

A L A Y M A N's

S E R M O N,

Preached at the

P A T R I O T C L U B

O F T H E

C O U N T Y o f A R M A G H,

Which met at

A R M A G H,

The 3d of September, 1755.

By a Lawyer

D U B L I N:

Printed in the YEAR, M,DCC,LV.

STATE OF NEW YORK

Printed at the

PATRIOT CLUB

OF THE

COUNTY OF ALBANY

Which is at

A R M Y H

The 2d of September, 1787

D U B L I N :

Printed in the Year, MDCCLV.



A

LAYMAN'S SERMON.

DEUT. Chap. 6, Ver. 6, 7.

These Things shall be in thy Heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy Children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine House, and when thou walkest by the Way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.



HAVING been called upon by several of my Friends to make a Discourse suited to the Occasion of our present Meeting, and being satisfied of your candid Acceptance of my Attempt; I shall set about my Task in the best Manner I can, aiming at nothing, except impressing our Minds with a Sense of the Importance of the Patriot Opposition last Session of Parliament, and pointing out the Conduct that we are under a moral Obligation of observing towards the two Parties that are now in our Parliament.

IN order to set this Matter in the most clear and striking Light, the plain Method seems to be,—First, to give an historical Relation of some Transactions of a publick and important Nature, in

which these Parties were concerned, during the late Administration, and to throw out whatever natural Observations occur;—Secondly, from Facts alone, I shall endeavour to fix the Characters of the two Parties, as political Bodies;—Lastly, these Heads being duly executed, I shall find no Difficulty in pointing out the Necessity there is for the Constituents to conduct themselves with Respect to those Bodies, with such Zeal as the Author of these pathetic Words inculcates upon another Occasion, *These Things shall be in thy Heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy Children, &c. &c.*

THE first Transaction that I shall call to our Remembrance is that of the Linen Bill, which claims our strict Attention.

THE Duke of *Dorset* opened the Session of Parliament in the Year 1751, and in his Speech recommended to the Gentlemen of the Country a due Regard to that national Source of Wealth, the Linen Manufacture, and assured them of his hearty Concurrence in any Measures, that should be thought conducive to the Advancement of it.

As the temporary Laws relating to the Linen Manufacture were to determine at the End of the next Session of Parliament, Heads of a Bill were this Session brought into the House, which were intended for a general Law; “ They repealed all
“ former Acts relative to the Manufacture, and
“ enacted such Parts of said Acts, as were thought
“ proper to be continued, with such Alterations,
“ Amendments, and Additions, as were therein
“ after contained.”

THESE Heads were sent over to *England*, but, contrary to the Practice in Regard to our Linen Bills, they were returned to us in the Form of a Bill, so mutilated and altered, that the House of Commons were unavoidably obliged to suffer it to drop, by Reason of the Importance of the Articles said to be omitted. I shall very briefly mention some of the Consequences of the real Management,

had

had this Bill passed into a Law; “ By an Omission
 “ in one Place (which is about a Twelfth-part of
 “ the whole Bill, and above an entire Skin) we
 “ were deprived of the important Liberty of send-
 “ ing our Linen to *America*,” and by some *Alter-*
ations, we were laid under a Necessity of sending
 over to *England* a Linen Bill every Session of Par-
 liament.

IMMEDIATELY after the Return of the Bill, the
 following Story was given out, which, as it was un-
 derstood to come from People of Authority, the
 unsuspecting Gentlemen of this Country readily
 gave Credit to; “ That some Omissions had hap-
 “ pened to the Bill, merely by Accident, and were
 “ owing to the Heedlessness of a Clerk engrossing
 “ the Bill, who suffered a Parcel of the Sheets,
 “ from which he was transcribing, to fall under
 “ the Table, and not attending to the Sense, or
 “ Connection, continued to write on.”

MUST it not follow, and should it not have been
 added, that Nobody compared this engrossed Copy
 with the Sheets that the blundering Clerk tran-
 scribed from? for otherways the Bill could not pos-
 sibly have been remitted in such a Pickle under the
 Great Seal of *England*. Doth not this, on the very
 Face of the Thing, appear a most idle Tale? But
 how gross doth it appear, when we consider that it
 is the Practice to transmit along with our Bills from
 the Council-Office in *England* to the Lord Lieute-
 nant's Secretary here, “ a Rescript, minutely
 “ pointing out to an AT, or an AND, whatever
 “ Alterations, Obliterations, or Additions have
 “ been made on t'other Side the Water.”

It is evident then, that the Lord Lieutenant, his
 Secretary, and the Men honoured with their Confi-
 dence, could not possibly be in a State of Igno-
 rance, in Regard to some other Cause for this cruel
 Treatment of our favourite Bill, than the one
 given out, and with Address propagated: Address
 appears from these Circumstances to have been
 made

made use of, that the two Men that drew up and took Care of the original Bill were employed to set round the Story, that one of these Tale-mongers is a Representative of a principal Linen County; I am sorry to say, Gentlemen, that it is our own County; and that they both are Members of our Linen-Board.

THIS maimed Bill, when brought into the House of Commons in order to be compared with the original Bill, was not suffered to be read; one of the before-mentioned Men getting up, and saying an Accident had happened to the Bill, and that therefore the Time of the House need not be taken up.

THUS the House of Commons was laid asleep at a Time, when, had there been no such Colouring made use of, or had there been the least Intimation given from the Castle of a Suspicion of malevolent Intentions, or wrong headed Schemes,—I say, had any Degree of Honesty prevailed, it is to be presumed there would have been a prudent parliamentary Enquiry into the Bottom of this ill-boding new Practice. The Conclusion then, from the actual Transaction, seems to be necessarily this, that Policy required that the Parliament should be kept ignorant of the NATURE of the Omissions, or Alterations; and indeed there is Reason to be convinced, that they would have continued in a dormant State with Regard to this Matter, 'till their awakening could have signified nothing, had it not been for the Vigilance and Interposition of a Gentleman (out of Parliament) who by industrious Enquiry detected the Falshood of the Report, and to Demonstration pointed out the Impossibility of the Bill's having suffered, by any Accident, what it had actually suffered.

THIS Gentleman (whose Memory will ever be revered by us) published his Thoughts before the Session 1753, in a Pamphlet, called, **FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO THE FATE OF THE LATE LINEN BILL**; which honest,
ingenious

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ingenious and spirited Paper, I hope has been generally read by the People of this Country, as it is the most useful, indeed, the only sensible Paper, I ever read, with Regard to stating the just Relation that this Island stands in to *Britain*; a Subject, which is of great Importance, and has been greatly misunderstood.—But in that Pamphlet the Writer makes manifest an INSIDIOUS DEVICE, in the handling of the Bill, and put the Gentlemen of the Country on their Guard, lest they should confide in Men that were capable of concealing the Design of this Foul Stroke, and amusing them at a greater Expence, “than Men of Honour could allow themselves to be at for saving their Lives.”—To this Pamphlet I refer you for many Particulars I don’t take Notice of, and for a Course of Reasoning Nervous and unanswerable; whoever reads it will at first sight observe that I have not been shy in adopting, not only much of its Sentiment, but often it’s very Words, in this Discourse; I believe however you’ll think I have used this Liberty not seldom, injudiciously and improperly.—But to go on—Seeing those, who were acquainted with the Reasons of State thought proper after this Manner to conceal them, We must endeavour to find out the true Aim of those Politicians in the fairest Manner We can.

FROM the Consideration of the Temporary Laws being given Us for no longer a Term, than We had them already, (which really is the Case by the maimed Bill) it would seem that those Folks by some unaccountable misapprehension thought that the Temporary Laws did actually expire at the End of Session 1751. And if We had had the Temporary Laws only to the End of this Session, the Stroke would have been Masterly; for then the Parliament must have either passed the Bill with all the injurious Omissions and Alterations (which would have sapp’d the Foundation of the Manufacture) or have let it drop, and have had their
Country

Country overlaid with Indian Callicoes and Chinces, foreign Mullins and Lawns, and all Kinds of foreign Linens, for in this supposed Case the Laws imposing a Du'y of Eighteen-pence a Yard on Callicoes and foreign Mullins, and of Sixpence a Yard on all foreign Linen were to determine at the End of this Session 1751. And tho' these high Duties have the Look of a Prohibition, yet the Importation of those Articles is so considerable, as to raise about the Sum of six thousand Pounds Yearly—What then would have been the Consequences, in Case these Duties had ceased; Let the World judge!

BUT if ever this Case had been imagined, no doubt these Men were soon apprized of their Mistake; still, however, it was their Policy to keep the Parliament ignorant of the NATURE of the Mutilations and Injurious alterations; for if this could have been done, they were sure that the unsuspecting Parliament would be at Ease, as there were two Years till the Expiration of the Temporary Laws, and that they would send over to England in Session 1753, a Bill the same with the former one; and then how easily could the Enemies of our Country have got this Bill handled in the same Manner, or worse, on the very Eve of the Temporary Laws expiring? At which Time We must have received the Bill in whatever Condition it should be sent Us; or have had immediately an inundation of Indian Callicoes, Chinces, foreign Mullins, Lawns, and Linen of all Kinds—receiving the Bill with only some of the former Omissions and Alterations would have debarred Us from sending Linen to America, and besides would oblige Us to depend on the Ministry in England, for a new Bill every Session of Parliament: This last Article, it is evident, would have put this Country in a State of Vassal Dependence on a Minister in England predominant for the Time, for the Daily Bread of its Inhabitants.

TAKING the Lyes into Consideration (for when the first One was exposed, the Stories were varied, tho' all equally idle) and the Particulars of the whole Transaction, it is Difficult to conceive any other Aim that those Men could have, than either to destroy the National source of Wealth entirely, that thus they might depress the Spirit of Liberty in this Country, and incapacitate us, as well disincline us from succouring ourselves, or our elder and much-esteemed Brethren of *Britain*, in a Day of Distress; or that a Faction or Junto on this and t'other side of the Water, might have it in their Power to confer a Deliverance on this Country, upon Conditions, which neither the most Pure Loyalty to our King, nor the justest Sense of our constitutional Dependence on *Britain*, would lead Us to perform, but which, nevertheless, a Faction's narrow iniquitous Plan of Policy might require the performance of.

WHAT a woeful dilemma were we to be reduced to? Beggary and Wretchedness on one Hand; ignominious and distressful Vassalage on the other! —But to finish this Article of the Linen, We must look into Session 1753.

IN Consequence of the Publication of FACTS and OBSERVATIONS between the Sessions, the Country was alarmed, the Danger it was in having been pointed out by our late trusty Watchman of the Linen Manufacture, the Author of this abused, but unanswered Paper; who has been the Means more than once of saving the Manufacture from impending Ruin.—But in this particular Instance his Interposition must appear to all Men of Reflection critically seasonable, as well as successful. As the scurrilous Abuse of the worthy Author (tho' by so lordly Men as the Primate and some Barons) must be deemed by the People of *Ireland* a strong presumptive Argument in his Favour.—For, if this Pamphlet was false, seditious, and malignant, in the Name of Wonder! why

could not an Answerer be raised up at this Writing Period, to detect the Falshoods of that one Pamphlet, that has extremely, but very justly, injured the Cause of the Party that exclaims?—Has any one thought proper to put a Syllable of Argument, relative to this Paper, into Writing, altho' one of the before-mentioned Barons was furiously wroth, and is believed, perhaps known, capable of clubbing a PAMPHLET?—But to return from this Digression, which I believe is not unacceptable.

THO' the whole Country was now full of Apprehensions concerning the unsafe State of the Linen Manufacture, yet the Gentlemen in the House of Commons were very nigh falling into the Snare that appears to have been laid for them chiefly, perhaps thro' Credulity of the specious Givings-out from the Castle, and partly thro' not attending to the Means they had in their own Hands, yet, of avoiding the principal Part of the Danger. So nigh were we to the Brink of the Precipice, that a general Bill was again drawn up, and was actually in the Hands of a Member, to be brought within a Day or two into the House of Commons.

AT this most critical Juncture, our eminently sagacious and spirited Friend devised a Measure the most wise and safe that could be devised, which rescued our Paladium that was instantly to be put into the Hands of our Foes. The Measure was this; to send over to *England* a short Bill, containing ONLY the few necessary temporary Laws. —He reasoned in this Manner.—The Laws relating to the Linen Manufacture are partly perpetual and partly temporary, and altogether make a bulky Volume of Laws.—There is no Occasion for a new Bill, but for the Sake of a few new Laws of a temporary Nature, necessary to be had, and for the Renewal of a few now expiring.—Those perpetual Laws are the Pillars of the Manufacture. —Now, as our Linen Bill was most alarmingly and injuriously handled last Session, thro' Design,

or

or call it, In-attention; and as we can have no Security that the same Cause does not continue to prevail; why shall we put the Stamen of the Manufacture into the absolute Power of such Hands, seeing there is no Sort of Necessity of risking it all.—We must try to get five temporary Laws; now if they, that are so few in Number, and so clear, be injuriously treated, this Country is told, that, in the Opinion of the Conductors of *Irish* Affairs in *England*, either the Linen Manufacture is not for the Country at all, or that it is not fit it should hold this Source of national Subsistence by any other Tenure, than one of a very precarious Nature; and even upon the Supposition of an altered short Bill, we were in no worse State than we were in before, for we were still possessed of the perpetual Laws.

ONE would think that this is no bad Reasoning; it was urged, however, that sending over a short Bill carried with it an Air of Diffidence in the Lord Lieutenant, and that, as there was no Foundation for this, his Friends would oppose the short Bill, especially as his Grace had offered to insure the general one.

IT was urged on the other Side, that, without suspecting the Lord Lieutenant's personal Intentions, it was not safe to trust so much to his Grace's Influence with the Ministry, who had certainly or too probably maimed our Bill last Session with Design, and that therefore his Grace must excuse the not receiving this desired Compliment on such a momentous Occasion as this was.

THE Lord Lieutenant's Friends declared, that they must carry their Point for his Honour, and the Friends of the Manufacture were resolved, and did declare, that they would strenuously oppose this obsequious Measure, which appeared to them to be inconsistent with the Safety of this invaluable Article, and with the Independence of their Country on a predominant *English* Minister.

WE all distinctly remember, my Friends, what painful Apprehensions we had at this Crisis, and that we testified them in a Petition to the House of Commons against a general Bill; which, having not a Representative of our own whom we could trust, we were obliged to send to a worthy Member of our Parliament, who lives in our County, but is not a Representative for any Place in it.

OUR Fellow-Traders throughout the principal Linen Counties and in the Metropolis, remonstrated in the like Manner against the long Bill; and our Petitions were actually lodged in the Hands of our respective trusty Friends.

THE Lord Lieutenant's Friends continued still of the same Mind, at least they continued to declare, that they were determined to try whether they had not Strength sufficient to defend him from such an egregious Affront as his Enemies wanted to put on him, by changing the Bill.

Now a sharp and important Engagement was expected on the Day that was fixed for bringing in a Linen Bill.—But a Day or two before this came, and not sooner, after speaking big so long, and after occasioning so much Anxiety and Trouble to the Constituents and their faithful Representatives, the Lord Lieutenant's Troops gave out, that they would not stand an Engagement; nevertheless, the Patriot Band, made cautious by Experience, kept their Forces collected, and came to the Field armed with their Constituents Remonstrances, having suspected that this Report was only given out to throw them off their Guard, and in order to surprize them; but let the Resolutions of the Courtiers in their Council of War, have been what they will, they did not think proper to make any Attempt in the Field, in favour of their darling Measure, and thus gave our Friends at length an easy Victory, to the great Satisfaction of all intelligent People in the Nation; but especially to the Joy of many Thousands in these northern Counties,

Counties, whose daily Support appeared strongly to be in an immediate Manner concerned in the Issue.

FROM what has been now said, these farther Reflections seem justly to follow, that the Courtly Gentlemen gave up a bad Cause with the worst Grace that can well be imagined; and it must be apparent, that to this Measure, devised by the Author of FACTS and OBSERVATIONS, (which was certainly the only proper one originally) this Country is indebted, if not for the Being of the Linen Manufacture, yet in the highest Degree of Probability, for the preventing this Article of national Support from becoming an Engine of subjecting this Country continually to the Will and Domination of a Minister; for if, for Instance, a general Bill had been sent over, and the Minister had reduced the perpetual Laws to biennial; must not this Country have been for ever obedient to his Mandate? And we shall see by-and-bye, that a most important Right of this Kingdom was at this Instant of Time lusted after, which in all Probability we must have bid Adieu to, had our Manufacture been in the State that a general Bill would have thrown it into. Indeed, the Violence that followed the Disappointment, with Regard to this national Right, leaves no Room to doubt, that those Politicians had been hard at Work, with the Linen Laws to make them subservient to this Design. Oh! my Friends, what a destructive Snare has this Country been delivered from! Ought not our Indignation be high against those Men that would have led us into this dreadful Situation by Falshood and Tricks!

ON the other Hand, are we not called upon from every Consideration to do Honour to those Gentlemen, by whose Means we were delivered from the Jaws of Ruin, or a ministerial Yoke!

BEFORE this Head is dismissed, it may not be unworthy to take Notice, that, at this Pinch, another

other Knight of a Northern Shire was the most forward in Behalf of the Courtly Measure, tho' he had acknowledged, that the short Bill appeared to him a most reasonable Thing; he learned better afterwards, and never ceased talking of the Dependence that should be placed in the Lord Lieutenant's Assurances of the Safety of the general Bill; on the very Day, even, that the Linen Bill was taken into the House of Commons, he was haranguing most copiously and floridly to a Gentleman to the same Effect under the Roof of the Parliament House, when he was overheard, and publicly charged with a Falshood, by a Member of the House, who was eminently zealous and serviceable in this Affair of our Linen, and now stands distinguished by his Sufferings for an Uniformity of Patriot Conduct; this Gentleman had been at the Pains of going to the Lord Lieutenant, and enquiring whether he authorized such Assurances as were given out in his Name; his Grace answered, that he had not given any such Assurances.

THE Representative of our Neighbour-County took the Charge of Lying, as if he had been accustomed to think, that a Courtly Gentleman ought to be supposed to be at Liberty to propagate Falshoods on State-Occasions; and for the Part he acted in this Transaction, and for an Uniformity of Behaviour during this Administration, he has been rewarded by a considerable Place that the Speaker was deprived of, on Account of his uncourtly, but truly honourable Conduct.

OH! you Counties of *Down* and *Armagh*, how peculiarly ill-fated are you, to have each of you a Representative, who stands distinguished for Unfaithfulness and Cajoling, with Regard to this peculiarly favourite and momentous Article!

ANOTHER Transaction to be mentioned is that of the Barrack Affair.

MR. *Nevil*, the Engineer-General, in the Session 1751, upon an universal Outcry of the Officers in the

the Country, with Respect to the exceedingly uncomfortable State of new, rebuilt, and repaired Barracks, was called to Account in the House of Commons; and in Consequence of a laborious, patient, and impartial Enquiry, it manifestly appeared, that the Troops had already suffered, and must suffer, a great deal from the very slight and incommodious Structure of the Barracks, tho' the Nation was charged, as if they had been erected and repaired in the most proper and sufficient Manner; it was plain therefore, that the Engineer-General had either pocketed a great Sum of the publick Money, or had suffered, by his Carelessness, the Contractors to do it, at the farther Expence of the Healths of the Army: The House of Commons came that Session to many Resolutions, bearing hard against his Character, as an honest Man, as well as directly against him as an Architect and Oeconomist of the publick Money.—One of the Resolutions was to this Effect; that he should oblige the Contractors, without farther Charge to the Nation, to make sufficient and safe those Barracks that they had left insufficient and unsafe for the Troops. Could any Thing more reasonable be required, and was he not under a moral Obligation to repair, as well as he could, the Injury he had done to the Publick? What then should he have done in Justice and Prudence? It seems to be this: If he had been so silly as not to have taken from the Contractors Security for the due Execution of their respective Engagements; or, if he had foolishly and carelessly exonerated their Sureties, or themselves, without examining their Work; should he not have applied to the Power that was able to give him Relief against those Miscreants, that in this supposed Case had deceived him.

WHAT his real Conduct was, on this Occasion, appeared in Session 1753.

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ON the Enquiry of the Parliament it came out, that he had made no Attempt, or no significant one, to comply with the before-mentioned Resolution of his obliging the Contractors to make the Barracks fit for the Army.

It appeared, indeed, almost by every Circumstance, that Mr. *Nevil* had insolently relied on some Power, distinct from the House of Commons; and had not made their Resolutions the Rule of his Conduct, contrary to the salutary Advice of the Speaker, then a nominal Lord Justice, to him in the Interval between the Sessions.

ONE of these Circumstances, observable by all, is the silly and impotent Effort of Mr. *Nevil*'s most particular Friends and Allies in the Metropolis, and those that they could prevail on, to give distinguishing Marks of Honour to the Viceroy on his Landing, which they seemed to fancy would be significant Marks of Dishonour to the Independents in Parliament, against whom, it was by that Time fully understood, his Grace had declared open War.

T'HO' this Attempt was very insignificant in itself, yet it shewed that Mr. *Nevil* was depending on a Power at Enmity with the Independence of Parliament, and, consequently, it contributed for so much to his reproachful Expulsion on the memorable 23d of *November*, 1753.

It is true, that this Man, finding that Lord *George Sackville*, at the Head of all his Troops, was not able to rescue him from this exemplary Chastisement, humbled himself very low to the House, and very unseasonably offered to make sufficient the several Barracks, without farther Expence to the Nation, provided the House would not expel him. But this conditional Offer did not avail, and after Expulsion, a Bill was brought into the House to compel him to do what in Justice he should have done before, and which, it was evident, he never would have proposed to do, had the

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Lord Lieutenant been able to have prevented this Issue of the Matter.

THIS most reasonable Bill was thrown out of the Privy-Council here, by the Influence of the Lord Lieutenant, who the last Session had requested the Speaker to use his Interest to prevent an Address to his Majesty to remove Mr. *Nevil* from his Place, and to save the King's Officer from being then expelled, and assured him, that the next Session the Engineer should stand or fall by his Works, as the House should find them to be; nevertheless, this Officer, justly under the Lash of his Country, was suffered by this very Lord Lieutenant's Interest to sell his Place for full Value soon after this very Session.

THUS we see that that Lord Lieutenant bubbled this Nation to the Extent of his Power and Influence! And hereby exhibited a most pernicious Way for all rapacious publick Officers to elude a great Part of the Force of the righteous Censures of a House of Commons.

WHATEVER may be thrown out in Words against the parliamentary Procedure in this Affair, no Writer has been procured to vindicate the late Engineer-General, or in this Way to utter a Word in favour of his Supporters.—No small Evidence that they are not to be vindicated!

THE Duke of *Dorset's* Letter to the Chancellor of this Kingdom is a Matter far from being unworthy to be remembered.

I SHALL only give an Extract out of it.——“ I hope, at least, it (namely the King's Declaration of Confidence in the Writer) will have this good Effect, that the Servants of the Crown, and other Members of the House of Commons, who always expressed their Inclinations to support the King and his Government, and have declared their Regard for me, and yet may have differed with those in whom I have confided, in what they were told were immaterial Points,

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“ will

“ will be *more cautious for the future*, in giving
 “ Opportunities to ill-designing Persons, to repre-
 “ sent their Actions in so different a Light, from
 “ what I am convinced many of them intended.
 “ ———I heartily wish this express Declaration of
 “ the King’s may produce that UNION among
 “ his Majesty’s faithful Servants and Subjects,
 “ which I always endeavoured to promote: *For, I*
 “ *should be sorry* that the Honour and Dignity of
 “ Government should not be effectually supported,
 “ without exerting the Authority of the Crown,
 “ in a Manner that would always be disagreeable
 “ to me.”

WHAT UNION is this that stands in need of the Writer’s Assistance? Are not the Constituents and Representatives of *Ireland* well known to be *unanimously loyal*?

WE call upon any Man to point out, upon what Occasion or Emergency have the Commons of *Ireland* delayed a Moment their Assistance to the Crown, during the Reigns of their beloved Kings, *GEORGE the First and Second*. If there is not the least Foundation of Complaint with Respect to this, *even during the violent Administration of the Letter-Writer, can he be supposed to mean his royal Master’s Honour and Dignity, when he intimates, he must use the Iron Rod of Power to support them effectually?*

IN any Case, is such menacing Language to a Parliament of *Britain, or Ireland*, to be borne from any Man upon Earth?

THE Author of this insolent Letter dared not to speak a Language from the Throne like that in his Epistle.—In his Speech to the Parliament at opening the Session 1753, (not many Weeks after the Date of the Letter) he uses these Words, “ I
 “ have it in Command to declare to you, that his
 “ Majesty relies with an entire Confidence on
 “ their (namely his Subjects of *Ireland*) inviolable
 “ Attachment

“ Attachment to his sacred Person, Royal Family,
“ and Government.”

THE Stile and Manner of the written Piece favours so strong of a bullying Soldier, that one's Fancy pictures at once the military Secretary standing at the Writer's Elbow, dictating this sawcy and unpardonable Language, that was to be communicated to *Members of the House of Commons*, who were suspected to differ in Judgment from those in whom the Writer was pleased to place a Confidence.—A most hopeful Preparative for the ensuing Campaign!

I AM here put in Mind of an Act of Discipline practiced by the Castle General in the Campaign of 1751. In a Question relating to the Call of the House of Commons, Mr. *Bellingham Boyle* and Mr. *Nesbitt* were in the Majority, and the General, Lord *George Sackville*, was in the Minority; these Gentlemen had the Payment of their Pensions stoppt, to shew all, whom it might concern, what they were to expect that withstood the Nod of this formidable Man!——I shall not stay here to make several Remarks that are quite obvious; but proceed briefly to take Notice of the Transaction that we of this Assembly were personally concerned in.

OUR Election is well worth our Remembrance. The Freeholders of our County were then of Opinion, by a great Majority, that our powerful Archbishop was at Enmity with the Liberties and Honour of our Country, and that he was labouring by every Means to acquire a dangerous and unconstitutional Influence over the House of Commons; and, as he took by the Hand one of the Candidates, we were of Opinion, that this Gentleman must be engaged to serve the Interest of the Party in the House of Commons, of whom our Archbishop is known to be the residing Head; we therefore opposed this Interest with exemplary Spirit.

WE then saw the direful Influence of Church Preferments, and of Church-Land Leases; and some Hundreds of legal Voters felt themselves, by the palpable Partiality of our Sheriff, and the Court Influence in the House of Commons, stript of their sacred Right of Election.

LET it be remarked here, by the Way, that many considerable Freeholders, misled on this Occasion by the fair and patriot-like Promises of a Landlord, whom they had Reason to esteem as a Gentleman, as soon as by Facts they were convinced that he had deceived them, as their Representative, have become zealous Opposers of this dangerous Interest in our County, and, to their Honour, have joined themselves to their Brethren that originally resisted it.

No Wonder, Gentlemen, that the Protestant Dissenters, that out-number their Brethren of the established Church in this County, and were, on this Occasion, remarkably together on the Side of whigish Independence, should be rancorously abused by the Enemies to this glorious Cause, and particularly by a certain *lying* ecclesiastical Retainer to the over-grown Ecclesiastick.

THIS Writer's Defamation is really great Praise. Alas! that a Protestant Bishop should patronize such a Prostitute! or that a Wretch, whose Actions pronounce his Disbelief of Christianity, or his utter Ignorance of it's Spirit and Design, should be set to defend the Character of a Christian Apostle, and be suffered to put his Name (which is detestable as far as it's known) to his Performance! If Prejudice be the chief Cause of Unbelief; does not the Interposition of such a Man in Defence of Christianity, or it's first Teachers, tend to rivet the Prejudices of the Deists?—But, I go on to take Notice of the glorious Event of the 17th of December, 1753; I shall do it in the shortest Manner I can.

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THE Duke of *Dorset*, in his Speech at opening the Session of Parliament in the Year 1753, used these Words, addressed to the Commons: " I am
" commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you,
" that he will graciously consent, and recom-
" mends it to you, that so much of the Money
" remaining in his Treasury, as shall be necessary,
" be applied to the Discharge of the national
" Debt, or of such Part thereof, as you shall
" think expedient."

As by the publick Accounts it appeared, there was Money enough in the Treasury, to make it quite expedient to pay off the remaining Part of the national Debt, an Order was conceived in the usual Manner to a Committee to bring in Heads of a Bill to apply seventy-seven thousand five hundred Pounds of the redundant Money to this Purpose. The Lord Lieutenant wanted to have inserted in the Preamble to this Bill, Words signifying a *previous Consent* from the Crown, which, you know, when in the Mouths of the Commons, would have been from them a solemn Acknowledgment of this famous Doctrine. But, by the Fortitude of three Gentlemen of the Committee, (namely, the *late* Master of the Rolls, the *late* Prime-Serjeant, and Mr. *John Gore*,) these desired Words were kept out, and the Heads of the Bill were brought into the House of Commons, with this Preamble only: " Whereas, on the
" twenty-fifth Day of *March* last, a considerable
" Ballance remained in the Hands of the Vice-
" Treasurers of this Kingdom, or their Deputy,
" or Deputies." It was not thought proper by the Friends of *previous Consent* to oppose these Heads so preambled either in the House of Commons or in the Privy-Council; but they came back as a Bill from the *English* Ministry, with Words inserted in the Preamble, importing the obnoxious Acknowledgment, if the Commons should have passed the Bill.

THIS

THIS Alteration was accompanied by a Letter from the Privy-Council of *Great-Britain* to the Privy-Council of *Ireland*, setting forth that they had put in certain Words, relating to his Majesty's previous Consent, *that had been omitted in the Bill transmitted to them*, for the Support of the Prerogative and Dignity of the Crown. This Letter was quickly in every Body's Hand, and very authentically contradicted what had been before thrown out, namely, that the Words *consent* and *recommend* were almost synonymous; the former Word being only a strong Expression for the King's Recommendation; and that out of Respect to the Words of the Speech from the Throne, the Clause that contained the *Consent* should be inserted in the Preamble; agreeable to this Sense of the Clause, is the Sense that the Author of the Case fairly stated, seems almost all along in his Pamphlet to put on it; as in Page 20, " And therefore when-
 " ever the previous Consent is mentioned in this
 " Argument, it is properly to be understood of a
 " previous Declaration on the Part of his Majesty
 " that he would consent, *i. e.* when it should be
 " regularly laid before him by Parliament."

Now, by this Author, are not *Consent* and *Recommend* synonymous? Would not acknowledging the Recommendation be acknowledging this Consent, or previous Declaration? Can it have entered into this Man's Head, or any Body's else, that the House of Commons were shy of acknowledging his Majesty's Goodness and Attention in mentioning such an Application *first*? Instead of a Shyness in this Matter, the Commons this very Session, in an Address to the King, made all proper Acknowledgment for the Recommendation, and they did the like the Session before in their Address, and likewise inserted the same Acknowledgment in the Preamble of the Money Bill in Session 1751, when they did in it testify an ample Dissatisfaction with
 the

the Word *Consent*.——But to have done for the present with this Author's Conceits.

THIS altered Bill was in convenient Time carried into the House of Commons; it was treated with as much Respect as any disputed Bill ever was. But, because the Preamble was apprehended to contain an Acknowledgment that it was only in Virtue of the King's antecedently consenting, that a Bill pointing out the Application of the publick Money might be brought in by the Commons, the Bill was rejected on the never-to-be-forgotten seventeenth of *December*, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three.

THE Gentlemen of the Majority spoke of the Clause in this Sense throughout the Debate; the Folks of the Minority never denied the Sense.——Some of them very explicitly held forth most shameful and slavish Doctrine. But well it is for this Country the Party promulgated their System in a Pamphlet; for they were confused and unsettled, many of them, with Regard to it, on the Day of Debate. Certain any Man might be, however, tho' he had never heard of the Speeches in Parliament, that the sinking a Word, and leaving a synonymous one behind, could never be pronounced by the Privy-Council in *England*, an Invasion of *Prerogative*.——How could the King's Right be affected by omitting any mere complimentary Word?

Soon after this memorable Day, a Pamphlet was published, entitled, *Considerations*, &c. It contains the Doctrine of the Minority, and it is this; that an Use for publick unappropriated Money in the Treasury cannot be constitutionally proposed by the House of Commons, without they have first obtained Leave from the Crown to do so; and that the Commons have not a Right to call for the publick Accounts: This last Article, indeed, must stand or fall with the former. Now, if this Doctrine was agreeable to our Constitution, can

can there be one supposed more slavish? The Conclusion is so obvious, that I need not stay to point it out, or illustrate it; but take from the Author himself his own Doctrine. “ The principal Ob-
 “ jection” (meaning to what he has been laying
 down) “ is, that the Produce of these several
 “ Funds is accounted for to Parliament; and from
 “ thence it has been inferred, that it is publick
 “ Money, subject to parliamentary Application,
 “ *without other Consent than what is given by the*
 “ *royal Assent to the Bill when passed into a Law.*
 “ This seems founded on a Mistake as to the
 “ Reason and Manner of laying the publick Ac-
 “ counts before the House of Commons.—So
 “ that they were not called for as a *Right*, but de-
 “ sired as a *Direction* for their Discretion in the
 “ Grants they were making: And, for the same
 “ Reason, they have been every Session since
 “ (namely since 1692) brought into Parliament:
 “ So that, in Truth, were not Supplies demanded,
 “ such Accounts would not have been tendered,
 “ &c.”

THIS Pamphlet was gloried in by every one of the Party as a masterly Defence of the Minority; it was most industriously propagated throughout the Kingdom; Parcels of these Pamphlets being sent from Lord George Sackville's Office, indorsed on the Covers, *For his Majesty's Service*, to every Corner of the Island.

THE *Considerations* therefore contain the orthodox Doctrine of the Party; by them the Representatives of the People injured the Prerogative of the Crown, when they *deliberated* about an Application of unappropriated publick Money, before they were licensed.—The Case fairly stated differs widely from this authentick Comment on the famous Clause, as appears from what I have already quoted from the *Case*; by it, “ it was (only) most
 “ *proper and becoming*, that the King should recom-
 “ *mend* such an Application, (in a Case of this Na-
 “ ture

“ ture and Importance) previously to the Com-
 “ mons framing a Bill about it.” But tho’ this
 Pamphlet was in it’s Principles in direct Opposition
 to those in the Pamphlet of Authority; yet, as it
 tended to stifle the Gratitude of the People, which
 was rising to a laudable Height, towards their Pa-
 triot Representatives, this Paper too was gloried in.
 As the Author had for a Course of Years been en-
 gaged on the Side of the most popular Cause in
Christendom, his Name it was hoped would have
 great Weight in this political Cause.—No Doubt
 it had some Weight; but the Nation has demon-
 strated, and particularly the Body of that Deno-
 mination of Christians to which he belongs, that
no Name or Names shall beguile them out of a Pro-
 priety of Conduct on this Occasion: And happy
 had it been for this Author’s Character, had he
 never meddled in this Affair, as a Writer; for
 most certainly his Performance reflects no Honour,
 either on his Understanding, or his Heart.—
 Strange! that he never found Cause to retract any
 one Article in his amazing Pamphlet, after he had
 had the Matter clearly laid before him, and had
 been earnestly called upon to recant, in the Pam-
 phlet, called, *Truth against Craft*, &c.—I have
 already pointed out enough of the Case fairly
 stated, to shew it was quite impertinent; I shall
 just take Notice of another Paragraph, which is
 such a one, that it’s Matter of Astonishment, a
 Man of common Sense, upon it’s being pointed
 out to him to review, (as it was by the before-
 mentioned Paper) should not see Cause to alter, or
 make an Apology for it: It is in Page 9 of the
Case, “ And supposing such a publick Trust of
 “ applying the Money given by Parliament to the
 “ Crown, without any special Appropriation, to
 “ be eminently vested in his Majesty, it seems
 “ very proper and reasonable, that his Consent
 “ should be had, and signified previously to the
 D “ Application

“ *Application* of that Money to a particular Service.”

Now, do not these Words lead one to think, that the Commons wanted, on the 17th of *December*, 1753, to make an *actual Application* of the publick Money, without suffering the King to be a Party to the Transaction at all?

In this wrong-headed Sense does the Author seem very much to use the bringing in Heads of a Bill by the Commons, to point out an Application; that is, he calls, what in Fact is only their advising a certain Use for unappropriated Money, an Attempt in the Commons actually to disburse this Money, without the Concurrence of the King; when the Truth of the Matter is really this, that all that the Patriot Majority on that memorable Day desired, or did, was to oppose such an Attempt, with Respect to our publick Money, as the Servants of the Crown in *England* made in the *British* House of Commons, and without Success, in the Year 1739, with Respect to Captures made at Sea; the Courtiers alledged, that the King had the sole and absolute Property in every Ship that is taken from an Enemy by the Men of War, and, consequently, that no Bill, to point out an Application of these Captures, could consistently with the royal Prerogative be brought into the House of Commons, unless Leave be given to do so by a previous Message from the Crown, and, that if his Majesty should signify his previous Consent, such a Message ought to be considered as a gracious Condescension, because he gave up so much of his private Property.

Now think, my Friends, what would have been the Consequence of admitting the Necessity of a King's previous Consent, in Regard to the Purse of the Nation; Reflections here arise so naturally, and in such Numbers, that I shall not stay to make any.—And I refer you to the *Remarks, Truth against*

gainst Craft, the *Proceedings*, &c. and *Common Sense*, which Pamphlets do rationally and spiritedly overthrow all the Court Writers in this Controversy; they demonstrate that in Fact the Commons of *Ireland* have, for near a Century back, advised an Application of the publick unappropriated Money, by Bills, and when they had no Occasion to point out a particular Application, they have placed a redundant Sum to the Credit of the Nation, and made this so much in the Supplies they were granting to the Crown; therefore, this Claim, in the Name of the Crown, was a *new* Claim, as well as destructive of the Liberties of a free Country. But I have now done with the first Division of my Work, which was, to give an historical Relation of some Transactions of a publick and important Nature, and to throw out some natural Observations on them.

UNDER this Head, indeed, I might take particular Notice of the *hasty Prorogation* of our Parliament; but I shall say no more than that this Measure is a certain Evidence of a *Misrepresentation* of that distinguishedly loyal Body to his Majesty.

I NOW hasten to finish the second Division, *viz.* to endeavour from Facts alone to fix the Characters of the two Parties, as political Bodies.

MY Meaning is not to fix the exact Character of every Individual in these Bodies with absolute Certainty, or to enquire into the different Motives of different Men; a Certainty in this Respect seems to be impossible.

THIS is plain, that the Leaders of these Parties must, in the Nature of the Thing, (in the Circumstances that Affairs have been and are in) be of distinguished Merit, or Demerit; and as far as an Action denotes Choice and Principle in the Agent, so far does a persevering Spirit, after the Matter in Dispute has been so ably discussed by the respective Writers, shew a cool and deliberate

Choice of the Leaders, which each continues to follow, and a settled Liking to that Cause, which each continues to espouse.

Now, let us try these Parties by their publick Actions, by reflecting upon the Transactions just now related: Which Party, or, if you will, which Party's Leaders, were in the Management of the LINEN BILL, and told Stories in this momentous Affair, in order to deceive and keep the People of *Ireland* asleep?

Who patronized the late Engineer-General, after it was proved, that the Army had suffered a great deal, and must continue to suffer, by his Means, and that he had partly pocketed and partly squandered the publick Money? Who disappointed the Commons with Regard to obliging this Officer to make Reparation to his injured Country?

On which Side was the Sheriff of our County, when he precipitated the Election, in order to cut off a great Number of Votes? Had this Man a Mind to collect the Votes of the County? Or, was his Return any other than an Instance of Partiality and Violence? And after such base Conduct of that Officer, by whom was he and his Return supported in the House of Commons?

Who were they that struck at, and impaired the constitutional Freedom and Independence of Parliament, by threatening Members of the House of Commons, and actually with-holding from some of them Pensions that they had been in Enjoyment of by the King's Bounty; notwithstanding, that they were confessedly as loyal Subjects to his Majesty, as he had in Parliament, and had never done any Thing worse than differing from the Secretary, in Regard to the Expedience of calling, or not calling the House?

Who were they that started and endeavoured to support the enslaving Doctrine of the previous Consent in Parliament, with all it's necessary and consequential

consequential Doctrines? And that impudently pressed the King's Name into their Scheme, by endorsing on Covers, that conveyed Libels against Liberty and the Parliament, *For his Majesty's Service?*

Who *misrepresented* so egregiously the House of Commons to the King, that they procured Liberty to prorogue the Parliament, tho' a great deal of necessary Business was thereby left undone?

AND by whose Importunity and Misrepresentation were some of the King's most loyal and able Servants, as well as faithful Guardians of our Constitution, treated as if they had been distinguishedly disloyal, or rebellious? Some of these Gentlemen being stripped of Places that they had purchased; one of the Sufferers too is at the Head of the Commons, who, during his filling the Chair, have ever done the King's Business with Unanimity and Dispatch.

Now, my Friends, our Archbishop is very well known to be in a League with our late Lord Lieutenant, by whose Influence and Misrepresentation those violent Things must have been done; and this is the Man that so many of our Gentlemen have chose for their Pilot. He resides here, and is in Confederacy with some powerful Men in our Country, who want to aggrandize themselves and Families at any Rate; they can't mean us well, because they have gone on in an uniform Track of disturbing our Peace, most cruelly alarming us in some essential Points, and in violent Efforts to deprive the Commons of *Ireland* of their righteous and constitutional Power. What signify specious Words, when opposed by Facts? These are the strong Language that cannot deceive.

WICKED Ambition must actuate these Leaders; and I find the Nature of laudable and wicked Ambition so well illustrated in a late State Sermon, that

that I shall take the Freedom of giving you some Passages out of it.—“ It may be laid down almost as a universal Maxim, that they who are animated only with a commendable Desire of approving themselves to Men, or to their own Consciences, who have a well-grounded Ambition, and aim at real Excellence, will generally confine their Views to the Sphere, in which Providence has placed them. They will count it the greatest Glory to act with Decency and Propriety the Part allotted them. They will be unwilling to venture on *untried Characters*, and, by a petulant Timidity, hazard the Reputation they have hitherto enjoyed. They will, from the Interest they take in the common Welfare, be more concerned for the general Success, than solicitous about the Figure or Rank they may appear in; and thus enjoy the purest Gratifications this Desire can afford, without the peculiar Anxiety which must ever accompany it in Excess. If ever this Observation holds; it must be in our Conduct to the Publick; the Peace and Tranquility of Society is the great Object, which all good Men have in view; that every Member and Citizen, all Ranks and Orders of Men, may enjoy their respective Rights, the Fruits of their Industry, and the Privileges of their Consciences. And certainly in their just View of Things, virtuous Ambition, under the Government of Reason and Religion, will teach us to be **CONTENTED WITH OUR PROPER SPHERES**, and to think ourselves amply gratified with the Praise of having contributed our Share to the publick Good, and of having used no indirect Means to advance ourselves to higher Degrees of Honour, or Influence.

“ **WHAT** must be the Condition of a Society, whose Members are actuated by this, and no other Ambition?

“ BUT,

“ BUT, the better that this, or any other Affec-
 “ tion, is in it's Constitution and Integrity, it be-
 “ comes the worst in it's Degeneracy and Depra-
 “ vation.

“ AND Ambition, when once it is suffered to
 “ grow so strong as to know no Controul, and to
 “ break those invariable Laws, which the God of
 “ Truth and Order has laid down, is the most tur-
 “ bulent of all Passions, and the most inconveni-
 “ ent and dangerous to Society.

“ AND it's bad Effects are not confined to single
 “ Persons, nor even to Families; but Communi-
 “ ties, Governments, and whole Nations, are in-
 “ volved in the Mischief it produces.

“ The Man, in whose Mind this Passion is be-
 “ come predominant, must be driven about in a
 “ continual Storm, without any Guidance of Rea-
 “ son, or Restraint from Principle.

“ BEING once checked, he looks on Men and
 “ Things with an evil Eye; delights in publick
 “ Miscarriages; promotes popular Jealousies; and
 “ endeavours to *distress* the People whom he still
 “ hopes to *rule*.—And if Recourse must be had
 “ to Deceptions, he will labour to confound the
 “ Understandings of the Vulgar, by fixing the
 “ most *detested Appellations to the best of Things*,
 “ and the best and most *plausibk Names to the very*
 “ *worst*.—Every State hath abounded with Ex-
 “ *amples of such Men*.”

Now, what a Picture is this? Who would not
 imagine, that the Deformity of it would frighten
 the Painter every Time he looks on it, as it is
 really his own Image, as well as the Image of his
 chief Fellow-Workers?

WE have now seen the Characters of the Lead-
 ers of the Minority; must not their Abettors have
 some Similitude to them? They certainly must be
 actuated by as base Motives; or they have not a
 tolerable Share of Understanding; or they are cri-
 minally

minally inattentive and careless; one of these must be the Case with as many as shall *persevere*, after what has been so distinctly laid before them by the Writers of both Parties.

SEEING that our Country has been *greatly* delivered, and it's important Rights have been preserved in Spite of ill-applied Power, that can strip and gratify; can we call these Gentlemen who delivered it any Thing but Patriots? Many of whom did this Service to their Country, at the manifest Hazard of honourable and lucrative Stations. And let the Enemies of this gallant Party point out one Action of the Court Party, during the whole Administration we are talking of, that is not bad.

I SHALL now, in the last Place, find no Difficulty in pointing out the Necessity there is for the Constituents to conduct themselves with Respect to these Parties, with Zeal and Spirit, and in what Manner those are to be directed.

CAN any attentive honest Mind avoid admiring the Fortitude of, and affectionately sympathizing with, those suffering Patriots? Must not every intelligent honest Man find himself having lively Feelings of Gratitude towards the whole firm Band?

ARE not we then under an Obligation of making known our grateful Sense of their Services to our Country?

IF we cannot recompence these Worthies for their Sufferings for, and their firm and disinterested Attachment to, the Cause of Liberty, in any other Way; cannot we do Honour to them, should we not contrive Occasions to distinguish them, and manifest our cordial Regard for them?

FOR Instance: When the Time shall come, in which we are to return new Representatives to Parliament, are not the Constituents under a moral Obligation of sending into it as many of these faithful

faithful Guardians of their Rights, as they possibly can.

FOR, as they value their Country, ought they not to chuse *those, whose Fidelity and Understanding have been already tried, and found to stand the Test?* And, as they would encourage and cultivate Patriotism for the future, are they not under a strict Obligation of *honourably distinguishing those, that have fought a good Fight, and kept their Faith?* These are the natural Means of cherishing laudable and virtuous Ambition among our Gentlemen.

HAVING pointed out the Conduct we are under a moral Obligation of observing towards the Patriots, I think we are to observe just the contrary Conduct towards those Men, that composed the Minority in our House of Commons, and who persevere in the same Cause.——We are under a moral Obligation to treat them, on all critical Occasions, *with Contempt and Neglect*, for their experienced *Unfaithfulness*, or *their miserable and dangerous Want of Attention*, or of common Sense.

IN Proportion as our Desire is strong to have our Country preserved at present, and our House of Commons hereafter composed of Guardians, in such Proportion will our Zeal be to keep alive, by all the natural and proper Means, the Spirit that seems to be now delightfully more and more diffusing itself throughout our Country,——the Spirit of sober Liberty, and of Gratitude. And at the same Time that we are discharging our Duty with Respect to our tried Senators, let us distinguish, either honourably or otherways, as Occasion offers, the Gentlemen *out of the House*, according to their Spirit, clearly made known.

LET US at all Times, my Brethren, look to *present Facts*, and not to Characters.——The former cannot be equivocal Things, the latter are.——*By their Fruit you shall know them.*

HARD, my Friends, is our Lot of the North ! who are generally understood to be more independent, than the Constituents of the rest of the Kingdom, and yet have the Majority of our Representatives, in Opposition to the *Sense of the People*, as well as to the *Rights of the Country*.—Let every Voter then be religiously careful of his Voice; a single Member may undo or save the Country.

MR. *Brownlow* sits for our County by a Majority in the House of Commons only of ONE.—The essential Rights of this Country were saved by a Majority only of SIX! Now, my Brethren, what can be of greater Importance than frequent serious Reflections on these Things?

WHAT should be more zealously inculcated upon Men's Minds, than a generous Regard and Concern for the Rights of Mankind in general, and a watchful and *affectionate* Attention to those of their own Community in particular?

THESE Things, therefore, shall be in our Hearts, and we shall teach them diligently unto our Children, and shall talk of them when we sit in our Houses, and when we walk by the Way, and when we lie down, and when we rise up, in order
 “ that our Country may be delivered from the Hand
 “ of strange Children, whose Mouth talketh of Va-
 “ nity, and whose Right-Hand is a Right-Hand of
 “ Iniquity.”

F I N I S.