountably gained over his falling Subjects, that they never so much as objected to his assuming, without the Shadow of lawful Authority, a Power which he much abused, by creating some spurious Peers, in his life Time, and which his Successors abused in the like Manner, and also applied to the dangerous Purposes, we shall explain in the Sequel. Besides, this made the Nobility cheap and despicable; when flattering a Tyrant or ministring to his Vices, in Time, proved the requisite Recommendation to be enobled. Abuses, unknown in our happy Realms!

But, while this crafty King assumed the sole Power of creating Nobles; he also contrived the Means of humbling them. He first found Means of making their Estates alienable, which by Law were deemed unalienable. This brought them soon to a greater Dependancy on the Crown. And, to break their Power still farther, he found Means of increasing the Power and enlarging the Number of the Commons, in order to establish a better Ballance, or to throw it into the popular Scale; finding that, at present, more for his Purposes: For, these Kings seldom thought much for Posterity: Present Expediences took up all their Attention and Care. How unlike our gracious Sovereigns?

Thus, not suddenly and violently, but by degrees, the Foundation for the horrible Tyranny, which now prevails in Danemarch, was, by the Contrivance of the Danes themselves, laid in Nordweg; and that, not by Hereditary, but by Elective and Elected Kings! Had this been the original Constitution of the State; had their Kings been of divine Appointment, and Hereditary by the Grace of God; had they been without Spot or Blemish; full of Wisdom, Grace and Truth, without the Shadow of Imperfection; had they been God's Vicegerents in the Dispensation of Justice and Mercy, without being capable of Error or Evil; and the prime Fountain of Honour, like our most Gracious Kings;
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they then might well assume the Prerogative of giving Honours, of creating Nobility, even out of the basest Mould. But, for these little, insignificant Creatures of their own pitiful People, tinselled over with the bare Titles and outside Shew of Majesty, to awe a sordid, slavish Populace; for these to take so much Royal Sovereignty upon them, as to create Nobility, was an Insult to true Majesty, as well as an insufferable Invasion of the people's Rights, and proved in the End, one of the principal Means of the precipitate Subversion of that most unhappy State. Were it possible, as surely it is not, that any of our most Wise, Just and gracious Sovereigns should at any Time have assumed a Power, so inconsistent with the Principles of our Policy, so Dangerous, so Destructive as this must appear; it is not to be imagined, that a People inspired with such a noble Spirit of Liberty, as ever did, and ever must, animate the Bosoms of Britons, could suffer the shameful pernicious Evil to take Root, much less to bring forth Flowers or Fruit, in the State. Hither then, we need not cast our Eyes; let us wisely look Abroad and amuse ourselves; leaving our domestic Concerns, with due, boundless Confidence, in the proper Hands; exulting in the full Assurance, that as they never did, so they never can abuse it.

Upon the Death of John, his Son, Christiern II. was called or succeeded to the Crown. This Man had an Eye on the political Department of his Father, and laid down the Conduct of his worthy Parent and Predecessor, as the Basis of his Administration, when he should mount the Throne.

He had all the Pride and Ambition of his Predecessor; but wanted his Dissimulation and Spirit. He had as bad a Heart, but a much worse Head, than his Father. And thus qualified, commenced his Reign, and in some Time, grasping at once in his Hand, as some of his Predecessors since the

Time of Queen Margaret had done, the Sceptres of three Kingdoms, Swedeland, Danemarch and Nordweg, which she had solemnly United. But, we have seen, this Union was not of long Duration.

He set out with giving the People of Danemarch, the most solemn Assurances of governing them in all Respects agreeable to the Laws, not otherwise; particularly, that he would never lay his Hands upon the public Treasures, without the Consent of the Diet; nor disturb their Peace or Liberties by taking Foreigners into Employments or Favour; and, that if he transgressed the ascertained Bounds of the Royal Prerogative, of which the Senate and States were sole Judges; he would peaceably submit to their Judgement, and suffer himself to be degraded and dethroned.

This was the Sum of the Oath, which this and the preceding Kings of Danemarch were obliged to take at their Coronation. This King took it then in Form. But, to persuade the People of his Willingness to be governed and directed in all Things by the States of the Realm; in the first Assembly, he convoked, he voluntarily repeated the Oath. By which, he greatly gained the Confidence of the Diet and People.

But see, how Men become intoxicated with Power! He no sooner got himself settled on the Throne, than he began to shew his natural Disposition; and edged on by the Flattery of his Courtiers, he was soon made to forget or disregard all his popular Declarations and even his solemn Oath to the People. He threw off the Mask and resolved to take the shortest Course possible to establish his intended Despotism: And with this Intent, began with dissolving the Diet, because they did not seem willing to comply with his exorbitant Demands.

Yet, he had just Sense enough to recollect that the Change he sought was not to be suddenly wrought;

wrought; that the designed and all extraordinary Measures must be gradually brought about, or that Force was not to be safely attempted, till he should have got sufficient Power in his Hands effectually to secure his projected Conquests.

Before he launched out into his purposed Measures in Danemarch, he resolved to gratify the Populace in some Instance, that should gain him Credit and Confidence. This, he craftily observed, was best to be done at the Expence of the undone Nordwegians, who were not yet reduced low enough to be overlooked by the jealous, invidious Eyes of the short-sighted Danes, who seemed to be gratified with nothing so much as the compleat Destruction of that miserable People; never considering, that this must precipitate their own projected Downfall.

The Danes had Beef enough for their own Consumption, as well as for some of the neighbouring Markets. At this Time, they were able to undersell the English in this Article, by which, much Money was brought into the State. The Lands of Danemarch and Jutland being fit for fattening, and too good for breeding horned Cattle, the breeding Trade fell partly to the Share of the Nordwegians, who brought up poor, small Cattle, and sent them the shortest Way by Water to Danemarch, where they were fattened, slaughtered, cured and exported.

However necessary to Danemarch, the miserable Share of this Trade, which the Nordwegians enjoyed, may appear; the invidious Danes chose to want it, rather than let the others have any Portion of the Benefit.

The King saw this, and knowing that the Impoverishing one of the States must, in Time, hurt and humble the other, and so forward his destructive Projects; he resolved to gratify the Danes, and so got some of his Minions to prepare a Bill to prevent the Importation of live Cattle from any Part
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of Nordweg, into any Part of Danemarch. The Bill was brought into the Diet and soon passed into a Law.

This at first reduced Numbers of Nordwegian Farmers to Beggary: They had no Means of paying Rent for the Lands, they held, but the Sale of their Product. They could produce nothing but these pitiful Cattle. They were therefore forced to give up both Land and Cattle to their exacting Landlords. These, while they were paid their Rents, chose to live in Danemarch. But, finding their Lands surrendered and the Cattle given up for the Rents; they brought some Men knowing in the Trades of fattening, slaughtering and curing Beef from Danemarch with them; and by Degrees, got into the Methods of making it merchantable; so that they soon became able to undersell the malevolent Danes, and supplant them in this very Trade.

This Scheme, however flattering at first, in the End, was not found to answer the Ends of its Projectors. On the contrary, it will appear, that every wicked Project to oppress the Nordwegians, served in the Issue to bring about the Destruction of the Danes.

After this, he began with culling the Officers of the State, and modelling them universally to his Mind. But, either he had not the Judgment to do this as slowly and cautiously as he should, or his Flatterers made him too precipitate in the Change: He turned out all that he suspected, whether those that usually had held their Offices for Life or during good Behaviour, or those whose Offices were only annual. He resolved to let the one see, that the former Employments should now be held only during the Royal Pleasure, and that the later should be changed as he saw Occasion. He also changed many of the Senate, and greatly enlarged the Number of the Nobles. The vacated Places, he filled, without the least
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Regard to Merit, the requisite Recommendation was only Adulation and Servility : Such as shewed most of this were sure of the first Employments or Rank ; while being but reputed Honest or Wise was a sufficient Cause for removal from all Employments about the Court, and expressing a just Sense of the Freedom and Rights of the People was a capital Crime.

Before he took these Steps, he was by the Generality well esteemed, had many ordinary and some firm Friends among all the Officers of the State, as well as in the Diet.

For want of Penetration and Discernment, or trusting too much to his Flatterers, against whose Interest it was to leave a Man of Sense or Virtue in Favour with their Master, whom they resolved to ingross, for their own base Ends ; the King removed some of his best Friends from different higher and inferior Offices, and put in many that were determined to serve or befriend him no longer, than it appeared to be their Interest ; he managed the general Elections of the Diet, by his Influence on the returning Officers ; in which, more of his sinister Influence, than Prudence appeared ; and he disgusted all the antient Nobles, by investing Men with that Honour, who had no better Pretensions than a pleasing Out-side or Dress, or the meanest Servility to a worthless, designing Prince.

Men of less Sense and Honour than the degenerate Danes, if such there ever were, could not avoid being offended with such an oppressive, iniquitous Administration ; yet, for some Time, they had not the Spirit to oppose it, till he galled and bruised them with Cruelties of a deeper Die,

His Profusion to his favourite Concubine, her Mother and the other Slaves about him, soon exhausted his private Coffers ; the public Funds were wasted for Purposes foreign to the Intent of the Diet. And not long after, he found his Revenues
were

were not sufficient to defray his exorbitant Expences, which he could not now presume to retrench : For, he had Sense enough to know, that those, whose Services he had engaged only by Gifts or Bribes, would serve him no longer than they were gratified. A profligate People deserve, and generally make, an abandoned King.

These Extravagancies soon reduced him to great Streights, and put him upon various Shifts for raising Money. He borrowed, while he had any Credit, even with his Panders, which was not very long, when they saw his Circumstances. And at length, he resolved to ask Supplies of the Diet, which for some Years, he did not choose to meet ; remembering his Insolence in dissolving them, and conscious of the Blackness of his Designs, if not of the Illegality of the past Part of his Government.—What a Slave is a King, governed by his Lufts and flattered by his Minions !

The States were not so insensible, as not to be irritated by the Behaviour of the King : They met in bad Temper, and received the Motion of the King's Ministers for some additional Supplies to his Majesty, with so bad a Grace ; that, despairing of Success, dreading a proposed Examination of public Accounts and an Enquiry into some Parts of his Conduct, the King thought it proper to dismiss the Diet as abruptly as before.

This was but a bad Expedient. But, no better was to be expected from the Perverseness, he early shewed, and the apparent Influence of destructive Flatterers. The Diet and the People in general began to distrust their King. And even the most short-sighted judged, he had an Eye to Despotism, or at least, meant to rule without the Assistance of the States. This, his subsequent Conduct put quite out of Doubt. Yet were the Danes in General
Slaves

Slaves enough to bear, some of them, to vindicate and countenance his Perfidy.

His first Step, after this, was to command the same Taxes to be levied for his Use, that were granted to his Father to carry on his Wars. This however, he would not venture upon, without giving it some colour of Law. The Presidents of his Courts were consulted for the Purpose; and they hardly asserted, that the King might, upon just Emergency, of which he was the Judge, levy Taxes on his Subjects, in such manner, as he should see it expedient. This Doctrine was promulged by his Flatterers, even from the Pulpits. The King hardly wanted this to authorise his intended Oppression. But, it being easily obtained, he proceeded with a better Grace, and his Officers acted with greater Confidence under such a Sanction. He obliged many of the Commons to take Titles of Knighthood and Nobility; for which, he extorted most exorbitant Sums, by way of Fees of Honour. He also laid an arbitrary Tax on all the Lands of the States of Danemarch, and an Impost upon all the Shipping of their Ports; and demanded of several Towns extravagant Sums, by way of Loan; all which were exacted, by his Officers, in a most violent rigorous Manner, fining and imprisoning all that opposed ever so slightly, or refused them. Some were put to Death by the Kings Order for being a little tumultuous in their Opposition; the Principal of which, was Torborn Oxe, Burgomaster and Governor of the Castle of Copenhagen. The Tyrant's growing bloody did not yet rouse these sluggish Slaves to a Sense of their Wretchedness! Yet, so far did a seeming Sense of Morality or Religion prevail at this Time, that some of what they called the better Sort of People affected to be much offended at the scandalous, adulterous Life, the King led. But, the Generality expressed their Dislike of this Part of the King's Conduct only, be-
cause

because his Handmaid was a Foreigner ; they probably would have allowed him one of their Sisters, their Daughters or their Wives ; but could not bear the thought of his preferring to them a Stranger, a Dutch Woman of mean Birth and meaner Education, called Duivecke ; and were piqued, because she and her Mother, Sigiberta, a sordid, crafty old Woman, not much better than a Bawd, in our Language, had gained the Ascendant so far over the hag-ridden Sovereign, as to have all Things, in the King's Power, at the Disposal of her or her Daughter. It hurt the Danes to be obliged to solicit these, and sometimes to bribe them, to obtain Favours, or even Justice at the Hands of their King. Otherwise, it is probable, they had been as content as those, that were gainers by the Iniquity, appeared. For, they that seemed most affected by the King's being held in leading Strings by Harlots, seemed only to lament the vast Sums likely to be some Time carried out of the Kingdom, by the Sale of all Employments, Ecclesiastic as well as Civil and Military, now committed to the Disposal of Duivecke and Sigiberta. Conscience, as well as more common Commodities, was now brought to Market, in Danemarch.

About this Time, Steen Sture the Younger had well nigh established himself upon the Throne of Swedeland, to which Christiern laid hereditary Claim. The Danish King had augmented his Land and Naval Forces, with Intent to assert his Demand ; when a favourable Opportunity offered to countenance his Design. Gustavus Trolle, the Archbishop of Upsal, a haughty, overbearing Prelate, for giving some Opposition to the Progress of this aspiring young Prince, who was not, it seems, a favorite Son of the Church ; was by the Conqueror's Forces dispossessed of his Palaces and Castles, and obliged to fly his Country.

Christiern,

Christiern, judging it of great Importance to his Cause to get the Church of his Side, laid hold of this Opportunity of espousing, as he pretended, the Archbishop's Cause, who now fled for Succour into Danemarch, where he laid the Scheme for an Invasion of his Country. In this Dispute, the Holy Monarch of Rome thought it necessary to take a considerable Part. He imposed heavy Penance on the Swedes for their Treatment of the Archbishop. And Christiern, equipped with Blessings from Saint Peter's Successour, and an Army raised and supported by the Spoils of his People, went into Swedeland, as if to execute the Pope's Decree; gave the Swedes Battle; in which, to their irretrievable Confusion, Steen Store was Slain, and his Army routed; after which, the only Difficulty Christiern met, was to force the distressed but heroic Christina, the Widow of Steen Store, to surrender the City of Stockholm; soon after which, the Invader was crowned there King of Swedeland, by the restored Archbishop, Trolle; and confirmed in his Conquest by a Bull from Rome.

Here, the Monarch shewed himself a true Son of the Holy Church, and fully sated his Thirst for Blood. The Swedes, he now deemed his by Conquest, and by Grant from the Pope; as well as by Hereditary Right; not regarding the long neglected Union of Calmar. And though he published a general Amnesty, or an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, upon the Credit of which, all that had opposed him, thought themselves secure, and returned peaceably to their Habitations; as soon as he found them quite off their Guard, he had great Numbers of them taken, put into noisom Prisons, wherein many of them starved or were otherwise more mercifully murdered; while the Tyrant had Deluges of the purest Blood of the best Nobility spilled by the Hands of the common Hangman,

in

in the public Streets ; all, as he pretended, to revenge the Insults given the Church in their Archbishop ; upon the Restoring of whom, he received the Benedictions of the Catholic Church, and possessed himself of the Estates of the murdered Swedes.

But, neither these ill deserved Benedictions or ill-gotten Lands availed him much ; he seemed hardly to have fairly possessed either : For, the smothered Aversion of the Danes to him rose higher than ever could have been expected from such Sots. Gustavus Erickson, sometime a Prisoner in Danemarch, was permitted to escape, got into Swedeland, stirred up the Dalecarlians and others to oppose this cruel Ravager, and in a short Time defeated, and routed his whole Army, and drove him shamefully out of their Country.

Upon his Precipitate return Home, he found his Authority so far lost, among the dastard Danes, chiefly perhaps by his Absence, that he was insulted, even by his own Creatures ; who, during his Power, flattered him in all his worst Vices. He also found, that the Jutes had entirely withdrawn their Allegiance from him ; which put him into such a Consternation, that he fled with his Wife and Children into the Netherlands.

Unhappy Tyrant ! where was the servile Train of Courtiers, who so lately deified thee, and seemed to live but in thy Smiles, like Flies or Maggots in the Sun ? Where, the numerous Band of Flatterers, who helped thee to believe thy self, Heaven's vicergerent, almost Omnipotent ? Where, thy Victorious Army ? Where thy false Counsellors ? Could not all these support thy illicit Power, so necessary for their base Measures, as well as thine ? No ; all forsook thee, like the Tempter. Thine evil Genius hurried thee into every publick and private Immorality ; made thee shut thine Eyes against the
Light

Light and thine Ears against the Truth; made thee a Prey to Flatterers; hardened thee for a while in thine Iniquity; and when the Measure thereof was full, abandoned thee to Confusion, Shame, Disgrace, and Distress; made all good Men hate thee; thy false Friends fly thee, and thy Subjects forsake thee; till at length, thy Conscience flying in thy Face, made thee like a base Coward, fly that Country, which once would have died in thy Defence!

Wouldst thou call the neighbouring Powers to thine Aid? They dare not openly, if they would, assist thee: Such as would gladly tread in thy tyrannic Steps, now dread thy Fate: Thou and thy Tyranny must fall. And thy bad Measures and precipitate Fate will be set up as a warning to Princes yet to come!

Hey day! Say you, what is all this to us?—I know you love a little sweet Variety and therefore I gave you this Rhapsody. I know beforehand, it can not affect you: For, you are, in spite to me, grown so very knowing in Politics, that most of you have got the History of England in the way of Question and Answer, by heart; and as you are happily persuaded, that there never was nor can be such a Character as this among your Sovereigns; you sit down pleased and contented in your Security. What should you, in the Name of Wisdom, do otherwise? Do so still! Go on, giddily, merrily! Trifle away Life gaily, unthinkingly! Eat your Beef and Pudding, without fear or thought of being reduced to Ragouts! Smoak, Laugh and be Fat! Let not the Histories of fallen Danes or Swedes affect you more than a sham Death or pretended Distress in a Tragedy does: Laugh at both alike. Make all these Things serve to amuse you, to divert, not to raise, your Thoughts; but, if you tire of reading these Papers, before I grow weary of writing them, get

F

you

you a Collection of Balads, set to filthy Tunes-
Farewell! If you can.

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R VIII.

*Touching the Epidemic, Political Distempers of Dane-
march and Nordweg.*

IF this should happen to find you in no worse Disposition to amuse yourselves with this distant Subject, than the last did; you may give me leave to Conduct you back again to see what happened these States after the Expulsion or Flight of Christiern II.

During this Tyrant's Absence in Swedeland, the Danes began to meditate their own Safety, and determined to call some other Prince to the Throne. They pitched upon Frederick Duke of Holstein and Uncle to Christiern II, who had lately embraced the Augsburg Confession of Faith.

But, when their King vacated the Throne by Flight, they elected Frederick, King, invited and crowned him at Copenhagen, about the Year 1523.

Such as were not pleased with this Election, raised Money and Forces to restore the deposed King. But, he had not Courage to put himself at their Head; upon which they were totally and finally dispersed upon the Appearance of Frederick's Army.

Yet notwithstanding the Cruelty and Wickedness of the Reign of Christiern, some foolish Bigots resolved to follow him and share his Fate. These, by the Assistance of the Dutch and other neighbouring Powers, equipped a small Fleet, and with a few hired Forces, and Arms for many more, they prevailed on their dethroned King to embark and sail for Nordweg, upon the Assurance of many resolute Friends in that Kingdom; knowing it was there he had had
least

least Opportunity of oppressing and irritating the People.

They arrived at Nordweg, debarked their Troops, without Opposition, and were soon joined by Numbers, who were from Motives of Conscience induced to take up Arms for this distressed Prince, whose real Character, they had not had Time or means to learn.

Though Frederick had not as yet been received King of Nordweg in Form of Law; yet a strong Aversion to the Tyranny of Christiern, made many declare and take up Arms for the Former, who had learned the Temper and Conduct of the Later.

The cholerick and cruel Disposition of Christiern could not, in his decline of Fortune, brooke this Opposition; whereupon he declared all Men Rebels and Traitors, that should not lay down their Arms and swear fealty to him, as to their lawful Sovereign, and made it Capital in any three of them to meet upon any Pretence whatsoever, till they had come and taken this Oath.

Upon such a Placart as this, Numbers were imprisoned and most cruelly treated and some put to Death.

Frederick upon his Election, had sent Cnut Gyldenstern his Viceroy to Nordweg, and he arrived there but a short Time before Christiern. He, on the Part of his King, published Placarts, ordering all the Adherents and Followers of Christiern to lay down their Arms, disperse, and take the Oath of Allegiance to his King, on Pain of being treated by him as Traitors and Rebels.

In such a Situation, it was hard for the poor Nordwegians to tell whom to obey. Gyldenstern ended the Dispute by marching an inconsiderable Army against Christiern's, which was now become very Numerous and Powerful. But hardly had the two Armies engaged, when Christiern, dispirited by his guilty Conscience, fled, and with him, a considerable

Part of his Nordwegian Army, together with all his foreign Mercenaries.

The dejected Tyrant now thought of nothing but the Safety of his own Person; and upon Promises of Security, surrendered himself into the Hands of the Viceroy.

The Rest of the Nordwegian Army, who scorned to follow the Examples of their King, in his Flight, retreated in good Order, and shut themselves up in Drontham; where, they stood a long Siege, defended themselves with great Bravery, and at length, made a most honourable Capitulation; by which, they provided for the Safety and Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties, not only of the Garrison, but of all the Nordwegians then bearing Arms in Support of their King Christiern, and made a sensible Provision for the Freedom of their Posterity.

While these Articles were just ratifying, Frederick, with a Fleet and some Land Forces arrived in Nordweg. The principal Men in the Country came and declared their Fealty to him. But, he received them but coldly; as if he had rather conquer without their Aid, or have had them to include in the Number of the Conquered. Moreover, he gave his Viceroy to understand, that he did not think himself or his Successors bound by any of his premature Promises to Christiern, nor by his untimely Capitulation with the Rebels, as he called the Followers of that unhappy Prince. Whereupon, he ordered Christiern to be closely imprisoned in the Castle of Sunderburgh. But, upon the dejected Tyrant's Submission and Resignation of all Title to the Crown; he was removed to a Prison somewhat less confined, the Castle of Callenburgh; where, notwithstanding some faint and ineffectual Struggles for his Restoration, in the next Reign, he died a Prisoner, about the Year 1559. Leaving an infant Son, who was afterwards taught to make Pretensions to his de-throned

throned Father's late Dominions. Thus ended the Tyranny of the Nero of the North.

Frederick paid no greater Regard to the Capitulation; for he seized the Estates of most of the Adherents to his Predecessor, imprisoned some and put others to Death; upon the bare Authority of his Proclamation, which could not by any Rule of Reason have the Force of a Law in a Country, where he was not yet legally called to the Throne or acknowledged King.

Christiern having yet some Friends in different Parts of the States, neither Frederick or his Successor thought it prudent to exert their natural Dispositions to absolute Power. Each, it is true, forgot the Obligations, he owed the free States; who, regardless of the Rules of Succession, that had for some Reigns prevailed, called them to the Throne. But, they could not forget the Example made of the late Tyrant and his unoffending, inoffensive Offspring; the one kept a Prisoner, the other, to deprive him of Means to nanoy the State, justly reduced to Beggary.

Frederick for these Reasons thought it best to keep well with the Danes, though he never loved them, and could not help shewing his Dislike by spending the greatest Part of his Time in his hereditary Country, Holstein; of which the Danes unavoidably shewed some Jealousy, in Time.

In one Thing, among others, this King shewed, his Propensity to Arbitrary Power was not inferior to that of any of his Predecessors. Under some of the former Reigns, the People found nothing more injurious than the Influence, which the two last Kings gained over the several Tribunals by the Appointment or removal of their Presidents at Pleasure. They judged this a fit Time to correct the dangerous Evil; not suspecting, that a King who owed his Be-

ing to the People's Sense of Freedom, could deny them any Means of preserving it for the Future.

It was therefore proposed in the Diet, that the Presidents of the several Courts should be made independant on the Crown, by securing them their Employments with stated Salaries by Patent during good Behaviour.

This Proposal gave the King great Offence. He gave the Diet to understand, that he accepted of their Crown upon the same Terms, on which his Predecessors held it. That he came among them at great Expence and Hazard to rescue them from the Tyranny of Christiern, and if they thought of abridging any of the Prerogatives of the Crown in him ; they should find themselves mistaken : That rather than submit to these Terms he would return with his Army and Fleet and leave them as he found them at the Mercy of Christiern, who was yet alive and had Friends enough to Re-instate him.

This could not fail of terrifying the States, who judged the Cruelties of Christiern would prove more unsufferable than ever, if he should be restored. So they for the present dropped their Proposal, to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, which offered soon after ; when the King wanted Supplies to prepare for a War with the Oldenburghers, Lubeckers and some other neighbouring States, who were ready to attack him. It was then the Diet took the Advantages of the King's Necessity, and having given him to understand, that they would grant no Taxes, till their Proposal with regard to the Independancy of the Presidents of the Courts should be received and affirmed ; he was forced, with much Reluctance to comply with their Demands.

Matters being now very quiet in Danemarch, and a great Number of the People generally satisfied with the Conduct of their King and thankful for their Deliverance from the late Tyranny, to which, they
looked

looked upon him as materially instrumental; they now sought to turn him against the unhappy Objects of their Jealousy, the Nordwegians, regardless of this People's having been so useful in defeating the Tyrant Christiern and his Armies and Followers.

Frederick was now possessed of the Crowns of Danemarch and Nordweg. He had the Misfortune of being necessitous. He ordered the States of Nordweg to be Assembled and demanded a Sum of Money of them towards defraying the Expences of the Fleet and Army, he sent to defend their Rights.

The Diet as well as the People at large expressed the most grateful Sense of the Services, the Protection he afforded them; pleaded, with great Truth and equal Grief, their extreme Poverty, which rendered them at that Time utterly incapable of raising any Supplies, and made it difficult to get even the common Necessaries of Life for themselves; but gave the fullest Assurances of their good Intentions; as the best Earnest of which, they past an Act, acknowledging the Justness and Legality of his Title to the Crown of Nordweg.

The King, whose Temper was none of the Best, was highly intraged at this Disappointment; and, without considering the Condition of the Country, not yet recovered from the Ruins and Desolations of the late War; contracted such an Aversion to the People, as ended but with his Life; though without them, he had not found the Conquest of Christiern and the Possession of Nordweg so easy. This was the more ungenerous, as this People not only loved the King, best of any of his Subjects, but even to this Day, adore his Memory.

Of this, he gave many Proofs; the Chief of which were his rejecting their Act of Election or Recognition with Contempt and Indignity, and his passing a Law, at the Instigation of the jealous Danes, and, as some say, in Consideration of a Sum of Money

by them granted, whereby the little Commerce of the Nordwegians was in a most unnatural, unjust manner restrained and obstructed. Of which, mark the immediate Consequence.

Before this Law, Danemarch and Nordweg furnished the greatest Part of Europe and some other Countries with Train Oil, Parmacity, Whalebone and dried Fish for Sea Provisions, &c. The greatest Part of this Trade centered in Danemarch; Nordweg had but a moderate Share of it, which was not likely to be much extended.

But, small as their Share was, it gave the jealous Danes Offence, and they judged, if they could but restrain or obstruct it, the whole Trade would fall into their Hands. This they laid before the King, whom they found Means to bring to so good an Understanding of their Scheme; that he ran zealously, violently into it, and got a Law proposed, in the Diet of Danemarch, enacting, that for the future, no Fish-Oil, Whalebone, or dried Fish shall be sent out of Nordweg in any Native or foreign Bottoms, except by Permission of the States of Danemarch, to such Ports of that Kingdom, and in such Proportions, as it's Diet shall now or from Time to Time, hereafter direct. Here began the most dangerous Tyranny; such as bore the Semblance of Law; with which the late Tyrant had not the cunning to cover his violent Measures.

Fish at this Time made the principal Article in the Trade of that poor Kingdom. And as the People were poor, living remote from the Court, which likewise attracted their Nobles and other opulent Men from them; they were forced to work at a cheaper Rate, and consequently could somewhat undersell the Danish Fishermen, who were more rich and now beginning to be Luxurious. What unheard of Cruelty, to rob them of the common Benefits of Nature? Their sole visible Means, of Subsistence? But nothing

thing less than their utter Ruin could please the Danes ; not seeing that they were involved in the same Fate.

The Nordwegians now knew the malignant Danes, too well to doubt their being capable of doing any Thing to oppress or tyrannise over them, be it ever so iniquitous. They could not at first believe the King could be base and wicked enough to assent to such an unjust, injurious Law. But, though they found it but too true ; it hardly abated of their Gratitude or their Veneration of the Man, whom they had now taught their Children to look upon as their Deliverer.

However, they looked upon it as nugatory ; as they naturally thought, they were by no Means to be bound by any Law, to which they had not given their Consent. So they went on with their Trade regardless of the Prohibition.

The King, being informed of this, ordered several small Ships to be built and armed. These, from their Employment, were called Fishers. They were ordered to Cruise on the Coast of Nordweg and its Isles, to search every Ship sailing from their Ports, and to seize and confiscate every Ship, which should be found to carry more of the prohibited Nordwegian Commodity, than was barely necessary, to support her Crew on their Voyage. Judge how well this became a Man, that would be thought the great Deliverer of his Country.

At the first setting out of these Fishers, Numbers of trading Families were ruined by the Seizures made. The Fishermen were reduced to Beggary, getting none but an insufficient home Consumption for their Fish. To avoid starving at Home, these poor Men were forced to fly their native Country and hire themselves as Sailors to all the trading Countries, but chiefly to the next to them, the Dutch and English. To these, they soon taught the Art of Fishing, which has since been brought to such Perfection, in these

these and other Countries, that most that are contiguous to the Sea, are now so far become Masters of the Business of Fishing, that they furnish themselves, and even others, with the Products of all the Northern Seas ; so that the Trade is not only lost to the Nordwegians by the Cruelty and false Craft of their Oppressors ; but the Danes, these shameless, infatuated Tyrants, soon after, deservedly suffered the same Fate.

How happy, how honourable, how great is it, if the thinking find, that such horrid, iniquitous Measures were never dealt out by a British King or Legislature to any of the Dominions of our Crown ? And that, on the contrary, all Parts are encouraged to extend their Trade and make the most of all the Products of Nature and Art, within the Country ? Well knowing that the Riches of the remotest Territories are but a Part of the Funds of the Whole, which either circulate or center in, the Mother Country ? To this good Policy, it must be owing, if it be found, that none of our Artisans have fled into foreign States, to the Prejudice of our Manufactures or Commerce. Under a Government, so wisely, so justly, so equally administered as ours is, and always must be, no Evils like these that have fallen upon Nordweg and Danemarch are, by any Means, to be apprehended. But, destroying Trade alone could not satisfy the Danish Tyrants : Nordweg must fall. And fall indeed she did ; though hardly alone.

In the Reign of Frederick, great Encouragement was given to the appealing from the supreme Judicature in Nordweg to that of Danemarch. Several Danish Lawyers, instructed for the Purpose, were sent over, who undertook the Success of Suits for a proper Premium. Many of these amassed great Fortunes, and soon after purchased Places and Honours in the State ; for all was now Venal in these corrupt States. They regarded not what side of the Question
they

they took. They had what Dispatch was possible in the Determination made ; not regarding whether the Judgment went for or against their Clients. They knew an effectual Way of securing the Success. If a Decree happened to go for them, it was well ; if not, why very well. It was but appealing, and for the Encouragement of such Appeals, the supreme Judicature in Danemarch, for many Years, till they judged their Jurisdiction over that of Nordweg, by long acquiescence confirmed ; never failed of Decreeing, with exemplary, dreadful Costs, in favour of the Appellants. But, this beneficial Trade for the Lawyers did not last long : It was soon learned by the Suiters ; who now disregarded the Issue of any Suit there ; looking only for the Decree and contending who should first Appeal. But when the Danes found themselves indisputably possessed of the Power ; other Measures took Place : Faction or a Bribe directed soon after the Determination of this, and of every Court, in Danemarch.

But not content with establishing this miserable dependence of Nordweg upon Danemarch ; several Acts were made in the Danish Diet to bind the Nordwegians without their Consent, and often made without their knowledge ; particularly with regard to the Disposal of the Lands seized, upon the Placart of Frederick, while yet to the Nordwegians, but Duke of Holstein.

Though Nordweg was by these Means visibly broken and undone ; Danemarch was not so safe as this infatuated People imagined : Since Margaret's Days, in which they seem to have been at the Zenith of their Glory ; they have been declining, by quicker or slower Degrees, to the Reign of Frederick the third, in which Time, the Measure of their Iniquity being filled, they were reduced, or rather as by a Decay of Nature, without any visible outward Force or Cause, fell into the shameful Slavery, under which
they

they have since groaned, which may be considered as the political Death of the State. The fatal Distemper had now assailed her, and what made it more terrible, the People were not sensible of it, till at the stated Time becoming incurable, Death must inevitably have ensued.

At this Time, the State of Danemarch went upon Crutches. Nordweg was one of her chief Supports. Had the proper Use been made of her, Danemarch could never have fallen. But, Nordweg was not only thrown away, but destroyed, rendered useless to herself, of Course to her Neighbour and Sister. The fall of the One, was necessarily attended with that of the Other. What protracted this fall, and how, remains next to be related. Who does not rejoice, who finds, that no such destructive wicked Measures were ever taken against any Part of the Dominions of Britain?

Frederick having prepared the Way for the Reformation of Religion, by having early embraced the Augsbург Confession, the whole Body of the non-reformed Clergy set themselves openly or secretly against him. So that there were divers Plots contrived against his Life and Government, which ended only in giving him the stronger Aversion to the Romish Clergy, and in laying Schemes for curtailing the exorbitant Power of their Bishops. He died before he could complete his Projects, in the Year 1533, leaving his Son Christiern III. to succeed him on the Throne, and finish the good Works, his Sire had began.

This King ascended the Throne, not without great Difficulty. By the Contrivances of the Clergy, a Party for the late deposed King was kept up in all Parts of the Danish Dominions. They judged the late King's Death a favourable Opportunity to attempt a Restoration. With these, the Oldenburghers and Lubeckers joined, pretending to have but the same Views, when in Fact the Prince of the former,
Earl

Earl Christopher, had such as were entirely selfish, and which he only covered with this Pretence.

Several Provinces were by artful Insinuations and Stratagems of the Bishops and Clergy, gained over to declare for the imprisoned and dethroned King. And, contrary to what was at first apprehended, the Matter wore so serious a Face, as to require the Assistance of Gustavus King of Sweden, before it could be set to Rights. This King neither loved the Clergy nor their Tool of a King. He therefore declared for Christiern III; and marched an Army to his Assistance; at the Sight of which, the Malecontents and their pretended Allies fled and desisted; so that the King was settled peaceably on the Throne.

As soon as he found his Authority established, he banished the Clergy that were fomenters of this Rebellion, and deposed all the Bishops. And soon after rooting out Popery, he established Lutheranism in its Place, both in Danemarch and Nordweg. After this, he lived beloved, reigned peaceably and happily, upon his Father's Plan, and died much lamented about the Year 1558; the Danes never attempting a Reformation of their lapsed Government!

It is easy, even in this short sketch of the political History of these Kings, to see a variety of Blots in their Escutcheons. The greatest of which is their following the Plan, upon which some of the worst of their Predecessors ruled, where they judged it necessary for their private Purposes. They endeavoured at obtaining an undue Influence in the Courts of Judicature; in which, they were in some Measure foiled, but sometimes succeeded. They gave one Kingdom an unjust Preference to the other; not by making one the particular Place of their Residence; for that might have been necessary; but in an unequal Distribution of Laws, as well as royal Favours, in robbing one of it's Trade, by which the other came to lose it in the End; and above all in making not only the ordinary
Courts

Courts of Judicature but even the Diet of one Kingdom shamefully, iniquitously subservient to those of the other ; making two Legislatures Clash, and subjecting the People of one Kingdom to two Masters, whose Commands were diametrically the Reverse of each other.

Had such an abominable Solecism in Government been made in Britain, what Distraction would it not occasion in the Minds of Men of a tender Sense of Freedom and Justice? But happily the most insensible and unthinking are well assured, that nothing like it can be charged upon such Wise and Virtuous Administrations as ours are, ever have and ever shall be found.

Though all these Measures not only tended to the Subversion of Government, but in these States must have actually, for the Present, suspended, if not overturned, the Government ; these Kings did not Content themselves here, but gave the political Constitution more subtil, more deadly Poison.

In the Reigns of these two Kings, which may well be coupled, from the Similitude of their Tempers and Administrations ; the Freedom of Election of Members of the Diet was first oppenly attempted ; for, the Influence of the Crown, in the Appointment of the returning Officers, was not alone used ; but the Electors themselves were hardily bribed in the Face of the Sun, without Shame or Remorse. And as the People now began to get some Taste of Luxury, which created them Wants, unknown to their honest Ancestors ; this horrid, destructive Scheme of Corruption, had long since completely overturned the Constitutions of both Kingdoms, had not the Necessities of the Crown happily postponed the Evil. Here however, the Plan was laid, which succeeding Ministers of Iniquity improved upon ; by shewing that the most effectual and cheap Method was to let the Elections go as they might, but to secure the Elected by
Bribes

Bribes of one Kind or other. How far this succeeded we shall have Occasion to relate, before the general Fall of Danemarch.

How will the Sons of Britain, in these distinguished Days of her Rigteousness and Renown, be able to conceive any Men capable of these cardinal Iniquities? What Credit can the most authentic Historian expect, that is not inspired, when he relates a Detail of such horrid Crimes as are not yet known or even conceived in Britain? Men, who, from the Lowest to the Highest, prove themselves, in every Part of their political Oeconomy, void of all Appearances of sordid, mercenary or selfish Views; who detest Corruption of every Kind, as they despise its Wages, can not be supposed to believe these like Narrations, or be in any wise effected by them. Since then, Britons are so happily placed out of the Power of such Temptations, beyond the Reach of Suspicion of Guilt; let them wisely pursue their Amusements, dissipate all Care and Thought of the Public; and if they can not, as surely they hardly can, believe these Things; let them serve for their Diversion, like so many Novels; while I pursue my Tale with the same Intentions with which I set out. Farewell!

YOURS, &c.

L E T T E R IX.

Relating the Corruption and consequent Slavery of other neighbouring States, as well as of Danemarch.

IF I have not till now amused you and raised your Curiosity to come to the End of my long Story, in which I shall open more Scenes of Corruptions on every side of You, stop here; but let me, to give Vent to my own Choler, pursue my Narrative, though like Persons in some genteel Countries who have but the Sexton and the Clerk to address or pray

pray for, I may get but the Compositor and Corrector of the Press to read my Lucubrations.

In the last Century, the Government of France began to lose Ground. It was originally a free Gothic State, established by the Franks, a People of Franconia in Germany, who changed its antient Name of Gallia or Gaul, to that which it now retains Francia or France.

For several Centuries, they preserved their Freedom, were governed by their particular and general States, and kept their King to the primitive Institution, which was no more than the President of their Councils and the Executioner of their Laws in Times of Peace, from whose Influence and directive Power, he could claim no Exemption; and the General of their Armies in Times of War.

Had there been no Wars, this People might have still retained their Freedom. But to carry on Wars, whether offensive or defensive, armed Men must be employed. These, whether Native or Foreign, Mercenary or Free at first; if kept long on Foot, contract a kind of Ferocity, an Aversion to all Power, but that Despotic one that rules them; learn to hold the Civil Society and its Authority in Contempt; set themselves in Opposition to it, and seldom fail in Time of overturning the most Free and powerful State. This, about this Time, became the Fate of France, whose Kings from an elective and limited Monarchy, made themselves by Degrees, Hereditary and Despotic, turned a Civil into a Military Government, consequently made all the free Subjects of popular Laws, Slaves, whose Lives, and Liberties and Properties were now dependent on the Breath of the Monarch.

What an horrid Change! But, why should I say horrid? It never affected Britain, whose Sons are so Free, so Happy, that they can hardly entertain an Idea of the Wretchedness of Slavery abroad. It affected

affected not the Danes ; for they wantonly run on in the same Course ; regardless of the Warning. They went even further ;

Absolute Power has a Charm, that none but great Souls are able to resist. The Brilliancy of a Court, whose Head is looked upon but a few, if any, Degrees below Almighty ; who holds all the Treasure of the Nation, all the Employments of the State ; yea, the Lives and Fortunes of all the Subjects in his Hands, must attract the Admiration of the undiscerning Multitude, and few, too few are found capable of making the proper Estimate of these Matters.

Few such were found in France, and fewer still in Danemarch. The Adoration paid the Power of the Monarch of France, was an Object looked upon with Envy and longing Emulation by every King in Europe,—if we except ours.—It was evidently the Case in Danemarch. The Titles of Honour, the Places, the Pensions, the Estates in the Monarch's Gift, and not less, the splendid Figures, I mean of the Dress, of his Courtiers, made most wish such Powers in their King ; where, if only as in a Lottery, they may sometimes hope for a better Share, than in a dull Common-wealth, where Merit alone could demand or hope for Honours or other Promotion.

As the Danes lost a Sense of the Happiness of their Government, and the public Spirit, necessary to Support it ; the Customs, Manners, and in Time, the Policy of France, were all introduced into Danemarch ; where, all in their Turns were established. The Aversion to the French Government was gradually softened and diminished by the Governors, and as fast introduced. But, Dress and Fashion led the Van. It was received and admired at Court, and the Multitude soon followed their Leaders. Not a Gentleman or Lady could now appear at Court, or in any genteel Assembly, that were not clothed and dressed by French Taylors and Milliners ; and many a

Courtier and a Lover lost their Suits, for want of having their Beards or Whiskers accommodated in the gallant Taste and mode of France.

These despicable Trifles, ever happily below the Attention of Britons, now became Matters of Moment, in Danemarch. The strict Modesty, the frozen Chastity of the Northern Danes, began now to give Way to the easier and politer Customs of France. And Patriots were more solicitous about the now courtly Dress and Manners, than in furnishing their Heads with just Notions of Liberty and the Constitution of their Country, or arming their Hearts with Fortitude to maintain them. Then, the French Language was found to have a Charm irresistible. One sweet sounding French Word was judged more comprehensive, than a whole Phrase of vulgar Danish. And he that could not speak some French, if it was but an unmeaning Word thrown now and then into Conversation with an affected Grace; was reckoned but rude and unbred.

Nordweg at this Time had her Destruction well nigh compleated. She had lost her Liberty, lost her Trade; and most of her industrious Sons, to avoid starving at Home, were forced to seek Livelihoods among Strangers. In Times of such Calamity, all that had Fortunes to support them abroad, fled toward the Court. Some few however remained, and this Remnant lived. A home Trade and Consumption was sufficient for a few, and some of these must sometimes have made, what in their Estimation in Nordweg, was a Fortune.

Thus the Remnant of the Nordwegians might yet have survived the Tyranny, escaped in some Measure, the dire Effects of the political Views of the Danes, had not their moral Vices, swept them off like a raging Pestilence.

The broken Nordwegians, being made easy in their
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Fortunes, were no longer to be contented with the simple Manners and Customs, plain Drefs and Diet of their Country, but they muſt in all Things affect to ape the Danes, who were themſelves but now become the aukward Apes of France. Thus the Norwegians, as they got a little Riches, got a Taſte of the Luxuries of Danemarch, and greedily ſwallowed down their growing Vices, at ſecond Hand. Theſe grow in every uncultivated Soil. And thus, what a Series of bad Policy, ſeconded by tyrannic Power, was unable to effect, readily gave Way to the combined Force of Luxury, Immorality and Folly. Oh! That the reſt of the Sons of Men had followed the inſtructive, the illuſtrious Example of our Britain, in ſtanding firm Proof againſt the evil Cuſtoms, Manners and Policy of corrupt, inflaved neighbouring States!—But away from home, and to our Hiſtory.

Upon the Death of Chriſtiern III. his Son, Frederick II. was called to the Throne, about the Year 1560. Great Hopes were conceived from his good Underſtanding, Humanity, Liberality and Valour. And had he been left to the Dictates of his own magnanimous Heart, the public Expectations moſt certainly had not been fruſtrated. His Integrity kept him clear of Suspicion: He thought every Man honeſt about him, and this made him ſometimes reſoſe Confidence, where he ſhould not.

During the Reigns of his Father and Grandfather, two violent Factions aroſe, and about this Time, divided and rent the State. The one zealouſly contended for Chriſtiern II. and his Family; the other aſſerted the Rights of the People to depoſe a Tyrant, expel his Iſſue and call a fitter Prince to hold the Reigns of Government, to preſerve and maintain the Liberties of the States. No Briton will think this extraordinary.

But neither of these Factions long held the Principles, upon which they were raised and supported. Each however took and retained the Nick-name given it in Contempt by the other. The first were distinguished by the Name of the Glummers or Glums, the second, by that of the Glymmers, Glimmers or for Shortness, Glims; Appellations, whose original Meanings, I could never learn. But, they served as a kind of watch Word, by which each Party should be distinguished, and in Time, were made to bear very opposite Meanings; by a Glummer was understood, a Man that would rob the Public, murder the Constitution of his Country, to raise a Tyrant to Rule over it with despotic Sway; by a Glim or Glym, for it was differently written, a zealous Advocate for the public Liberties, one that dare lawfully oppose Arbitrary Power to the utmost, and rather than suffer his Country to be enslaved, dare plant a Dagger in a Tyrant's Heart, though he had been his best Friend and Benefactor.

These were the Names, by which these Factions chose to be distinguished. It is not to be doubted, that each set out upon these opposite Principles. But, it is as certain, that neither retained it's Import long; that they served but as Masks for Knaves or Fools; under which, they might lurk Secure, or stir up a Party to assist in gaining their private Views, for which any of them would at any Time change Sides; and that in Process of Time, these most opposite Parties entirely changed Names and Principles, if any they had; Glummers becoming Glims, and Glims, Glummers.

The Glummers gave all the Opposition they could to the Succession of Frederick, thinking this a fair Opportunity of reviving their Claims for Albert, the Son of Christiern II. who died the Year before King Frederick's Accession to the Throne. To this, they were the more instigated, by finding, the King
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had disappointed the Hopes, some of the leading Men had entertained, of being called into the Senate or some of the great Offices of the State, by the new King. But these vanishing, upon the King's happening to continue the Court much as his Father left it, which was chiefly in the Glyms; the Glummers determined to give all the Disturbance and Trouble possible; which went no farther then putting the King under the Necessity of raising more Troops, and making new Alliances; which put the Nation to a considerable Expence; for which, the Diet was forced to impose new Taxes. Nordweg was forced to raise proportionable Levies; and thus began the national Debt, before unknown in these frugal States, and which afterwards proved one of the concurring, if not of the principal Causes of their Downfall.

The Effects of the rebellious Labours of the Glummers reached no farther than the Borders of the King's Territories. Both Danemarch and Nordweg remained quiet, and the far greater Part of the People of both Kingdoms gave the utmost Proofs of their Allegiance and pure Affection to Frederick.

The Disaffected were however able to raise Jealousies against the whole Royal Family, and to cause some Commotions in Holstein, where the Ditmarfians put themselves under Arms and took the Field in an hostile and rebellious Manner. The King sent an Army against them, which shortly subdued them and brought them back to their Allegiance.

But this Stroke, insignificant and light as it may appear, in it's Consequences, greatly concurred to the cutting short the Thread of Life of the Liberties of Danemarch.

The King finding the Affections of his favourite Subjects of Holstein likely to be alienated from his Family, by his necessary Absence from them; thought it the best Expedient, to send his eldest Son Christiern, the hereditary Duke of Holstein, to be edu-

cated and live among them, till he should be called to the Throne.

This produced the desired Effect; the Holsteiners were appeased and satisfied. They did not doubt making such an Impression upon their young Prince, that he should strongly retain his Affections for his hereditary Country. For this, all Ranks artfully laid themselves out, and succeeded to their Wishes. The Prince grew up to Manhood, in all Respects an Holsteiner. He was flattered in his Vanities, which indeed were not many. He loved Power and was so well instructed in the Difference betwixt an hereditary Principality and an elective Crown; that he envied not his Father the Sceptre he held, and would then have sat down contented with his Holstein.

This could not escape the Observations of the jealous Danes, among whom there were many Malecontents, as well as the Glummers, who wished for nothing more than to make the Family of Holstein hated, in hopes of bringing in Albert, the Son of the late deposed King.

This evil Spirit was so artfully and universally fomented, that in some Time, the Glims as well as the Glummers began to be affected, though from very different Motives: The later wished to render the Family of Holstein hateful and get them cut off; the Glims wished to correct whatever was found wrong, and perpetuate the Crown in a Family, the best Qualified and the most likely to maintain the Liberties of the States, or the Remnant of them: For, little more than the Form of Government was now left; which the People were in general too stupid to perceive.

Those of the former Faction, that had Seats in the Diet, finding a Discontent arising among those of the later, for the Prince's too great Fondness for the Dutchy of Holstein; thought it a fit Opportunity for making some Motions to provide a Successor to
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the Throne in Case of the Death of the present King. They were much encouraged by finding no Opposition from the Glims, who seemed to be equally Satisfied of the Necessity and timeliness of making such a Provision. The Glummers mentioned several Princes related to the preceding Kings, none of which were agreeable to the Generality. Some were hardy enough to propose the Son of Christiern II. But, the Objections to admitting the Son of the Tyrant, who by his horrid Scenes of Iniquity forfeited, like any other Traitor, for himself and his Issue, were too strong to admit of much Debate. His foreign Education in Arbitrary Governments; his early imbibed Hatred and Enmity to those who were Instrumental to the deposing his Father; his being grounded in a System of Religion subversive of the present Establishment, and above all, his laying an hereditary Claim to the Crown, were all displayed in such a Light, as shewed the most insensible and perverse, what horrible Things were to be expected from the admitting a Man of this Stamp to hold the Reigns of Government.

These being established, an Expedient was proposed, to which each Faction, after some Debate, agreed; though upon different Motives: It was moved, that the Duke of Holstein, the King's eldest Son, should be declared Prince of Danemarch and Successor to his Father in the Throne; with this Provision, which was couched in the strongest Terms, that whenever the said Duke of Holstein should succeed to the Throne, he should never leave the Territories of the Crown of Danemarch, without the Consent of the States in Diet convoked. And if he departed the Kingdom, without such Consent of the States, that he should be, *Ipsa Facto*, degraded and deposed.

The Glims moved this as the best Security to the Successor of the Allegiance and Affection of the People, and to the People of the Removal of all

Cause of Jealousy, such as Frederick the First often gave by his Absence; by obliging the King to reside within his regal Dominions, the most important Part of his Charge. The Glummers, finding they could not gain the wished for Ends, agreed to this; upon a Presumption, that neither the Duke nor the King his Father would accept of the Terms; or if they did, that the Prince would find the Restraint so heavy upon him, when he should come to the Throne; that he would find some Means of breaking or evading it; and so give them another Opportunity of Fishing in troubled Waters. And the King, thinking it just to give the Subjects every reasonable Satisfaction and just Security, cheerfully pass'd a Bill with these Provisions into a Law; the Non-observance of which was another of the many fatal Wounds, given Danemarch, before the vital Parts were reached.

Had such a Law as this been made in Britain, who would not have looked upon it as sacred, as a fundamental Part of the Constitution, never to be altered, till the Succession could no longer run in that Channel? None but Slaves and Parricides, Enemies to their Country and their Prince. If our Enemies could shew such Blots in our Annals, such stains in the Characters of King and People, what free Briton could withhold Blushes or Tears? Let it not be thought of: We have loved our Kings too well, to suffer them, if they could, to transgress. They have been too wise and just to attempt it; or, if it were possible to be otherwise, they had found our Parliaments too watchful not to warn and council them; too faithful to their Trust to give up any Thing, inconsistent with the Honour and Interest of the King and People; which ever have been, as they now are and ever shall be, mutual and inseparable. But, what have You or I to do with these Considerations? Let us then quit them for Something or any Thing,

Thing, in which we are less concerned. Till that offers, Farewell!

YOURS, &c.

L E T T E R X.

Being a continuation of the Diseases, that brought on the Death of Danemarch.

AS the Nordwegians were not now looked upon as concerned in any Affairs of Government; they were never consulted in these Matters. However, they were not yet denied the Liberty of talking on these Subjects, any where, but in their Diet, which was now called once in two or three Years, to grant additional Subsidies to the Crown; those, they had already wisely granted in perpetuity, being found insufficient to answer the multiplied Exigencies of the State, or the Drafts of the King upon the Treasury, which daily increased most extravagantly.

In some Things, the Nordwegians were allowed great Indulgences: They were permitted to take, and fully to enjoy all the moral Vices, all the Follies, of the Danes. Their Diet, rather than be idle, to fill up vacant Spaces, would do any Thing; and as, by Gortfman's Law, they could do nothing without the Permission of the King and his Senate in Danemarch; these wisely prevented their passing any Act, that could do the Country any good; but gave them a full Latitude to do as much Mischief to themselves and Posterity, as their Vices and Follies could prompt.

However, to save the Crown the Trouble of the scrupulous reading, and rejecting their Bills, as well as to have an Opportunity of gaining some favourite Points there sometimes, without Force or the Knowledge of the Diet of Danemarch; the King had the same care taken there, as at Home, to influence the Elections

Elections of the Members of the Diet, or to engage them in his Interest, or rather to his Will; which was most easily and effectually done, when they were elected, by Bribes, Pensions, Places or Promises. And the better to prevent the uniting of the People, which might possibly make them too troublesome, if not too strong for their Oppressors; all Diligence was used to divide them and set them at Variance against one another.

This was easily done by propagating a persecuting Spirit for religious Tenets, between those of the New established Religion and those that had retained the Old. This was carried to the utmost Heighth. The Disputes about Consubstantiation and Transubstantiation causing the Loss of Liberty and Property to many; endless Animosities must necessarily be raised.

And lest the Consubstantiators should have any Union among them; the violent Spirits of the Glims and Glummers were conveyed into this Sect, by a Kind of Transfusion from Danemarch.

Thus, whatever Steps Danemarch made towards Destruction, she made poor Nordweg lead the Way. And has had only this sad and ill natured Consolation in her Fall; that she, though but for a short while, outlived her Sister Nordweg.

No Prince had reigned with greater Honour and Renown, more to the general Satisfaction of the People, in Danemarch, than Frederick II. did for upwards of twenty Years: For, though he was led now and then, by the Vices of the Times, to run into the Schemes of corrupting the Counsellors of the State; during this Time, they exerted themselves to their own Honour, as well as to that of their King and Country. The Glims all this Time prevailed in the Diets, Senates, Courts of Judicature and most of the other Offices, Judicial or Ministerial, Civil or Military, in both the Kingdoms.

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The same noble Spirit, that animated the Diets, Senates and Courts, seemed to have diffused itself throughout the Army: For they were every where the Terror of their neighbouring Foes. So that all the States of Europe courted an Alliance with this King.

Had he retained the happy Disposition, that had conducted him thus far through his Reign, with Honour, less sullied than any of his Predecessors had shewn; no King had lived more revered, or died more lamented, than Frederick.

But, no Man more strongly shewed the Unsteadiness and Frailty of human Nature, than this potent Prince. He gave himself up to Indolence; neglected the public Business; was less attentive to Merit; and became at length so besotted, that he could not, or would not distinguish the Friends of his Family and the Kingdom, from their Foes; but bestowed Employments and Honours as freely upon the Glummers as on the Glims.

The Glummers were too watchful of their own Interests to neglect this Opportunity of warming themselves into Favour, and succeeded so far as to gain the Ascendant over the drooping, desponding Glims.

When Affairs were in this confused State at home, his designing Enemies made War upon Frederick and his Allies. He sent an Army to oppose his Enemies; but they were of a different Mould from those in the first Years of his Reign. They were chiefly composed of Glummers, who were too much in the Interest of his Enemies, and too averse to that of his Allies, to oppose them with that noble military Spirit, which the Danish Soldiers shewed in the former Parts of this Reign. Yea, in one Engagement, the General of the Danes looked on, and suffered the Army of the best Ally of Danemarch to be cut to pieces by her worst and most dangerous Enemy, without striking a single Stroke in their Defence:

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For, which, it was pretended, he had the King's Orders.

By Measures of this shameful Kind, the King and People of Danemarch lost all the Glory, they had acquired in the first Years of this Reign; and at length, fell into such general Contempt, that they lost all their Allies and were forced to make scandalous Concessions to an insolent Enemy, to obtain an inglorious, an ignominious Peace.

Some Historians assert, that the Basis of this Peace was a secret Article, which was never yet fully proved. It is said, that Frederick, to secure Peace and Quiet for the Remainder of his Days, promised his victorious Enemy to get the Act for the Succession of his Son repealed, and provide for the Accession of Albert, the Son of the dethroned King. The Truth of this Charge will hardly be learned before the Day of Judgment: For, before such an Article could be ratified, the King died; whether of Drunkenness, Shame or Grief, is uncertain; giving Orders to his Secretaries to burn and destroy all Papers relating to this Article.

These Ministers were faithful to their Trust: For, upon Search of the King's Papers, after his Death, no Traces of such an Article was to be found. Yet notwithstanding, some of the Secretaries and principal Officers of the King, who to their Death denied the foul Imputation; fled and lived in the Enemies Country, till the Clemency of the succeeding King pardoned some of them. Their Flight was however attributed by most to no other Cause, than the Consciousness of Guilt.

Another Evil, which this King intailed upon his Country, was the multiplying the Nobility. He created them by the Dozen or the Score, and when he was running his rapid Carreer to Shame and the Destruction of his Country; he was called to render an Account of his Administration to a higher Power,

Power, about the Year 1588, the thirtieth of his ill-conducted Reign.

It is remarkable, that since the regal Power first incroached upon the Popular, there never was Virtue enough in Danemarch to attempt a Reformation. The utmost stretch of their Integrity was to keep, in this Reign, what the preceding King thought fit to leave them, in that; without rectifying a single Abuse, or making any Provision for the Security of Posterity.

One Point, indeed, they kept, which was often feintly attempted to be wrested from them. In former Times, the Crown of Danemarch had a considerable Estate, sufficient to support it's Dignity and the Honour of the Royal Family. Which made Subsidies unnecessary, except in Time of War. This Estate was squandered by prodigal Kings; but, though no King had a right to alienate the Crown Lands; as they were given to Men of Power, the Diet never had the Virtue to reclaim them. These Lands being at length diminished, so far as to make Subsidies always necessary; various Attempts were made to get them granted in Perpetuity, or to the reigning King, for Life.

To this the Diet could never be induced to consent. But, they did what answered the Ends of the Crown almost as well; they took upon them to alter the original sacred Constitution of the Realm, which was beyond the Power of the Diet, (being Established by the same Power, that gave them being;) in making the Diet, which was to be elected every Year, continue for Four Years first, and then afterwards for Eight. Which in Time gave wicked Ministers and corrupt People, an Opportunity of overturning the original System of Government; of which I may give you further particulars at Leisure.

If among the few Readers of this Paper, there happen to be any, who know something of our History; how must they rejoice, when they find none of these horrid Invasions made or attempted upon our Government? And that the Institution and the Administrations are preserved in pristine Vigour and Purity? But, I write not for these. I have learned how Minorities are to be treated, and what Devotion is to be paid to the Majority. For these, I write. Let nobody read this, but he who can amuse himself, without thinking any Danger at Home, with the trifling Revolutions or Subversions of neighbouring States; who can smoke out his Pipe or go to Sleep, while his neighbour's House is in Flames, seeing his own out of immediate Danger. For You, my good Masters, I Write. I know your Number and your Weight. I know what Multitudes depend upon You for Support. And that if all of your happy Cast read my Lucubrations, by the Help of my Printer, I shall make a great Demand for Paper; to the desirable Emolument of our most favourite, powerful, brave and faithful Friends and Allies of Genoa, Holland and Austria. Yours, &c.

L E T T E R X I.

Relating some of the deadly Symptoms that preceded the political Death of Danemarch.

HAPPILY thoughtless and insensible, as I found you, if you have been able to give any Attention to the foregoing Letters; you must now know, if you do not feel, that our most melancholy Scenes are yet to be presented, that they cannot be far off; but that our Tragedy now draws near to it's fatal Period. Thanks to the Prudence and Probity of our Administration! The Scene is laid so far from home, that I do not suppose it will affect you, or even your tender Wives or gentle Daughters,

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ters, till the Curtain is dropt. Then, whether you will be moved to laugh or to weep, to clap or to hiss the Actors, Time and the Event alone can shew. As for the Poet, he is quite indifferent whether you applaud or damn the Performance: He sticks close to simple historical Facts, without the Embellishments of Art. While Truth pleases, he cannot offend. And when there is not Virtue enough in the Public to receive and support it; he will in silent Sadness drop his useless Pen.

I have, in my former Letters, endeavoured to give you a just Idea of the Greatness and Happiness, laid up in Store for the Danes and Nordwegians, as well as Swedes, by the Excellency of the political Constitution, established in these Kingdoms, as well jointly as separately. But it does not yet appear, that they have had the Sense or Virtue to avail themselves of such Benefits.

Had the heroic Work of Margaret the Great, the Union of Calmar, taken effect, these Kingdoms might have been the Envy as well as Terror of the rest of Europe; while at home, the Subjects must have enjoyed all the Blessings of Freedom and Peace.

But fell Ambition soon broke the Bonds of this Union, separated the Kingdoms; which, for Ages after, were kept in a fluctuating State, now joined, now separated, according to the Lusts and Powers, or Virtue and Weakness of the Princes, that were set to rule over them; till by long continued Wars, they became in Time rude and savage.

Yet such was the Excellency of their System of Government, that till latter Days of Corruption, they never lost sight of it, amidst the various Shocks and Outrages, it suffered by the sacrilegious Hands of Tyrants; but still kept it in View, and revived it, when ever they had the Appearance of Peace; whether the Kingdoms were united or in a separate State.

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Thus the Principles of the Policy of these Nations, which were the joint Product of Wisdom and Virtue, were not to be overthrown or effaced by the utmost Force and Violence, that Tyrants could offer. They were often overturned, and for a while, suppressed; but while Wisdom and Virtue held any Place in the Minds of the People, these Principles could not be totally extinguished; but still rose more bright, more powerful after a long Suppression, and gave a glorious Light, that always led Men to Liberty, to Truth, to Happiness.

Wisdom and Virtue then, appear to have founded these, and indeed every other free Form of Government, antient or modern. And it will appear to the Judicious and Considerate, whatever it may to you, who lay no Claim to either; that while these subsisted, no People ever did or ever could have lost their Freedom.

We hear some tender hearted weak People cry out against the Ruins and Desolations wrought by Fire and Sword, all the World over. Multitudes have miserably lost their Lives, but I know not a single State, in Antient or Modern Story, that was completely deprived of it's Liberty, by Force alone: For, while one wise and virtuous Man survived, the Ravager's Conquest must have been insecure; the very Tools of the Conqueror must in Time be wrought upon by the irresistible Power of Wisdom and Virtue, while any remained; so that the very Slaves, who ignorantly fought against them, must in Time feel their Influences, turn against their Inflater, and claim and embrace the lasting Benefits of social Joys, Peace and Liberty; which ever wait upon Wisdom and Virtue.

I carry my Notions of this Matter still farther, and am in my own Mind persuaded, that no regular popular Assembly, antient or modern, was by any Means, ever wrought upon to forsake or neglect
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the Interests of their Country, in a single Instance; while one Man, perfectly acquainted with the Laws of Nature and Reason, conversant with the Constitution and Interests of his Country, and possessed of an Heart above all sordid Views, regardless of all private Concerns, that clash with the Public, held a Seat in that Assembly. I believe it will not often be found, that any Thing iniquitous is done in the most tumultuous Assemblies, in which honest and sensible Men have a proper Influence.

I think, I see many rise to contradict this Position, by producing somebody, they have set up as an illustrious Exception, in their Imagination. Bring forth the Man, and if he does not appear to have some Degrees of Folly or Knavery about him; something to cause a Diffidence even in his Fellows, and make them believe or say, when he speaks for Truth and Liberty with the greatest Energy, that he is far from being serious, and means no more than to give a Proof of his Talents, the better to gain some private Ends. If this be not thus, I shall drop my favourite Position, and think worse of human Nature than I am inclined. But, you will say, 'What is all this to our Purpose?' 'We are Strangers to the infamous Characters, you draw. Our Councils are adorned with, not only 'Units, but Tens and Hundreds of the wisest and 'best Patriots you can paint.' True; and long may it be so! And long may you live to think so! Keep your Tempers; I only speak of the Affairs of ancient Danemarch, purely for your Amusement.

I well foresee, my History will hardly meet the Credit I could wish. In this wise and virtuous Age, it is not easy to conceive, that such a long train of evil Administration should be laid, and continue for so many successive Reigns. Men of Probity and Sense will naturally conclude, that, the Administration was so corrupt, it was not possible the Government should so long subsist. Agreed; when

once a People run counter to the Principles of their Policy; then the Government must be suspended, if not overturned. What is most wonderful and incredible in this Case is, that the Government of Denmark, with these and many other Abuses and Corruptions of the Administration, subsisted for two Reigns longer, in Name and Form, when not one of the Essentials of the Constitution were preserved. From the Strength of this political Constitution, the Danes, I suppose, were induced to think it immortal. But, they were too stupid, too insensible or too corrupt to think at all about it; and it was not possible it should subsist without Care.

If you find the Subject interesting enough, look back and see what Denmark was, when Haquin of Nordweg was called to the Throne; observe the additional Strength given it by Margaret, after the Death of her Son, when she established the Union of the three Kingdoms, at Calmar. What greater Security could human Wisdom contrive for the Ease and Happiness of the Crown, and the Peace and Freedom of the Subject, than the general System of Policy now established? See how all this Security was gradually withdrawn, by the Perfidy of a degenerate Race of Kings, and tacitly, indolently, perfidiously given up, by a base, perverse, insensible, corrupt People; unworthy of any Thing, but what they justly got, Stripes and Bonds!

You have already, or might in my former Letters, have seen the Kings, contrary to express Laws, alienate the sacred Patrimony of the Crown, to gratify their Minions and Agents; possess themselves of the Appointment of all the considerable Officers in the State; sacrilegiously seize and squander the public Funds; multiply the Nobles at Pleasure; destroy the Balance of the Legislature, and afterwards rob it of its political Conscience, its regard to Truth and the Common-weal; and all this, and perhaps more, that has

has escaped my Memory, as well as your Observation; without any kind of Opposition from the Diet or People.

You saw, or might have seen, the Diet and People of one Kingdom enslaved by the Instigation and Contrivance of the other. And, Oh! horrible Sight! You saw the Diet taking upon them the unwarrantable Power of altering that sacred and invariable Constitution, they were appointed to protect, and subverting it in the great Essential of annual Diets, which they prolonged, first to quadrennial and soon after to octennial Diets. And all this, without Fire or Sword, without any Degree of foreign or domestic Force, and most of it, in Times of the most profound Peace! Where now was the Wisdom and Virtue, that framed and founded this Constitution, and by which alone it was to be supported!

You, who in Spight to your prudent Inattention to your home Concerns, must feel the happy Effects of a Series of wise and virtuous Administrations, by which the national Constitution is kept up in it's pristine Health and Vigour, will think it scarce possible, any Government should subsist after it's vital Streams were thus polluted, and all, that was necessary for it's Support, corrupted.—There wanted nothing now, but a Prince able to purchase them, when they became venal, or one, resolute enough to play upon their Pusillanimity, and compel them to quit their Pretensions to Freedom and give up their all into a despotic Ruler's Hands. How ready they were for either change will appear from the Success, with which the first open and direct attempt to enslave them was attended.

Though the Succession was confirmed to the Prince of Holstein, before the Death of the late King, there were great Commotions in the State at his Death, between the two contending Factions; whose Dis-

putes and Corruptions precipitated the Destruction of the State.

The Glummers did not hesitate at saying, that it was manifestly the Design of the late King to rescind the Act of Succession, to confine his Son to his hereditary Dominions in Holstein, and to get Albert, the Son of Christiern II, declared the Successor; for which they pretended, he had the Concurrence of the People, whose Voice should ever have due Force with the Diet.

The Glims warmly and vigourously contended for the Contrary, and if they could not vindicate the late King from the Aspersions; they thought no Regard was to be paid to his Intentions against a Law, which as it had the Sanction of a free Diet, the Approbation of the People and the legal Assent of the King, they were perswaded, it stood confirmed and recorded in Heaven, and they would use their utmost Might to support it, and see it executed.

Whilst these Disputes run high in every Assembly, in every private Company that met, each Faction did not only labour to raise a Party for their respective Purposes at Home, but sent Messengers of Distinction to each of their Princes.

Albert having been declared by the Diet an Outlaw, and all that should adhere to him or look upon him as a Prince having any Title to the Throne, being declared Traitors; none presumed to declare publicly for him.

But, the Duke of Holstein being declared the lawful Successor, it was not judged perilous to avow him; and therefore, the Glims had him proclaimed in due Form, by the Name of Christiern IV, King of Danemarch, Nordweg, &c.

The Messengers sent for Albert could hardly move him. He had inherited the Pusillanimity of his Father, and the Bigottry of his Mother, and chose to retire with the Supplies, freely and amply given him

him by those of his Persuasion, and the Title and Honours of a King, rather than give up his Peace, and run the Risk of his Life, to please a Faction of a fickle People.

His Unwillingness to put himself at their Head greatly broke and dispirited his Faction, for the present. But, after a while they rallied, and watching their Opportunity, in Time, found a Moment, in which he favoured their Entreaties, in coming privately to raise some Troubles in the Borders of Jutland.

The Messengers that went for the Duke of Holstein did not find him much rejoiced at the profered Succession to the Danish Throne. He was quite contented with his hereditary Country. He had improved it in general, built a Palace, more commodious than magnificent; he loved, and was beloved by, the People, to whom his Will was now a Law. And he did not relish the general Restraints imposed on the Prince of a limited Monarchy, and least of all that, that obstructed his visiting Holstein at his Pleasure.

However, when he considered, upon the Remonstrances of the Messengers, the extreme Regard the Diet and People manifested for him and his Family; the Dangers of civil Wars and of the Subversion of their civil and religious Liberties, to which they must be exposed upon his Denial, and the Hopes given him of taking off all disagreeable Restraints; he consented, set out for Danemarch, arrived there amidst the loudest Acclamations of the People, and was crowned King with all the usual Solemnities in the Year 1587.

This Prince, while he was Young and incapable of choosing for himself, was persuaded to marry a Princess of the House of Saxony. They did not live happily together. And when they were but a few Years married, she died, leaving him one Son. Partly from a Diffidence in the Danes and some Suspi-

cions of their inconstancy, and partly through some Deficiency of parental Love, the King judged it better to leave his Son under proper Governors in Holstein, than bring him with him into Danemarch.

Christiern IV, was a Man of good natural Parts; but of a contracted Education. The Holsatians thought the surest Way of ingrossing his Affections was by confining his Knowledge of the World within the narrow Limits of that little mean Principality. He was well versed in their Laws, Customs, and Interests, and gave them due Attention. He had a noble Spirit and an honest Heart. He loved Money and Power, rather too well. But, when he laid out the one, as he sometimes did, for the Purchase of the other; he was not often observed to abuse his Bargain. He religiously kept his Promises to all Men, and was strictly just in all Parts of his Conduct. This was his Character in Holstein.

Had this Prince, with his good natural Parts and Dispositions, been a little better instructed in the Ways and Laws of other Nations, and that in particular, whose Crown he was in Time to bear, and been set at the Head of a wise and virtuous People; there is no Doubt, that he would have made one of the best, the greatest Characters in History.

But, he was called to govern a degenerate Race of Men, who had almost lost Sight of the Principles of their Policy, or had not the Virtue to assert or maintain them; who had no Sense of Liberty, but Insolence and Licentiousness; and who were so immoral and irreligious, that every Vice that could bring a Curse upon a State or deform human Nature, were daily practised, where they did not readily fall under the Lash of the Law; a People, among whom Religion was decried by those that were appointed to propagate it, and Places, Civil, Ecclesiastic and Military were as publickly sold and bought, as any Goods the Markets; and among whom, there was hardly
an

an Individual found, that would give his Voice gratis, to elect the worthiest Man a Member of the Diet, or into any other Office, when he could gain any Thing, by giving it to the most unworthy. This is but a short Sketch of the Character of this degenerate People, which this well disposed Prince was called to govern.

The Nordwegians were now torn asunder by the same Factions with the Danes. They were long since cut out of all Share in Matters of Government; but had they been consulted, the Glims would have been found to have had all Power there, and consequently, they were pleased with the Choice and Succession of Christiern, nor did the Glummers in that Kingdom ever openly attempt to disturb the Government of him or his Successor in that Realm.

Nothing could have proved more unfortunate, than the contracted Education of this well disposed Prince. He came among the Danes, not without much Diffidence and some Dislike to them. He was not now young; it was therefore too late to instruct him. He was bred quite a Stranger to their Government and Laws, consequently unable to hold the Reigns of Government, alone. Therefore, he soon found it expedient, as some of his Predecessors did, to take some of the great Officers of the State into his Confidence, who should direct him in a political Œconomy, with which he was unfortunately unacquainted.

From this Circumstance, many Misfortunes arose to this declining People. The King could not be acquainted with many, and therefore must have been limited in his Choice. And it was hard, in Case he had made the wisest and best Election, that he should be forced to share his Power with a Subject. But the Case was still worse than this.

He naturally enquired who were the best Friends of his Family, in his Father's Reign, and who appeared most zealous for his Succession in each Estate of the Realm, before his Accession. These being

pointed out to him, he justly continued such of them as possessed Employments under the late King, and promoted others to Places, vacated by his Death. And among these, he chose for his Confidants, such as had most Power and Influence on the Members of each of the four Estates of the Diet.

Had it been possible for this good Prince, among these to have chosen Men of sound Sense and Morals, such as knew and loved the Constitution, and could not be induced to swerve from the Rules of Right; but were actuated by a just Sense of Duty to their King and Country, and would not suffer their united Interests to be separated, by either's gaining an undue Ascendant over the other; Danemarch might have longer survived the many Wounds and Bruises already given her, if not have recovered from them by this good King's Care.

But, this was impossible. Corruption had for some Time been the avowed Measure of every Administration, though it was not yet brought to the Height. Every Individual set up an Interest distinct from, if not opposite to the Public. It can hardly be said with Propriety, that there was such a Thing as a Public; there was no Union, no Society, as heretofore; except some Confederacies in Iniquity, which sometimes past under the Name of Friendships. Not a Man was now to be found, that took a Thought for the Public, further than as he thought himself immediately interested in it. Every Man set up for himself, and few were to be got to do the ordinary Duties of their Stations, without some visible private Benefit. Who would wish to be set to rule such a People? What honest Prince could be fit for the Task?

The King was but ill-qualified to deal with such an abandoned Race as this. But, he happened to light upon Men, well versed in their Ways, and consequently fit to rule Profligates in their own Way. To these,

these, he was forced to submit the whole Œconomy of the regal Office, and they had in Time Craft enough to ingross him to themselves, in Effect to wrest the Reigns of Government entirely out of his Hands; by depriving him of the Use of his common Senses; keeping him a Stranger to the State of the People and the Progress of their evil Policy, and yet giving their worst Measures the Sanction of the sacred Name of Majesty.

A Diet was now summoned. And the Elections went on and were made, much as the King's Favourites had directed. The Senate was appointed and all the vacant Commissions and Employments were all filled upon the same Plan.

It is easy to conceive what an Effect such an Administration as this must have produced on the Minds of good Men; if any such were now to be found in Danemarch. Few indeed of this Cast were to be found, though many out of the States, as well as in them, put on the Semblance of the Character, as Masks, under which they might best hope to gain their private Ends. How happy are you Britons, who know no such Men among you! Here, let us breath a While and resume the Subject, the next Opportunity.

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R XII.

The melancholy Subject of the Ninth continued.

THE Glummers, or as they were now, perhaps for Shortness, called the Glums, were foremost in this Number; industriously laboured to throw the Odium of all the iniquitous Measures of this Administration upon the innocent Prince, in order to make him hateful, and in Hopes to pave the Way for Albert to succeed.

Since

Since the calling of Frederick I, to the Throne, the two Factions began insensibly to change their Principles. Though the Glums contended for Christiern, and when ever they saw an Opportunity, for his Issue also; they thought it necessary to give the like Opposition to Frederick and his Family, that their Antagonists had given their Patron and his Family. And, on the other Hand, the Glims so far changed Sides, that if it were only in downright Opposition to the Glums, they resolved to strengthen the Hands of their King, by all Ways and Means, even to the giving tacitly, if not avowedly, into such Measures, as they opposed and condemned in his Predecessor. This Disposition continued in each Faction, through all the succeeding Reigns; and nothing concurred more to the Destruction of the States, than these ill-conducted Contests.

Some few Years of the King's reign past over in seeming Tranquility. But, various Causes concurred to raise a Storm, which soon after broke out with some Fury.

The Jealousy of the growing Power of Swedeland, which strongly possessed the Danes, together with some Propensity to claim their King's obsolete Right to the Crown, as under the Union of Calmar, made them, upon some frivolous Pretence, declare War against Charles IX, which was at first, carried on with Success. But, the Scales were turned after the Death of this King of Swedeland, when his Son, Gustavus Adolphus came to the Throne. To him, the Danes were forced to relinquish Elfsburg and Calmar, which they had taken in the late Reign; but not, as it is said, without a large Sum of Money to Christiern.

About this Time, some Troubles broke out in Germany; which, with his strong, natural Desires to visit his Holstein, made the Restraint laid on the by the Act of his Father, that settled the Succession, sit very heavy on his Mind.

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This he imparted to his Confidents, who promised to remove his Distress, by getting the States to consent to an Act for repealing the Clause that gave him Uneasiness, in the Act of Succession. Accordingly, Matters were so prepared in the Diet, that the intended Bill passed, with inconsiderable Opposition.

It must be confessed, that there were some Members among the Burghers and Paisantry, and some few among the Nobles, who spoke with great Force of Truth and Reason against this Bill. The chief Arguments of the Movers for it, were it's being an unreasonable Restraint, laid upon the Prince, without his Consent; and that it was hard, that he should be denied a Privilege, which the meanest Subject enjoyed, of going out of the Kingdom at his Discretion.

These were answered by shewing the Wisdom and Justice of confining the King to the most Important of his two Offices, his Regal and his Ducal; which was strengthened, by shewing that Governments and Crowns were instituted for the Good of the Governed, rather than the Governors, and that the latter should submit to the former, who must be presumed the best Judges of their own Interests. It was added, that the Restraint now complained of, had in many preceding Reigns appeared necessary; but in none more than this. That that Act being made before the King acceded to the Throne, became an essential, unalterable Part of the national Constitution, the Terms, upon which alone, that Prince could receive the Crown. That he voluntarily submitted to these Terms in accepting the Crown; and therefore, could have no Right to complain of, or to alter, them, without making all such like Securities to the People appear hereafter evasive and nugatory.

Whatever Weight such Arguments might have had with wise, unprejudiced People; they were of none with a Diet under the Influence of a crafty Minister, in luxurious corrupt Times, possessed of the
Keys

Keys of the Treasury, and ingrossing his Master's whole Power. Freedom of Speech was all the Liberty, the uninfluenced Members could now boast. They were heard, but unheeded. And when they had nothing more to offer; without attempting a Reply, the Question was put and carried in the Affirmative, by a small Majority in the House of Peers, somewhat greater, in that of the Burgesses, Unanimity, in that of the Clergy, and above three to two, in that of the Nobles.

The Movers of this Question seeing their Strength, did not confine this Provision for the King's going once out of the Kingdom upon the Consent of the States, as the first Bill seemed to imply; but repealed it entirely for ever, not only for the King, but for his Son, now by another Clause, declared the Successor to the Danish Throne.

Corruption might not yet have been so confirmed, as that such a Change in Government as this Repeal occasioned, could have been so readily wrought, were it not from the perverse Spirit of Opposition, which one party shewed to another.

The Glums wished for nothing more than this Repeal. They had looked for it all along. And perhaps had been the first Movers of the Question, did they not artfully see, that the Glims would make it a Point to carry any Thing against them. They therefore thought it best to foment it privately, by such of their Faction, as were permitted for such Purposes to put on the Mask of Glims. And when it took rise, they gave it a feeble Opposition by way of a Feint; which the Glims perceiving, joined in with the Movers, and so the uncorrupt and corrupt insensibly combining with the Glums, the Question was secured, by a Majority proportioned to the Number of Glums, mistaken Glims and ministerial Members in each House.

Soon

Soon after this, the King made a Visit to Holstein, where he spent some Months, to the great Grief of all sensible and good Men, that loved him and his Family and wished the Freedom and Prosperity of their Country; and to the general open Discontent and Exclamation of his Enemies, who were ready to magnify even Trifles to make the King and his Party odious, as the only Means by which they could hope for Success to their dark Schemes.

The Glums made no small Handle of this in their sowing the Seeds of Discontent and Disaffection. And they soon got many, that were well affected, to join in the Cry. These encouraged the out-lawed Albert to revive his Claim, and think of an Invasion.

Before this took Place, the King returned to his regal Dominions, unknowing and unsuspecting the Designs of his Enemies; his Ministers finding it for their Purposes to keep him as ignorant as possible. The Restraint being now removed, he found himself more at his Ease; began to give some Attention to public Business, particularly to the Encouragement of Commerce, which greatly flourished during his Reign. But, for Matters of Government, those he put in a great Measure out of his Power, by trusting them in the Hands of the crafty Minister, from whom he soon found, they were not to be easily wrested.

The King of Swedeland bearing a secret Enmity to Christiern, now basely, and privily encouraged and assisted Albert to invade the remote Parts of Jutland, promising on his Side to make a Diversion, if necessary. Here, some of the disaffected Nobles and Commons of all the Danish Territories headed an inconsiderable Number of disguised Swedish Soldiers, with a numerous Rabble of disaffected Danes and Jutes. They were not able to make any considerable Progress, before the King called the Diet; which, as soon as assembled, made most loyal Addresses to the

the King, and gave him great Sums of Money, with solemn Assurances to risk their Lives and Fortunes in Defence and Support of his royal Person and Family.

The King having his Coffers filled, and his Hands thus strengthened by the Diet, sent an Army against the Rebels, which in the first pitched Battle completely defeated them, slaying Numbers of them and taking many of their Chiefs Prisoners; while their pretended Prince, before the Fate of the Battle could be known, fled and never after ventured to shew himself in any Part of the Dominions of Denmark.

Yet notwithstanding, his having come once, implied a Possibility of his making an other Invasion. This and the insolent Behaviour of the Glums made the keeping a large Army on Foot, constantly necessary; while all this Faction were constantly enveighing against Measures which their Conduct made so evidently necessary.

This furnished the Ministry with a most plausible Pretext for multiplying Taxes, so that nothing in Time could be found free of heavy Imposts, in Denmark. But, another Expedient, (which favoured the Schemes of the Minister for raising Money and increasing the national Debt; which he would persuade his Party, would be a Security to the Government, when it was evident, it must, as we shall see it did in the End, prove the Nation's Bane;) was drawn from the late Rebellion: Whenever any great Sum of Money was wanted for any Purpose, it was but spreading a Rumour of an intended Invasion or Insurrection, for the pretended Intelligence of which, immense Sums were paid; and the Diet never failed of granting such Sums of Money as the Minister demanded for these Purposes.

By means of this Kind, the public Debt was accumulated, to a pitch not then heard of in any other
tion, and such as proved in the next Reign the
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immediate Cause of the downfall of Danemarch. See how the Glums forwarded, by their Schemes, the Destruction of their Country! Their Conduct caused the keeping Armies on Foot, the increasing the public Debt and the urging their Antagonists to undesigned Extremities.

While the Nation was thus burdened with Debts and Taxes, Danemarch was again drawn into a War with Swedeland. But Matters were in general so ill-conducted, through the Officers of the Army's being composed of Men softened and corrupted by the Luxuries of the Court, promoted by their Interest in the Diet, rather than by their personal Merit; through Succours being unseasonably sent and a Variety of other Mismanagements, that the Swedes were able with a powerful Army to march into Holstein and Jutland, which soon penetrated as far as Schonen, and might have gone much farther, had not the King put himself at the Head of his Army and by his wise Conduct and exemplary Valour, maintained his ground; till by the Interposition of France, a Peace was concluded at Bromsebroo, in *October*, 1645. not without ceding Gothland, Osel and Jumperland to the Swedes, and being forced to let the Dutch, settle at their Discretion, the Tolls of the Sound, in Consideration of the Aids they had afforded.

The People were now so loaded with Taxes, that they could hardly support the Burden. The national Debt was excessive, and exclaimed against by Men of Sense and Friends to the Government, till it got so much in the Mouths of the Malecontents, that Men were ashamed to appear in so hateful a Class. Thus the Violence of the Glums naturally impelled the Glims to the opposite Extreme in all Things.

The present Minister thought to lessen his Burden, by getting the Diets, by an unnatural Law, continued for eight Years instead of one, and by uniting the two Estates of Burghers and Paissants into one House

of Commons. But, he might now carry any Point in the Diet, which was composed of his Creatures. Corruption was now the avowed Measures of his Administration, and when the just King remonstrated against it, as often as it accidentally occurred to him; he received for Answer, that the Danes would not now do their own Business, much less the King's, without being paid for it. He often endeavoured to make the King believe there was not an honest Man in either Estate of the Realm or in all his Dominions; this the King always heard with Horror and Doubt. But the Minister was able to give an ample Proof of these fatal Truths, by shewing that his most zealous, violent Opponents, such as by their Opposition got a Variety of popular Honours, as well as their Seats in the Diet, were publicly or privately his Pensioners, or Candidates for some Places or Honours in his Gift.

No Wonder this should give an honest King an implacable Aversion to such a corrupt, wretched Nation, and make him pass as much of his Time as possible in Holstein; where the People, being less poisoned with Pomp and Luxury, had yet retained more of their natural Simplicity and Honesty.

The Wickedness of the Ministry daily increased the King's Wants and the People's Wretchedness, and at length, forced him to enter into some shameful Schemes, as injurious to his Honour, as destructive to the Public. These were the setting up Lotteries and various other infamous Modes of Gaming, but especially by instituting a certain gaming Company, under the Colour and Pretence of forming a trading Company, with great Funds and Stocks for carrying on a most advantageous Commerce with particular Parts of the World. Numbers were drawn in, to deposite excessive Sums of Money in these sham Funds, by way of purchasing Stocks, in a Trade that was to bring in most excessive Profit to the Adventurers, which were called,

called, the Tranquebar Company: This was carried on with great Address for a few Years, and many Men made and lost extraordinary Fortunes by buying and selling of this imaginary Stock. Those in the Secret could not lose; those that were not, were bubbled. At length, when the Fraud was like to be detected and the Cashier or Treasurer's Hands were quite full; he stopt Payment suddenly and disappeared. This shocked the whole Kingdom, and caused the Ruin of many credulous Families, while those that were in the Secret filled their Coffers. Some openly charged this on the King. Others threw the Infamy solely on the Ministers. Where it lay most justly, is not very clear. But, that neither could be acquitted of it was plain from this; that the Treasurer lived publicly and sumptuously in Stockholm, in good Harmony with the Danish Ambassador at that Court, and without being ever demanded by that of Danemarch, upon which such an Offender must have been given up. Moreover, his Friends openly solicited the King for a Pardon for him; which being judged somewhat unpopular, was declined; promising him, that to wipe the Stain off his faithful Family, his Son should be ennobled. Which promise, upon an Injunction, was fulfilled in the succeeding Reign.

You, who have never heard of any Thing like this before; whose great Kings, could not stoop to such foul Deeds; whose Subjects disdain Titles, places of Honour, of Trust or of Profit, inconsistent with Morality, Religion and the Publick Good; will surely think this fabulous. Think so still. Take this as you list. Rejoice, when you feel your *Witbers unwrung*. And exult at finding that the Virtues of King and People have secured your Country from Danger of falling even into Temptation. Fear no evil then. Live secure and
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thoughtless of any thing but your Pleasures. Here then to avoid Interruption, let us pause a while.

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R XIII.

In which the preceeding Subject is continued.

THE iniquitous Measures, which now prevailed in Danemarch, were dealt out to Nordweg, in Miniature, in Proportion. The Dyet was corrupted, altered, and in Effect, perpetuated; the Nobles disgraced; the Public burdened with Debts and Taxes, raised to pay Prostitutes, and the Funds drained daily, without the least Regard to the Authority of the Dyet.

But, not content with this, the fatal, the finishing Stroke was at once given their tottering Constitution. Notwithstanding the great Encouragement given to the bringing Appeals from the High court in Nordweg, to that in Danemarch; many were still determined in the Former, without the Interposition of the latter. Upon this being shewn in Danemarch, the Dyet past an Act taking away all Authority and Jurisdiction from that of Nordweg, and declaring it Subject to, and in all things, dependant upon, the Jurisdiction and Legislature of Danemarch, for ever. And so it remained, till the Constitutions of both Kingdoms were, by such corrupt and tyrannical Measures, at length brought to final Dissolution.

The King lived for many Years after this, and might have completed the Reduction of the one Kingdom, as well as of the other, were it not for two particular Circumstances. The first was, he had, by keeping a Festival instituted to commemorate the Deposition of Christiern II. been Annually put in Mind of that Tyrant's Fate. The second was,

was, though he plainly saw, he had much more Power to establish a Despotism, than Christern or any of his Predecessor's, and such as he judged were more than sufficient, had he held them collected in his own Hand solely; yet, he well saw, how much he had, at first setting out, shared his Power with his chief Confident, out of whose Hands, he saw it both difficult to wrest it at any Rate, and most dangerous, if he should fail in the Attempt. Therefore, he thought it most prudent to leave the Administration entirely in the Hands of his Minister, till a favourable Opportunity should offer; contenting himself with the bare outside Appendages of Majesty, and Liberty to spend as much of his Time as he chose, in Holstein. By which the Minister's Influence was increased, while the King insensibly lost his.

It will be naturally asked, had not this King one Friend to inform him of the State of the Nation, or Sense of the People?—This is a Blessing, King's rarely, if ever know. Few bear the kindest Offices of Friendship, from their Equals, well. Kings having no Equals are hardly ever to be advised. The Flatterer's Voice alone is heard. These and the Tools of the Minister alone were admitted: and if any were suspected to be Friends to the Country or the King; care was taken, they should never have Access to the Sovereign's Ear. See the unhappy Fate of Kings! envy their Station who will.

The neighbouring Potentates could no longer avoid seeing the contemptible State, to which Danemarch and her King were now reduced. Each of them treated both with the utmost Contempt and Indignity. The Fear of Swedeland's making an other Invasion of Holstein, to which they had before found the Way, made the King and his Minister bear many Hardships and Insults from that Power; who taking Advantage of this dastardly, pacific Temper, extended her Manufactures and her

Commerce, fortified her Ports, regardless of her Treaties with Danemarch, and enlarged her Navy, so as to become terrible to Danemarch ever since. Soon after which, the Danish Ships were searched, their Crews cruelly treated, and even their Flag insulted, on the open Seas, by the Russians and Dutch, without the Dane's daring to resent it. The injured People, indeed complained; but they were by various Artifices discouraged. Sometimes, the Minister pronounced them the Aggressor's, upon Presumption without Proofs, or rather upon Pretences to discourage Complaints. And when he was at length urged, by repeated popular Cries, to chastise the Injustice and Cruelty of Powers, now grown wanton in their Insolence to a Country, on which they once looked with Envy and Terror; he gave them this satisfactory Answer, ' that they ' must now bear their adverse Fortune as they ' may; for they had neither Money in their Treasury, a single Ally in Europe, nor any Means of ' obtaining either.' Whereupon, as the least of two Evils, and the only Solace now left, they were forced to Submit to these scandalous and destructive pacific Measures, to the End of this Reign, which happened in Holstein, in the Year 1648.

If you had Eyes and Attention, you might have already seen Distempers enough in the State of Danemarch, to change your Surprise at her Fall, within the Compass of four Days, in the next succeeding Reign, in to wondering, how amidst her manifold Corruptions, she could have so long subsisted! It is plain, the governing Part, the Crown entirely lost Sight of the Principles of the Institution of the Government, if he ever knew it; that he became regardless or ignorant of the Interests and Rights of the People, and forgetful of his solemn Engagements to them at his Corronation, I did not attend to the true Interests of his own and Family; or, to put the best Construction
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on his Conduct, that he suffered himself to be put into Leading-strings, like an Infant. The Prince, who in his political Capacity, has no Will, but that of his People ; deserves all Respect and Veneration. But, what can be so despicable, as a King, not only governing his Subjects, but governed himself, by the Will of his Servants ?—— This was now the hapless Case of Danemarch and her King. No wonder, she soon after fell.

Some of the Few, that allow themselves to think, will naturally ask, were there no Means, of stopping the Progress of these Iniquitous and destructive Measures, attempted ? No warnings given the insensible People of this precipitate Declension of their State ?——There were many ; but all proved ineffectual.

The People were not altogether so abandoned, as not now and then to produce a Man, of Sense and Virtue enough in the Diet, to remonstrate against the Abuses in the Administration, and to point out the Dangers of their overturning the State. But all such Remonstrances were, by various concurring Circumstances, rendered fruitless.

In the first Place, the two contending Factions bore a mortal Enmity to each other, and from that Aversion, without any regard to Right, resolved to oppose each other continually. The Glims had reasons for distrusting and fearing the Glums. These were not only of principles directly opposite to those in political Sentiments ; but the most, if not all of them held religious Tenets, as destructive of the established Religion ; as their politics were subversive of the established Government. It was then natural for those to suspect these, and to oppose them sometimes, even where they might have happened to be in the Right.

Nothing could give a Minister greater Influence, than the violent and often unreasonable Contests of such Factions, when he had the cunning to play

each artfully against the other. Whilst each, blinded by it's irreconcilable Prejudices and Animosities to the other, saw not that they were both made Tools to serve the destructive Designs of a crafty Minister; nor would be perswaded, that their struggles were hastening the Ruin of their Country.

In the next Place, the Minister, at length, saw his Schemes in Danger of being laid open, consequently his Rule likely to come to an end; therefore, he was reduced to Expedients, which looked no further than the Present. He did not love his Master, nor could his Master love him. But, their Interests were interwoven, so complicated, that neither could with safety think of separating them; and so judged it most prudent to let matters run on while they may, in the same Channel. The Minister found it necessary for his Security first to engage a Majority in his Interest in each Assembly of the Diet. Moreover, every Man, whether in or out of the Diet, that was able to speak or write with any Force, or even Plausibility against the Administration, was studied, his Passions discovered, and he was either engaged in the Service of the Minister, or silenced, by a Pension, a Place, a Present or a Title suitable to his Taste or Rank.

It is true, this may be considered as a Kind of Premium for Oratory. It certainly proved so; though such gifts were only intended as the Wages of Iniquity. However it must be confessed, that the Encouragement given, or the Necessity caused, during this Administration, which was continued upon the same Plan after this Minister's Death, raised more political Writers and Orators in Denmark, in two Reigns, than had been known in all the other Ages of the Government. But, this cost the Public by much too dear.

This matchless Minister lived to declare, and to near proving, that there was not an honest Man
a Patriot in the State. and brought so many of
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the first Rank, that assumed the Character and Name, to open Infamy and Disgrace; by corrupting them and perverting them to the very Reverse of what they had before professed; that the Public began to be persuaded of the Truth of his Assertion; so that Men who assumed these Appellations, in Time became suspected and often despised, even before their Integrity could be put to any Sort of Test. Thus Men were brought to lose that very Confidence in one another, which is one of the principal Bonds of Society. How should it then subsist?

By this Time, if I have been able to engage your Attention, I presume, you do not wonder so much at the seeming sudden Fall of Danemarch, as at her Subsisting so long as she did, when all Parts of the Administration had lost all Sense of Wisdom and Virtue, all regard to the Principles and Essentials of the Government, and every Man seemed to set up for himself, as it were in a Kind of Opposition to the Interest of the sinking Public.

But, to shew the unparalleled Excellence of the Danish Constitution; it bore a greater Weight of Corruption before it fell, than any Government of it's Time or perhaps any of all Antiquity. I shall not dispute with modern States, which may possibly appear to outdo the Antients in Schemes and Extent of Corruption, among other ingenious Inventions.

Politicians are agreed, that the Laws are the vivifying Spirit of every State. We have already shewn the Sources of these so polluted that nothing healthful was to be drawn from that Quarter.

But, though some salutary, some essential and fundamental Laws were either repealed or set aside, as the reigning, the absolute Minister directed; yet the Courts of Law were kept open, where Justice might yet seem to be administered. But even these became the common Sewers of Iniquity, such as were alone sufficient to overturn the State, had none other Cause concurred. Th

The Laws of Danemarch, like it's political Constitution, were originally most wise and equal, plain, simple and concise. The primitive Judges of all Disputes between Man and Man, were Referees, two or more, of the Neighbours chosen by the Parties, and their Arbitration was final. If any Crime was committed, the Peace Officer of the Town or District, summoned the Inhabitants, and out of them, appointed, by drawing Lots, nine Men to try and adjudge the Fact. In Time, matters of Property became tried in the like Manner, when Parties could not agree upon Referees. And as Crimes and Disputes became in Process of Time more frequent and more complicated ; Courts of Judicature were instituted, in which Men of the greatest Wisdom and Gravity and independant Fortunes were appointed to preside ; for originally, no judicial or ministerial Officer in the State accepted any Pension ; Sallary or other Gratiuity for his Services. When Virtue possessed Men's Hearts, the Pleasure of doing good, was deemed a sufficient Reward for any Trouble that might have attended the Act.

At long running, it was found necessary to establish different Courts for the greater Dispatch of Business ; and for the Ease of the Subject, a Number of Assessors, with a President of greater Knowledge and Experience, were established in the different Courts, instead of calling upon the Inhabitants at large.

The Presidents from their Reputation and Rank, by Degrees gained such an Influence on the Assessors, that their Opinions generally swayed the Assembly in each Court. Then, as a further Security for their Integrity and Care, certain Stipends were allotted, to make them perfectly independant.

Though the Presidents were originally appointed and paid by the Diet ; as the People abated of their primitive Virtue, and the Kings by Degrees grasp-
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ed more Power; they became Officers of the Crown. This again was reformed in the Time of Frederick I. when they were restored nearly to the primitive Institution and Independency, as set forth in a former Letter.

The Laws being but few, and these most simple and plain, nothing was required in any of the Courts more than to make the Charge, set forth the Proofs, here the adverse Party, and then the Court debated the Matter, if it admitted of Controversy, and determined, in three Sittings at the most, the most complicate and perplexed Cause, that was brought before them.

But this Simplicity and Expedition in Procedure did not hold long. Honesty gave Place to Craft and Knavery; Men set up a new Trade of directing and pleading other Men's Causes; suits were introduced in doubtful Terms and ambiguous Forms, to which Right and Justice was in Time forced to give way. These Pleaders were to be hired, and the Suiter, that could hire the greatest Number, or the most cunning of these, was generally likely to carry his Cause. The Presidents and Assessors were now perplexed. Instead of adjudging a Cause the third Day after hearing both Parties; the Pleaders for their own Gain, for they were paid by the Turn in speaking, lengthened out the Time with Litigations of Words and Forms, confounding and perverting Evidence, and so at length overturning Truth that Suits were spun out to Years, and I might have said to Ages. It frequently happened if two Men went to Law for a Cow or an Horse, that the Beast died before the Suit was ended; or while the Property of a Ship or an House was disputed at Law, that the Premises went to Wreck and Ruin during the Suit, so as to be insufficient to pay the very Pleaders of the happy Man, that gained his Suit.

In short, Suits at Law were not determined sometimes in the third or fourth Generation; so that the Poor and Oppressed for whose Protection and Relief, the Laws and the Courts were instituted, were now deprived of their Benefit; as the Poor could never be able to support the exorbitant Expence and the Loss of Time now necessarily attending every simple Suit.

Every President now began to record the Histories and Procedures of the several Causes, that came before him, with the Judgements past upon them. Many of the Pleaders did the same. And thus the Journals of the different Courts were published, under the Sanction of each Court. And as the simple original Law, (being so plain, so concise and obvious, that it was thought that it could never be forgot, as it was founded on the great, eternal Rule of Right, written by Nature on every Man's Heart) was not committed to Writing, these Journals became so far established in the Place of Law and Right, that the lazy, perhaps corrupt Courts, in Time would not take the Pains to judge for themselves, but determined by Analogy to the Judgements recorded in these Journals. These were extremely voluminous, and the Statutes of the Diet to alter, correct, amend and explained them, were not less so. And as none of these were ever reduced to any Order or Method; the Study of the Law, as these were called, became most tedious and embarrassed and the proceedings in the Courts were still more so. The Requisites for a Pleader were only, a Capacity to read the vulgar Tongue, a Memory to retain, and some little Judgment to apply what he read, and a Front to gloss over Falsehood with the Appearance of Truth, which was ever to be put out of Countenance, by the confounding and abusing Evidence and a variety of shameful Stratagems.

It was not now wonderful to see the Judges themselves confounded by the Art and Multiplicity of Pleaders,

ders, and saying, the Cause was learnedly pleaded ; but they wished the Gentlemen would quote Precedents, without which they could not venture to determine.

These were Abuses unknown in Europe before this Time. The Pleaders became numerous, Suits were multiplied, the People were ruined and the greatest Fortunes were amassed by those of this new, pernicious Trade, the Law. As it was a profitable Profession, it must be deemed honourable in a corrupt State. Besides it was judged so necessary for Securing the Acquisitions or Possessions of every Family, that every one that was able, bred one Son a Pleader.

You can easily conceive what a Curse this new Trade must have become to the Danes. But, you must be at a loss to judge how it was possible it should have grown still worse ; Contrary to the Rules of all other Trades, as the Dealers in this multiplied, their Trade increased, and their Prices rose to Excess. The Price of a Pleader, which in politer Times was called a Fee, increased in proportion to the Badness of the Cause. He that was conscious of the least Justice and Equity of his Side, not only gave the highest Fees, but engaged the greatest Number of Pleaders. The Expences of which rose at length so high, that it could never be worth a Man's while to attempt to sue for four or five Hundred Dollars ; as he could not even commence a Suit without laying out a greater Sum on his Pleaders. So that they were no longer Free to serve their Clients, but bribed, and without a satisfactory Bribe, would they not plead.

You will naturally judge, Men thus practised in Fraud, and to whose polluted Hands the Wages of Prostitution were become thus familiar, not to say necessary ; could not have been good Members of Society. It was indeed impossible. You will not then wonder at the Corruption of the Diet, at their shameless Hardiness in Iniquity, at their tame Submission

to every Scheme of Slavery ; when in Time, the leading Men among the Commonalty, and some, which by getting into holy Orders, crept into the Assembly of the Clergy, as well as several that were called from the Benches and lower Stations to the Order of the Nobles, were all taken from among the Pleaders.

This horrible Evil must have been of Consequences bad enough to the Public, had it stopt here. But, alas ! It went still further. Not only all the Assessors but the Presidents of the several great Judicatures, were taken from among the Pleaders. How they could distribute Justice is easily judged. And yet Means were found to tempt them to become still worse, more slavish and corrupt, if possible.

But, this Evil extended itself in various other Branches from the great Stock. Whoever had a Cause to come on, or apprehended an Attack from an other, must engage the prime Pleaders by a Bribe before hand, whether he was really to have Occasion for them or not.

It has already been observed, that to secure the Independency and Freedom of the Presidents of the several great Judicatures, King Frederick the First was forced to grant them their Places during good Behaviour, with certain Stipends during their Service.

By this Means, it was designed to put these great Officers out of the Power of the Crown, that it may not be able to influence them in their Judgments. But the great Minister found Means of setting this wise Provision at nought. This he readily effected by giving them a Taste of Titles of Honour, of Pomp and Luxury ; which of Course made them necessitous, in Spight to the ample Provision made for their Subsistence, by the States. Presents from the Crown or it's Substitutes could not then possibly become unacceptable. But to give it a better Grace, Pensions equal to their former Sallaries were granted in Form, as these were only during the King's Pleasure, it have made the Presidents, at least as dependent

dent as before. Happy Britain, where such bare faced Iniquities are yet unknown!

Was it not now Time for this Nation to fall, never to rise again? Did ever Country so long Support, even the external Form and Name of a Free Government, when every Part of the Administration was so abandoned to Corruption and Infamy? No State antient or modern, was half so corrupt as Danemarch at her Fall. What is more astonishing than her subsisting, even in Name, thus long? Sure your untainted Polity must prove Immortal!

But however horrible and ghastly, the Complexion, Danemarch now wore, may appear; her Ministry took Care, there should be no Cause of Jealousy at Home, that all the exterior Parts of the Dominions should, if possible, be in all Respects worse.—How unlike the Measures of your wise and equal Rulers.

Every Abuse of the Law, every Vice and Abominations in it's Pleaders and Judges, were all transplanted into unhappy Nordweg. Suits were there, if possible, more tedious and more expensive, besides the Uncertainty of the Determination, from being Subject to an Appeal to the High Court in Danemarch. An Evil, which none of your happy Dominions can dread!

Moreover, that those, that had the Misfortune to become obnoxious to the Men in power may lye at the Mercy of their Prosecutors; the Privilege of being admitted to Bail, if not called to Trial the very first Opportunity; an antient Right, which the Laws secured alike to the Subjects of each Kingdom; was peremptorily denied to the Nordwegians. So that a miserable Man might have been kept in Goal there during his Life, if the Ministry thought fit. Nay more, the Judges of a Court in Nordweg have been known to receive, and to give order to their Officers to execute the Decrees or Orders of a Court in Danemarch, to bind the Nordwegians. And thus Matters were so far reversed as to make judicial Officers, ministerial; to say no worse. And no wor

der : For to secure this illicit and unnatural Subjection of the wretched Nordwegians, the President and most of the Assessors in every Court there, as well as this, were Danes of low Degree, sent there for such like Purposes; and their Servility was by as unjust Measures secured: Instead of being established with an independent Stipend for Life or during good Behaviour; these Officers in Nordweg, were in all Respects kept in mean Dependence on their Master, the Minister, whose Creatures they were: For, their Places and Wages were granted only during Pleasure; and when they failed or were suspected in their Servility; they were superseded by the Appointment of others in their stead. Who dare say that any Part of your Dominions were ever thus accursed?

Thus you see, that had Danemarch preserved her Freedom and Integrity at Home; yet for her infamous Practices upon the poor People of Nordweg, whom she basely reduced to a most beggarly State first, and then, to abject Slavery; she well deserved falling into that Abyss of Bondage and Misery, in which she will appear in the History of the next Reign; which I shall draw, at my Leisure, in a very different light, from that in which it has been represented, by the shameless Flatterers, who wrote it during the Usurper's infamous Life.

But, why should I say Usurper? Does it not demand a milder Appellation, when the King did nothing without the Consent of the Diet? If a Man, who invades and possesses himself of the Rights of another, be an Usurper; that King of Danemarch, who completed the Destruction of the Danish Government, in Name as well as Essence, must have been an Usurper; yea, what is still worse, a perjured Tyrant, a Parricide. The Diet were only Confederates in his Iniquity: They had no Power to give into his Hands the Liberties of the People, to alter a Constitution, framed by the same Power that gave Diets being, and made them Guardians and Trustees for a Government, established before Diets were instituted. The Diet neither had or could have had a

Power to alter, much less to destroy, the original Constitution. And though the Diet were capable of acting contrary to Law; the King cannot without a Breach of the Duty of his Office, without a Breach of his Oath, consent or assent to such fatal Infractions of the sacred Compact between him and his People, and between the Representatives and their Constituents. And supposing him under no Engagement to the People; his accepting from the Diet what they had no right to grant, was, if not a base Theft, the receiving of stolen Goods. Long live Britain, thoroughly great, fearless, as clear of, such Receivers, or such Thieves!

Let me ask, if any Spirit of Liberty had subsisted at this Time in Danemarch, would not the People have risen and sacrificed both King and Diet as the worst of Robbers? Could this have been judged Murder in the Eyes of God or Man? Would it not rather have immortalised such Avengers of public Wrongs? Such preservers of the public Liberties?

But, let us remember, that there was one powerful Apology left for the Conduct of the King. If he saw, that this People were quite devoid of Sense and Virtue; that their Diet on which they had so long relied was only leading them to Destruction, by involving them in Debt, only to share the Booty; that their Corruptions were daily increasing and bringing the State into general Contempt; that the Government was reduced to Anarchy; that the little were Slaves to the great, that should be their Protectors; that these again were the Slaves of whosoever was able to purchase them, and that the Minister bribed them with the people's Money, without which they could not be wrought upon to any thing moved by the Court, whether right or wrong; in short, if the King saw, that the People had lost all Sense of those Principles, which alone intitled them to a free Government, and without which perfect political Freedom never did nor ever can exist; had he not Right to save himself and his Family from the im

pending Ruin? And was there any other Means left him, consistent with that Dignity, with which he was invested, than possessing himself of that Power, which the People by their Abuses and Corruptions had forfeited? All these might have been answered in the King's Favour, had he not fallen in with the iniquitous Measures of his Predecessors first, and then of his Ministers; all which had long tended to the induced Ruin. His not having employed military Force is no alleviation of his Crime: Had he had recourse to this, his Tyranny could by no other Means be supported, and must therefore remain precarious. He therefore chose the safest and most effectual Method. When the Minds of the People were diverted from their Duty, debased with Luxury and Effeminacy; when the Public was broken by a long Series of Corruption, and every Man was contented with having some Share of the Plunder; when they thus universally rejected those Virtues, which founded and which alone could support the State; they became an open Prey to every Tyrant, and the reigning King had as good a Right to their Vassallage as any other. He therefore secured to himself that Despotism, under which, all Nations void of Sense and Virtue, must of Necessity sooner or later fall. Some, it is true, have fallen before they lost their Virtue, by some external, unsurmountable Force. But such a Conquest seldom lasted longer than the Conqueror held superior Force to the Conquered. But, Liberty has never been known long to survive the Loss of Virtue; nor, without the one, can the other ever hope to be regained. See then, which is the most permanent Tyranny. But of this more at large, when we come to give a particular Detail of the utter Subversion of the Liberties of Danemarch in the next Reign. This, I purpose to do, at my Leisure, in a fuller manner, than was attempted by Mr. Moleseworth; who looked no further back than the Date of the Catastrophe, and consequently, saw none of the antecedent Causes. Till then farewell!

Yours, &c.

End of PART I

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then farewell!

End of PART I.

Yours, &c





