

A
LETTER
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM WICKHAM,

CHIEF SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND,

AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE
PRIVY COUNCIL, &c, &c.

ON THE SUBJECT OF MR. SCULLY'S ADVICE

TO HIS
CATHOLIC BRETHREN.

BY A YEOMAN.

Baron Smith

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

*Quid facies odio, sic ubi amore nocet?
Si lædis quod amas, hostem sapienter amabis:
Me precor, ut serves, perdere velle velis.*

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1803.

*“ In what I shall say, I beg of you to consider
me, as observing solely on the Work ; and not
upon the Author.”*

AN IRISH LOYALIST.

A LETTER, &c.

DEAR SIR,

IF we are to estimate the merit of a work, by its tendency to promote the end for which it was designed, and that the object of Mr. Scully was to animate the loyalty of his fellow subjects, I doubt whether I have ever met a worse production, than that which he has lately offered to the public. Indeed, if his wish had been to damp that ardour which he pretended to excite, then his pages might be well calculated to attain their purpose ; and by becoming mischievous, would cease to be contemptible. To deny them this latter praise, would be a degree of candour, to which, if we are to search his paragraphs for his principles, a censorious critic might alledge that he had no title. But I am content to wave all enquiry as to motive ; and adopting the hypothesis, that this pamphlet was well intended, shall examine whether those intentions have been carried happily into effect. In the mean time, let it not be supposed that I detract from the character, public or private, of Mr. Scully. I have never heard any thing that could war-

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rant a suspicion of his loyalty ; nor, unless his own writings should be thought to tend this way, have I ever read any thing that could lead justifiably to its impeachment. What he has himself avowed, I cannot slander him by repeating ; and I shall, for argument, ascribe to him the most laudable designs.

But why is my letter directed as it is ? In the first place I do *not* write to Mr. Scully, because our views of public matters are so widely different, that discussion between us would be vain and ineffectual. We have few ideas in common, on the subjects which he treats. Secondly, I take the liberty of addressing you, because the field of enquiry to which his doctrines lead, appears of sufficient importance to merit your attention.

One of a writer's first tasks, is the selection of his topics : and in making a judicious choice, much ability may be shewn. But this selection may be so extravagantly imprudent, as not only to be unaccountable on the score of want of skill, but to induce a doubt, whether the author's professed object was that he really had in view. For example, if undertaking to argue in favour of the Revolution, I should begin by inculcating the doctrine of passive obedience, the merit of James's efforts to introduce Popery into his kingdoms, and the indefeasible nature of his hereditary right, it is not impossible that my sincerity might be called in question ; and those who admitted it, must confess that my topics were ill chosen.

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If the allegiance of subjects is likely to be excited, by an exaggerated and angry statement of every real or fancied grievance, of which they ever have complained, Mr. Scully's work (or, to adopt his own elegant metaphor, his bellows *) will blow the loyalty of Ireland to a flame. If by fomenting jealousies we produce harmony, his sheets are admirably calculated to promote cordial co-operation. If (inadvertently) to extenuate the guilt of rebellion, and speak of Rebels with ostentatious respect, be to discourage treason,—then this pamphlet must banish disaffection from the country. If by taking away the check of fear, we remove a temptation to insurrection, then the contemptuous notice which is taken of the paucity of Protestants, in page 56, cannot fail of producing the most salutary effects. But alas! these arguments are thrown away on me! and I am glad to know that the Catholicks have better reasons for being determined to “repel invasion,” † and “defend their native soil ‡,” than any which have been furnished by Mr. Scully's pen. If it were otherwise, I should not much confide in their allegiance.

But let me now proceed to consider his topics, seriatim: if, indeed, the undertaking be not rendered superfluous, by the sensible and constitutional remonstrance of *an Irish Loyalist*.

Mr.

* Page 96.

† Title page.

‡ Page 4.

Mr. Scully begins by laying no very constitutional foundation, in a statement of total indifference to the interests of France *or England*; farther than as those countries affect our prosperity and independence*.

This was the avowed doctrine of Mr. Arthur O'Connor: one of those, of whose moral and intellectual qualities, Mr. Scully will not speak, but with respect.†

He, in an address to the Freeholders of Antrim, disclaimed, as does this work, the slightest solicitude about England, except as the ally of this country; and insisted on our right of option, between her alliance and that of France. This sentiment he repeated, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh; which, if Mr. Scully's rigid loyalty permitted his looking into such publications, he would find among the numbers of *the Press*. These doctrines were then unconstitutional in a high and dangerous degree; as applied to a country, to whose crown that of Ireland was inseparably annexed. But what are they now,—when, by their legislative incorporation, these two islands form one kingdom? Such positions are now most pernicious, or most absurd. If the passage on which I am animadverting be harmless, then is it equivalent to a wise assurance, that the author is no farther solicitous about Munster, than as its interests affect those of the other provinces of Ireland. As to the interests of England affecting

* Page 4.

† Page 25:

fecting the *independence of Ireland*, this is nonsense. The independence of this country (have patience) is at an end. The term involves the idea of a *distinctness* now abolished. Our independence of Great Britain is exchanged, not for subjection to, but Union with that realm.

Mr. Scully proceeds next to an *animating* suggestion of "the privations, restraints, and grievances," * of his Catholic Brethren. The effect of these gravamina is stated in the next page; where he congratulates his countrymen on their "resurrection to prosperity," and enjoyment of "a rank, the most enviable and truly splendid, which the annals of history present." Grievances, of which these are the fruits, must be confessed to be of a most peculiar nature. I have heard of "Splendid Misery:" but it was the title of a romance.

The adviser then makes his attack upon the *French*. Not being in their secrets, as but for his loyalty he might appear to be, I cannot say whether our invaders may consist of the descriptions which he has enumerated, or whether the command of the expedition is to be given to Massena†. I therefore come at once to the enquiry which he proposes, *viz.* whether the Catholics should act "with them, or against them‡?" This question, whether the King's Subjects ought to adhere to his enemies,---he undertakes dispassionately and

* Page 6.

† Page 8.

‡ Page 9.

and gravely to discuss : converting his pamphlet into an auxiliary of the gallows ; and a rider upon the statutes of treason. His object must be confessed to be as unique, as the *grievously prosperous* situation of his flock.

Even though loyalty were wanting, (which I do not assert to be the case here,) his fears would dissuade an author from maintaining the propriety of an Irish subject's acting with the French. He would feel obliged to support, with Mr. Scully, the reverse. But if he wanted the warm sentiment of allegiance in his heart, his support would be feeble, and his arguments inconclusive : or if he were a cunning and disaffected man, he would contrive that his reasoning should disprove his proposition ; and though he might persuade the Catholics to " act *with vigour*, and in *concert* *," he would not secure their energies to their King. Besides, though such a writer were in earnest in rejecting the assistance of Bonaparte, this might be his mere difference in opinion as to *means*, from those in whose treasonable *purposes* he agreed : and whether this was the case, must be inferred from the context, and general tenor of his work. In such a rejection of French aid, he would, (if we may trust the provisional proclamation,) be found to concur with the late Mr. Robert Emmett ; of whose " moral qualities," it is beside my purpose or inclination

inclination, (for *I* do not wish “to enlarge on the demerits of the departed,”*)—“to speak with any disrespect:” but of whose steady allegiance, some doubts may be entertained. From the charge of loyalty so defective, or views so indirect, the respectable character of Mr. Scully must exempt him. But a Censor, who chose to judge him rather by his writings, than by his reputation, might be hastily led to impute them to him: nor would his indifference as to the success, or discomfiture of the King’s forces†, or his parallel between the butcheries of Wexford, and our victory at Ballinamuck‡, at all tend to rescue him from such an imputation. His readers would suspect the principles of that man, who compared the conduct of the viceroy at this latter place, with those rebel atrocities, which excluded their perpetrators from the act of amnesty, passed under his administration ||.

But Mr. Scully recommends to the Catholics to keep *the little* which they have §; (*viz.* great prosperity, and enviably splendid rank;) and to repel the French, at the point of their bayonets, *and their pikes ¶*. Alas! I like not such recognitions of the legitimacy of these latter. I become suspicious, on the mention of such *instrumens de dommage*; and should tremble to trust my country to the protection
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* Page 55.

† Page 10.

‡ Ibid.

|| Lord Cornwallis’s. The commission of murder, (as on the Bridge of Wexford,) excludes from the benefit of this act.

§ Page 11.

¶ Ibid.

of weapons, yet reeking with the blood of the mild and virtuous Lord Kilwarden.—I should fear that those Javelin Men might not be so zealous against a *French*, as Mr. Scully *boasts* their forefathers to have been, against a *Dutch* Invader.

“ A Dutch Invader, and his hired battalions,” resisted by the “ loyal ancestors” of Mr. Scully, “ fighting for their hereditary king*.” This is the author’s picture of that glorious Revolution, under which the house of Brunswick is seated on the throne. Our Deliverer, whose assent ratified the Bill of Rights,—is vilified with the epithet of Dutch invader; and his brave followers are degraded into mercenary battalions: while that jacobitism, for which (in 1745,) thousands justly perished on the scaffold, and in the field, is dignified with the name of loyalty; and the “ glorious terms of its capitulation” † are dwelt on with delight. Is this the allegiance of a man who understands the principles of our constitution? Is this encouragement to defend the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover,—whose grand and illustrious title-deed is the Revolution?

But why is French assistance to be rejected? On account of our connexion with Great Britain? No. The writer feels no solicitude about England; except as her interests may happen to affect our own. Because to accept French aid

* Page 12.

† At Limerick. page 13.

aid would be to violate our allegiance? No. It is because they *unkindly* neglected “to make any serious attempts for the restoration of king James: because the descent of *Thurot* and his handful of men, was a petty and undecisive proceeding: because *Hocbe* had not the courage to effect a landing in 1796; and because *Humbert* did not obtain quarter for those rebels, whom Mr. Scully calls “his hapless countrymen,” at Ballinamuck;* but exposed the traitors to military execution. The effect of this exposure, the Catholic adviser deploras as follows: “the dishonoured fellows
 “saw, with unconcern, almost every man of
 “these poor Irish, † *butchered* before their
 “eyes. I have been on the field of *massacre*;
 “and was shewn pits, into which heaps
 “of Irish carcases were thrown, without the
 “ordinary rites of interment.” If this description evinces as much attachment to the constitution, as it displays tenderness for the rebel bands, it is indeed *omni exceptione major*; and he would be a punctilious critic, who could find room for objection.

“Such is the protection of the French:” ‡ and therefore it is, that they are not to be relied on. If indeed they had endeavoured to re-establish James,—if they had sent a more effectual squadron to Carrickfergus,—if they had boldly landed at Bantry, in 1796,—or if Humbert had secured quarter for “those brave al-

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“lies,

* Pages 13. 14. 16. 17.

† i. e. The Traitors.

‡ Page 17.

“ lies, whom he treacherously betrayed to untimely graves *”, the case would be widely different. Here, IF would lose its pacific character; and instead of being a *peace maker*, might become a fomentor of rebellion. A reader who, unacquainted with the loyal principles of Mr. Scully, passed cursorily over the pages which we have been criticising, might conclude that if the objections stated to French alliance were either frivolous, or done away, the arguments built upon them, and urged against acting with that nation, would be overturned. He might consider those arguments as conveying, less the sentiments of a determined foe, than the angry jealousies of a slighted, but reconcileable adherent; and as better calculated to induce the French to give sufficient security against a repetition of the like neglects, than to incite the Irish to a loyal and vigorous resistance.

One ground of argument against acting with the French, I had nearly forgotten: the *impoliteness*, of which their Generals were guilty, at the Dean of Ardagh's †. This objection, I am satisfied, will have great weight with the cultivated and polished pikemen ‡, to whom it is addressed: persons whom Humbert mistook for “ scoundrels ;” § but whom Mr. Scully, though they be blemished with the venial fault called treason, represents as his brave and injured countrymen: *élèves* of those, whose talents and morals he respects; ¶ yet who, spite of

* Pages 16. 17.

† Page 19.

‡ Page 11.

§ Page 17.

¶ Page 25.

of their great merits, and excellent education, were butchered by their cruel governors, after having been betrayed by their perfidious allies.* Thus even more unfortunate than their venerated preceptors; whose want of some kind of "pension," we so commiserate,† that such as return from France, may be certain of suspension.

But I may be said to have forgotten another objection to French alliance. I have hitherto omitted to notice it: but it has not escaped my observation; nor do I mean to defraud the author of it's just praise. It accords better with Mr. Scully's respectable character, than with his (in my eyes) most objectionable tract; and I have but separated it from the pollutions in which it was immersed, lest their impure contact should defile my approbation. I advert to that syllabus of Consular interposition, and spirited epitome of "the farce of French Deliverance,"‡ which may be found between pages 31 and 46.

I am disposed to exclaim, *cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!* while I read this part of his work: and its incongruity with the rest, at once gratifies and annoys me. I am pleased to find opinions, which appear to me of a blacker dye, qualified and diluted by sentiments which I approve: but am sorry to perceive this antigallican effusion, debased by the alloy of doctrines more impure. Nay some of these,

* Pages 16 and 17.

† Their reception (in France) has been so cold, that you would really pity their feelings: they are allowed no pension. Page 27.

‡ Page 37.

these, incorporated with it, detract considerably from its title to our praise. Such is that false parallel, which the *Irish Loyalist** has justly reprehended, between the agrarian partition which would be made by Bonaparte, and the division of Irish lands in the days of the commonwealth. If the comparison has any meaning, (and I fear it has,) its tendency is to shake the titles of much property to their foundations†. It seems to insinuate what I have heard asserted, that the Catholics have not lost sight of their supposed claims, to be reinstated in the possessions, of which their ancestors were deprived. At all events, if there be any affinity between true eloquence and sound logick, this topick is not of a persuasive kind; nor conducive to the end, which he who uses it professes to have in view.

Here is the argument. “My Catholick brethren, shed your blood to keep the present holders in possession of their lands. They are the heretical descendants of those *tinkers, smiths, and cobblers*,” ‡ (I do not find *butchers*, enumerated in the list,) who followed the fortunes of that usurping robber, Cromwell. Die, rather than permit them to be deprived of those estates, of which your ancestors were plundered by their *rude forefathers*; and which, if these low fellows lost them, might return to the right owners, *viz.* to yourselves.” Animated

* Page 9.

† As is observed in the pamphlet last cited.

‡ Page 44.

mated as this exhortation is, I can conceive its failing to produce the desired effect. But the parallel, besides being injudicious, is unjust. Of the acres distributed by the Protector amongst his followers, a considerable portion had been forfeited by Popish rebels, in the reign of Charles *. In depriving traitors of a property confiscated by their crimes, he did not act injuriously towards them; though in disposing of it, he usurped upon his Sovereign, to whom it had escheated, and of right belonged. Neither does the historian whom I have cited, although no friend to Cromwel, think his memory so infamous, as Mr. Scully represents it; † or that we should “load this with such reproaches, as his enemies throw upon it”. ‡ Besides, what was the situation of Ireland, which was the scene of his most severe, and violent administration? The rebellion had broken out but a very few years before; and by that slaughter of which the Catholick Adviser complains §, he pretended to retaliate *the cruelty of the Irish massacre* ||; which thus afforded a pretext, for what it could neither justify, nor excuse. Again, when the English settlers had declared for the Protector ¶, did the Irish continue faithful to the Royal cause, and thus deserve to be defended from the mechanic swarms, whose inroads are mentioned by Mr. Scully with such disgust?

* Hume's England. † Page 43. ‡ Hume's England.
§ Page 44. || Hume's England. ¶ Ibid.

disgust? No such thing. "This desertion of the
 " English put an end to Ormonde's authority.
 " Actuated by national and religious prejudices,
 " the Irish could no longer be kept in obedi-
 " ence by a Protestant governor. The clergy
 " renewed their excommunications against
 " him and his adherents;" and "Ormonde
 " soon after left the island; delegating his
 " authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs
 " too desperate to admit of remedy. The Irish
 " were glad to embrace banishment. Above
 " forty thousand passed into foreign service;
 " and Cromwell, pleased to free the island
 " from enemies, who never could be cordially
 " reconciled" (not to republicanism, or him,
 " but) to the English" (connexion,) "gave
 " them liberty and leisure for their embarka-
 " tion."* Such is a summary of the proceed-
 ings of those days: which were not originally
 relevant to the present question; but of which
 Mr. Scully has compelled me to take a view.

I hope the topick of a consular partition of
 our lands, was not introduced as (what the
 law styles *inducement*,) to a comparison of
 this, with the Cromwellian distribution. But
 I fear, that for the praise lavished on the
 English Regulars and Militia,† no better mo-
 tive can be assigned‡, than a wish to insinuate
 reprehension

* Hume's England. † Page 47.

‡ Once for all, I extract no imputation, of motive, or
 meaning, from Mr. Scully's general character. I am a mere
 commentator on the paragraphs of his work; and collect his
opinions

reprehension of our Protestant coutrymen. The oftensible comparifon is of the former to the French: but the really intended parallel feems to be that which I have fuggelted. Such commendations are beftowed on a principle refembling that, which urges fome wives to entertain a fecond hufband with the praifes of the firft.

I now attend Mr. Scully in his clinical lecture on the “ fore and difeafed ftate” of the Catholic body: “ thofe bleeding wounds, and “ gafhes, to which falves and plaifters ought “ to be applied;” and all the evils of their “ pre-
“ fent political degradation.”* I proteft this malady is of a moft anomalous kind; where wounds, depreffions, fores, and bruifes, with enviable prosperity,† and brilliant rank, form altogether an heterogeneous mixture, of moft contradictory fymptoms and indications: diftracting the (not patient but) *impatient* fubject; and calculated to bewilder one of thofe ftate phyficians, who, undertaking to prefcribe for *empires*, may be therefore ftyled empiricks; and of whose topical applications, the beft that can be faid is what we find afferted in this
D prelection,

opinions or *intentions* from no other fource. Whenever I happen to mifconfttrue thofe paragraphs to his difadvantage, any charge founded on fuch mifinterpretation will fall to the ground. The mifconfttruction will have been inadvertent, and my miftake may be corrected by the fagacity of his other readers.

* Page 49.

† Pages 6 & 7.

prelection; that they are less mischievous than those of "a foreign Charlatan."*

This calenture, (attended with the usual symptom, of a love for what is green,) this "*frenzy*,"† (which we are called on to conciliate, not coerce,) this "*fever*,"‡ (which it is proposed to cure, by our losing blood to the patient,) Doctor Scully derives from those prosperous privations, with which a part of the Catholic body is afflicted. How kind, and sympathizing, of that enlightened Mass, composed of the Catholic forty shilling freeholders of Ireland, to go distracted on account of a degradation, from which they have been long since relieved, and which "presses now, not directly upon them; but "on the middling, and higher classes of their "persuasion!" || It is the confidante going mad in stuff, to accompany the delirium of her noble friend in fatin. But,

"Who shall decide,—when *Doctors* disagree?"

Now Doctor M'Nevin, if I mistake not, told the secret committee, that as for Catholic Emancipation, or Parliamentary Reform, patriotick and sonorous as the words might be, the things were what the people neither cared for, nor understood. Who, Mr. Scully, shall reconcile this dissension,

"Betwixt two Casuists found, as *him*, and *thee*?"

His authority, you will not dispute; both because he is one of those men of integrity and talent,

* Page 50.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

talent, of whose intellect and morals you will not speak but with respect;* and because you have yourself resorted to the authority of Mr. Emmett, in his answer to the questions proposed to him by Lord Dillon.†

I ask pardon of Mr. Wickham, for this digressive apostrophe to my author; and returning, would observe that I cannot see how a censure of the bigotry of Protestants,‡ or indignant remonstrance against Catholic subordination, tends to produce harmony between the two religions, or to promote a zealous co-operation to repel the common foe.

But the disappointments of 1795 were forgotten, when Hoche's force appeared; and all parties joined cordially to defend our violated coasts. This is interesting, and true. The peasants did act the meritorious part which is here|| ascribed to them; and heavily reponsible to their country, are those disturbers, who within the narrow period of eighteen months, perverting those loyal dispositions of our people, ripened treason to the maturity which it attained in 1798!

It is also true that the abolition of Catholic restraint, (if, under any circumstances an expedient measure,) would at such a moment of loyalty, have been well-timed.§ But if oblivion of disappointment, and genuine allegiance gave the Catholics a claim to favour in 1796, let them strengthen these pretensions

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* Page 25.
§ Page 59.

† Page 83.

‡ Page 47.

|| Page 57.

by the like conduct now. Let not their advocates, in the more urgent crisis of the present day, found their claims in exaggerated views of their own depression, and slanders on that religion, to whose tolerance they apply. Let them not discard all gratitude for what they have obtained,—to make room for resentment that any thing is withheld. Let them not superciliously attribute to their own “wisdom, and unbroken energies,”* those acquisitions which they owe to the generous policy of their Protestant fellow subjects. Let them desist from insult, boasts of numbers, restless murmurs, and disaffection, and they will bring the case of their clients before Parliament, with a better grace, and fairer prospects of success.

Instead of this, Mr. Scully indulgently frames excuses for his flock. “You will say that a certain faction, a handful of bustling bigots, cannot longer be endured, and force you by their insults and outrages, to favour those foreigners.”†—You have, no doubt, abundant provocation, my countrymen, for treason: nevertheless, on the whole of the case, I think it expedient to refrain from French alliance; and I advise you to remain in the frying pan, where you are. Truly animating counsel! Bad as it is, Mr. Scully pronounces “this disloyal faction” to be “angels of mercy, in comparison with the French.”‡ Indeed

* If these expressions have any meaning: page 6.

† Page 51.

‡ Page 52.

deed he is not singular in this abhorrence; as may appear by the following extracts from *the Dublin Journal* of this day*; a paper, with which you Sir, can be little acquainted; but which I know to have been long a respectable and calumniated reservoir of loyalty in this country; and from whose columns, (unobjectionable as they still remain) I have latterly missed with pain, *some* of the bold and decisive spirit, by which they were formerly distinguished.

“ On Tuesday last, *Robert Emmett* rendered up his life, in atonement for offences committed against his country. On the morning of that day, he talked to some of his particular friends, of his attachment to the principles of separation from England; and *his abhorrence of French aid, and French conduct.*† Some allusion being made to French principles, and French government, he expressed *his abhorrence of both*; lamenting the unhappy situation of the countries which had been *seduced by their influence, and now groaned under their despotism*; and declaring his opinion, that the object of France, in invading this country, would be *plunder and desolation*; and not *the welfare or happiness of the people.*‡

Here we find him coinciding in all the anti-gallicism of the Catholic adviser; yet he “acknowledged the facts, of which he had been
“ found

* Sept. 22.

† Ergo, Antigallicism, and Antianglicism are consistent:
Q. E. D.

‡ Dublin Journal.

“ found guilty;”* and for which he deservedly suffered death upon a scaffold.

But Mr. Scully’s *dissuasive* apology for disaffection is not closed. He again (to inspire cordiality) recalls the memory of those summary, and perhaps severe punishments of conspirators, to which he applies the name of massacre;† and (with a keen feeling and sympathy with those sufferings,‡) admits that some years ago the Catholics “ suffered much “ injustice, indignities, and calumny, from “ men of short lived power. There is no “ use, he thinks, in glossing over the situation§ of those whom he addresses.” It may reasonably be doubted, whether an angry enumeration of the indignities, which one class of subjects is supposed to have suffered from another, be calculated to promote, in a moment of common danger, the unanimity of both. But waving this objection, I beg to observe that the guilt of the prosecuted is not proved, by the bare admission of their prosecutor, that they are guilty. Therefore what Mr. Scully has so candidly confessed, I take leave as unequivocally to deny. *Dolus versatur in generalibus*; and here there are no charges specifically detailed.

To proceed, I agree as to the expediency of “ making known to his Majesty’s Ministers, “ and defining to our Legislators, what are the “ wants and feelings of a great portion of the “ King’s

* Ibid.

† Page 51.

‡ Page 52.

§ Ibid.

“ King’s subjects;”^{*} but if it appear from those communications, that their *feelings* are disaffection, and their *wants* to put down the established religion of the country, it will be the duty of that Legislature, and Administration, rather to counteract the mischievous tendency of their sentiments, than to relieve their alleged necessities, by a sacrilegious surrender of the church. Parliament, including no members of the Catholick persuasion, is according to Mr. Scully,[†] no authentic organ for uttering the sentiments of that body. If the pages which I am reviewing, contain a true statement of those sentiments, it may be well for that religion, that they have been hitherto unknown. To the ignorance of our Legislators, may in that case be attributed the abolition of the penal code. This disqualification of Parliament was acted on, by many Catholic disturbers in 1792, who elected, under the title of delegates, a sort of parliament of their own. But the vigour of the late Lord Clare interposed the convention bill between them and their designs; and many of those reformers have since developed their true intentions, and have accordingly suffered banishment, imprisonment, and death.—On this part of the subject I shall only observe, that to disclaim all privity and connexion with a Parliament, which Catholic votes contribute largely to return, and which before they did so, conferred on that religion elective franchise, with the
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^{*} Page 53. [†] Ibid.

many other valuable and important privileges which they now enjoy, (including the superb foundation of Maynooth,) is neither gracious, just, nor grateful; nor while they have claims upon the tapis, is this disclaimer very prudent. As to the channel of communication between Catholicks and their rulers, which their adviser recommends,* Government may not perhaps consider pamphlets, such as his, to be state papers of such high authority, as he would represent them. Nay some of them may rather excite a sentiment expressed by Mr. Burke, that there are writers, who instead of being answered by the speculatist, should be silenced by the Magistrate; and whom it is more easy, as well as necessary, to coerce, than to convince.

The merits of Lord Camden, or his amiable and worthy Secretary, do not stand in need of any testimony from me. My high opinion of the latter, however merited, may be tinged with some partiality, the result of gratitude for private kindness. But with the former I was unacquainted; and certainly did not owe him the slightest obligation. But the character of both is to be collected from the history of the times; and is above the censure of the Catholic Adviser, and my praise. I, therefore, shall not defend Lord Camden against scurrilous invective. One of the acts of his administration † was the institution of our gallant

* Viz. "occasional publications," p. 54.

† Of which (government) a considerable part of the praise must *at least* be extended to his Chief Secretary, lord Pelham.

gallant Yeomanry *: another, and I am persuaded a *consequential* event, was the suppression of a formidable rebellion; for suppressed it was, before his successor arrived. Surely neither of these events can have been what exposed him to the displeasure of Mr. Scully!

But the Ringleader of those “intemperate persons to whom the country was delivered over, has been arrested by the Hand of Providence, in his career.†”---False, ungenerous position! O, Sir, would it be possible for even *the Poet’s eye*, to traverse that immeasurable distance, which separates Lord Clare from his Detractor!

I knew Lord Clare: and can never speak of *his* qualities but with respect;‡ nor ever recollect him, but with sentiments of warm and affectionate veneration. Who is faultless? He was not: but most of his failings were the rank growth of a generously luxuriant soil. In our imperfect nature, every virtue has its kindred and contiguous vice. In eradicating these, we must be wary; or we may pull up the good which is entangled with them: and where they yet remain, though we may desire their removal, we should candidly recognize the richness which produced them. Lord Clare was proud: but his pride was the excrescence of a genuine

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dignity

* As is remarked by the Irish Loyalist.

† Page 55. Quere were lord Pelham, or lord Kilwarden of this *intemperate* faction?

‡ Page 25.

dignity of soul. His prompt energies *may* have sometimes degenerated into precipitation; yet rather (I think) in manner, than in fact. A warmth of temper which he did not sufficiently controul, influenced his behaviour, though it could not blind his intellect, or warp his justice; and gave an air of heat and rashness to conduct, which in substance, if examined, would be found right. Add, that to vulgar and to sluggish minds, the ardour which they do not feel, assumes the appearance of irritation;----and the conclusion which their tardiness has not attained, will seem precipitate. Neither let it be forgotten, that a quick and ardent mind may yet be prudent: and with all its grave and deliberate airs, a cold and creeping understanding may lead to error, and indiscretion. Lord Clare's principles were unbending; but his sensibilities were great. He was the liberal protector of a prosperous tenantry, the kind patron of *the fatherless and widows*; and had a heart that could bleed for the *desolate, and oppressed*. (I borrow the language of a liturgy, which Mr. Scully's friends reject.) He was a vigorous enemy to the licentiousness of our people; because he was a staunch friend to the liberties of Ireland. He wished the subject to possess as great a share of freedom, as is compatible with the principles and safety of the freest constitution upon earth: and if at one period he countenanced a system of restriction, it was to obviate those dangers

dangers, which his large views discerned, and his prompt character at once resisted. He approved of a temporary abridgement of our liberties, for the purpose of preserving that threatened constitution, on whose safety our permanent freedom must depend. Poor fellow ! though when alive he did not know the extent of my esteem, I do not the less heartily lament his loss ; and with honest tears pronounce this feeble panegyrick,---wrung from me by an unjust, and posthumous invective. Nor though I *in my conscience* believe, (and every day encreases and fortifies the conviction,) that the appointment of his successor has been a national benefit, of singular and permanent importance,—will I therefore withhold my disinterested tribute from the silent dead ; or dissemble my regret, that at a moment when active loyalty, integrity, and vigorous talent, are of a value so inestimable as to exceed all calculation, the menaced Empire has lost a great man, who possessed them. He is a cold-hearted and abject calculator, who silences all regret for the virtue and ability that are extinguished, by recollecting that living qualities of equal eminence supply their place. Lord Redesdale *is* a great man ; and will from my respect for the memory of his predecessor, collect my susceptibility of admiration for himself. The good Lord Clare is alas “ departed ;” * but not “ fallen :” † on

E 2 the

* Page 55.

† Page 61.

the contrary, his reputation will every hour encrease; and at length will give posterity a just picture of his merits.

Mr. Scully does not wish to be the annalist of the last Rebellion *. In truth he does not seem well qualified for such a task. Impartiality is essentially requisite to constitute a good historian; and I will leave it to my reader to decide, whether the *degree* of loyalty which is manifested by the Catholic Adviser, would permit him to be indifferent. “ Fifty thousand persons of all parties,” (i. e. loyalist and traitor) “ perished;” and seem from his account, to be *equally* lamented by Mr. Scully. I say seem; because I would not intimate that he in fact made no distinction. “ Sanguinary and unreflecting men, both the Loyal and the Rebel, indiscriminately outraged the innocent and guilty †.”

“ See Brother, how we apples swim !”

In the Catholic Adviser’s “ rapid passage over these horrid scenes,” ‡ he makes no distinction between treason and allegiance; and forgets that the Law would make this difference between them, that the unreflecting rebel who survived the field, ran no small risk of encountering the scaffold. Indeed his picture of a thoughtless “ Rebel, outraging the person or property of a *guilty* loyalist,” § is rather obscure; unless the crime of this latter were

* Page 61.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

were his allegiance. But another part of this hasty sketch we can understand: his contrast between the situations of the innocent, and the guilty. "The latter, when they suffered, retaliated," as he says:* "the former, applying vainly to the laws for redress, found the doors of justice closed by bills of indemnity, against them."†——Who that read this short description, would be innocent,—unless he considered virtue as its own, and adequate reward? Mr. Scully prescribes guilt, as the means of retribution.

But "others obtained compensation, from the same Legislature that enacted those bills."‡ This sentence is plainly introduced, for the purpose of implying a charge of inconsistency on the government;—(doubtless with a view to excite the fidelity of the people.) But to me the whole measure wears a different aspect; and reflects credit, in all its parts, on the Legislature; who while, by a bill of indemnity, they protected the sanguine loyalist from the effects of excessive zeal, in a moment calculated to excite it,—at the same time passed an act of compensation, to obviate the injurious consequences of this zeal, to the innocent sufferer. But my adversary views this matter under an opposite light; and utterly condemning their erroneous conduct, declines vindicating the Rulers of that day.§

The vindication of his Majesty is so indecorous and disrespectful, that I really scruple
to

* Page 61.

† Ibid.

‡ Page 62.

§ Ibid.

to transcribe it, though for the purpose of animadversion. It is clear that Mr. Scully in page 63, does not waste his paper with the statement of irrelevant possibilities; (to which, as has often been remarked, there is no end,) but means, more pertinently and irreverently, to insinuate that what *may be*,—*is*.—Thus (pardon me for the quotation,) instead of a monarch who can do no wrong, we have *a king of shreds and patches*, (sewn together by the Adviser) who is not only “liable to mistakes
“and abuses in the management of affairs,
“and subject to fits of anger, prejudice, and
“caprice; but whose *nature* is to be at times
“obstinate, improvident, and ill-humoured;
“and even infatuated on particular subjects*:
“whose state being extensive, his information is inaccurate, and his views are indistinct:”† one who by a quibbling crotchet
“in an oath, ‡ circumscribes, for the present,
“the justice” which he is bound to render to his people.

This is no true portrait of the prince whom I obey; and seems rather to have been sat for by James the second,§ than George the third. The gross misconduct of such a monarch must terminate in abdication.

But though by “the barkings of a Duigenan,
“and the fables of a Musgrave,”|| abetted by
an

* Page 63.

† Ibid.

‡ Page 65.

* See the histories of his reign. I am far, however, from insinuating that Mr. Scully intended this picture for him.

|| Page 65.

an “ indigestible scruple of conscience,”* (produced by “ a quibbling crotchet, on an infatuated mind,”) “ the relief” of the Catholicks “ should for a *moment*, be obstructed,—yet their suspense will not be measured by eternity.” They “ see an enlightened Prince, beckoning them to the banner of *genuine* loyalty, and drawing lessons of future policy, from “ the patriotic Moira.”†

If an epitome of the above sentiments were rendered into French it must be confessed that *Vive le Roi!* would not be the translation. *Genuine* loyalty, the author sees only in embryo, and perspective; though he constitutionally wishes for its speedy birth: mean time, content with *imagining*,‡ he does not proceed to compass the death of the reigning King. But if the digestive powers of the Heir apparent’s conscience should prove feeble,—he is apprised how fervent will be the prayers of Mr. Scully for his royal life.

On the propriety of acceding to the Catholic wishes, I would not be understood as offering an opinion. But when I hear of the *fa-
bles* of a Musgrave, their adviser will pardon me, if I smile at the injudicious application of such an epithet to works, which, I fear, have nothing of the *fabulous* in their nature: and as to the barkings of a Duigenan, (as the head of our Ecclesiastical Law is *respectfully* called,) I will

* Page 99. † Ibid.

‡ I advert to the language which Mr. Scully has unintentionally used, not to the sentiments which he entertains. In short, I speak of his pamphlet, and not of himself.

I will not degrade that learned and upright man, by vindicating his name against a pert invective. His inflexible integrity, his bold and manly understanding, (not the less interesting, for the strong lines which mark it,) the frank and generous, (perhaps over-)warmth of his disposition, his great information, and unshaken loyalty, compose a shield, which is sufficient to repel far more formidable weapons, than the pen of Mr. Scully.

But "the faction of ascendancy"* is become discontented, and clamorous against "British connexion." Let me fairly expose my competence to discussion, by confessing that to this *faction* I belong. The ascendant of the established church will, I trust, ever be preserved; and if Catholics permit, I think, will never be abused. Having premised thus much, I would add that Protestants may indeed be dissatisfied, and with reason, at the conduct of some of Mr. Scully's flock: nor is his pamphlet adapted to assuaging their discontents. But when he represents them as enemies to that British connexion, on which they must feel their very existence to depend, when he talks of a clamour which none but himself have heard, he gets beyond the marvellous, and expatiates in the empty regions of incredibility.

But they are incensed at "the demolition of their club-house.† This description of a great imperial measure, (I am not here investigating

* Page 65. † Page 66. ‡ Ibid.

tigating its merits,) which, instead of demolishing, incorporated our Parliament with the British, is altogether as true as it is decent; and the utter abjuration and derision of a body, in whose return the Catholicks conspired,—of whose liberality their privilege is the creature,—and to whom Mr. Scully owes his legal title, is equally merited, grateful, and becoming.

Pursuing my author in his train of topics, and aiming at no stricter method, than to make the series of my reply correspond with that of his arrangement, I now arrive at his encomiums on the men in power; and in his praise of the Lord Lieutenant I cordially agree*. Indeed I have never heard his merits disputed, or even doubted; and my respect for him has gradually mellowed to a sentiment, which unless the Roman poet be mistaken, I should repress: for,

“ Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur,
“ Majestas, et Amor.”——

But this very sentiment assures me, that his Excellency will spurn the praise, which is merely used as a vehicle for detraction; and whose author, converting its object to a stalking horse, insidiously endeavours to elude observation, while he asperges the characters of former Viceroy's, and eminent men in the state. With very amiable manners, and,

F I am

* Pages 68. 69. 70. 71. 72.

I am persuaded, much purity of heart, I also take lord Hardwicke to be a man of a penetrating, correct, and polished taste. He consequently must be one who,

——“*Malé si palpere, recalcitret, undique tutus.*”

Now, as this is an operation, to which I should be sorry to see a gentleman even figuratively exposed, I earnestly recommend to Mr. Scully to change henceforward, the mode of his approaches. I do believe the Lord Lieutenant to be “*firm* :” so much so, that the attachment of the loyal to his government, strong as it is at present, will be every day encreasing ; while the disaffected, finding their error, will give over their adulation. I cannot say what may be the extent of his Excellency’s “*legal information* :” but I am sure his constitutional knowledge is sufficient, to make him dissent, with more than ordinary disapprobation, from Mr. Scully’s view of the memory of King William, and his opinion of the events which attended the Revolution.

The refusal “to consign the county” (I presume) of Limerick, “to the rigours of martial law,” is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the laudable cause which Mr. Scully has assigned ; *viz.* the equally mild, as steady spirit of the present Administration. But there is no ground for attributing the applications which were thus resisted, to the alarms of timid men ;* or for asserting that any of our Nobility

Nobility need blush for what they did.* That county was much and seriously disturbed. Government had too good information not to know that it was so; and too much wisdom not to square their conduct to the occasion. Accordingly during the assizes, which including an adjournment of them, occupied ten days,—and at a special commission which followed after, Baron Smith, and Judge Osborne delivered the gaol completely; and made many severe, but salutary examples. In the course of those trials it appeared in evidence that there was a certain degree of organization in that quarter: that nightly meetings were held, and numerously attended; and houses plundered of their arms; and that on one night a small and ill appointed body (consisting of about a hundred and fifty men,) professed, and seemed to entertain, an extravagant intention, which however they afterwards abandoned, of making a sudden attack upon the town. These occurrences manifested a sufficiently insurgent spirit; and the events of the 23d of July, and present state of things, tend to shew that the alarm which they excited, was not a vain one.

But Mr. Scully thinks, (for he is a gentleman, and he asserts it) that “the recent outrages in our metropolis were not formidable in their contrivance, or extent. The number of the intoxicated persons, who raised their arms against the government, did not

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“ exceed

“ exceed that of the Rioters at a country fair ;
 “ and Lord Hardwicke’s discernment taught
 “ him to distinguish between the desperation
 “ of three or four hundred ruffians, and the
 “ motions of a whole people.” * In this opinion of the Catholick Adviser I have heard it rumoured, (but do not believe) that he is joined by our late Commander of the forces. Nay, certain printed (but probably inaccurate) Reports ascribe the same encouraging language to persons high in situation. I, at all events, must avow a different opinion. I, who think that by closing our eyes, we do not diminish an approaching danger ; but merely weaken our means of resistance, or escape.

Lord Hardwicke saw this to be the mere desperation of a few ruffians ! whence then those strong and necessary proclamations, to which his Excellency’s signature is prefixed, and to which the names of so many Privy Counsellors are subscribed ? Whence the prompt and vigorous and extraordinary acts, which the Legislature hastened to ground on those proclamations ?—whence the numerous arrests—the executions for high treason—the construction of barriers—the posting of guards—the escorts of Judges—the augmentation, the array, the vigilance, and alertness of all descriptions of military, which we have witnessed since ?

It is true that there is a degree of mysterious obscurity, surrounding this abortive and extraordinary

* See note A at end of Letter.

extraordinary attempt. But is the peril less, because such clouds and darkness rest upon it? Did the march of three hundred men from Naas to this city, smack at all of a riot at a country fair? Were any informations, (what is become of them I cannot say,) respecting strange and important occurrences in a neighbouring county, given before a respectable Magistrate of this City and Corporation? Did the number or the style of the Rebel Manifestoes prove this burst to arise merely from the desperation of a band of ruffians? Did the *cotemporary* proclamation issued by Russell in the North demonstrate that the spirit had attained no height, and was but inconsiderably diffused? Did a Depot of fourteen thousand pikes, thirty thousand rounds of cartridge, a number of hand grenades, a quantity of bread, fuses for cannon, chains for stretching across the streets, * evince this to be a plot, contemptible, in either "its contrivance or extent?" Or can any man in his reason, addressing others, who possess theirs, compare this transaction to a riot at a fair,—thus insulting the Legislature, that could encounter such a pigmy outrage, with those vigorous and gigantic measures, which we have seen adopted?

Mr.

* I do not undertake to enumerate all, or the greater part of what was found in this depot; nor wish to detain the reader by the suggestion of other matters, such as the explosion which betrayed the manufacture of gunpowder; the detection of R. Emmett; the apprehension of Russell in Dublin; the circumstance of many persons being missed in the county of Wexford from their homes, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Scully having paid a transient compliment to the amiable qualities of Lord Cornwallis, (whose sanction of the "massacre" at Ballinamuck, he appears on this occasion to have forgotten,) the Lord Chancellor becomes next the object of his commendation.

Having already delivered my opinion that the appointment of such a man to the great seal of Ireland, is a reasonable subject of national satisfaction, it is superfluous to declare that I entirely concur in the praise which is here bestowed. Neither are the grounds laid for this eulogium either objectionable, or untrue: so that instead of controverting, I have only to add to what has been said.

Lord Redesdale is, in this paragraph, considered principally as a Judge; and I believe him to be as unobjectionable a one, as good temper, polished manners, integrity, and experience, with a sound, enlarged, and well cultivated understanding can compose. But it is rather at his character as a statesman that we should look, when we are considering how public measures will be affected by his opinions. Into the Cabinet his Lordship will carry the qualities which I have mentioned, and which are as requisite for the Council as for the Bench. He will also take with him that "sagacity," which is justly ascribed to him by this passage, and that firmness, which it has omitted to enumerate amongst his dispositions; and which prevents his being such a contrast to his predecessor, Lord Clare, as the writer (with

(with what object he best knows) would represent. This sagacity would lead him to distinguish the sentiments and situation of an English from those of an Irish Catholick; in order to determine, not whether he should be “the patron and benefactor”* of these latter; (for so large a portion of the King’s subjects is entitled to his protection;) but how far this patronage could be extended, without danger to our British connexion, or our established church. If the only grievance and depression under which Irish Catholicks were found to labour, should be the superiority of our establishment, or existence of a system, judged necessary to maintain it,—not all the address or eloquence of Mr. Scully would prevail with his Lordship to assist in their removal. He would leave our oppressed and unpitied Catholicks, (almost as much degraded as their brethren in Great Britain,) confined to the unmolested enjoyment of property,—and possession of civil liberty the most complete,—attended with no small share of political importance; and would turn an inexorable ear to their discontents, at being restrained from corroding the links which connect these islands, or razing the fair edifice of our reformed religion†; to erect their own in all its ancient splendour, on the site.

“Do we not see,” (asks Mr. Scully,) “at the head of our army, the brother of our
“ constant

* Page 72.

† Seemingly placed on the same footing with infidelity, by the last exhortation of Doctor Troy.

“ constant advocate, Charles Fox? ” — To this I answer, *we do not* : nor though a Yeoman, and living in a time and place, which require military precaution, vigour and alertness, equal to any thing which on the twenty-third of July, our garrison displayed,—can I, consistently with a due submission to the Royal pleasure, indulge a sentiment of regret at his removal†. With every respect for the *Commander of the Faithful*,‡ (more indeed than I entertain for some of the Maidstone compurgators,) I am bound to acquiesce in that exercise of the prerogative which has withdrawn him. But having been under arms on the night of our disturbance, and not unobservant of what has occurred since, I may without trenching on my reverence for Majesty, hope that he will be succeeded

* Page 72. See note B at end of Letter.

† Whether the Commander of the Forces should engross the whole, or obtain only a part, or finally be denied any portion of that praise, which is *somewhere* due, on account of the state of complete defence and preparation, in which the city was upon the night of the disturbance, is a question which I cannot answer; but which requires solution. Those to whom we are indebted should be known, in order to be rewarded as they deserve. Neither ought we to withhold our praise, merely because such previous information had been given, as was calculated to put those who received it, on their guard.

‡ Mr. Scully has, in page 73, conferred on this respectable officer, the title of Commander of the Catholics; which he will not deny to be synonymous with that of *Commander of the Faithful*.

succeeded by as great energies as his own. Lamentable might our situation be, if our forces were placed under the dominion of a man, who instead of taking the armed loyalty of Ireland to his heart, should use his power to impede the exertions of this body; or damp its ardour, by discouraging, and groundless insinuations; and who, instead of reconnoitring the danger which he was to repel, should be deluded by that extenuating cant, and fulsome *patelinage*, with which Traitors would lull the Argus of government to repose, in order to seize the unwary moment for its destruction. With me, every mitigating sentence, which is uttered by such men, but serves to add a cubit to the stature of our danger.

Mr. Scully now proceeds to guard his Catholic Brethren "against the dangers, which " they have to dread from *domestic dissensions* " * and it must be confessed that the means which he has made choice of, are uncommon. They consist of a virulent attack on the Orange Associations; and resentful catalogue of circumstances, the most likely to excite discord, and irritate those prejudiced and vulgar minds, which, from the style that he has selected, seem the objects of his address; and to whose taste and understanding, his sentiments and language are, for the most part, alike and singularly well adapted. Having premised that

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he is not acquainted with a single member of the Orange Body,* and added, (more roundly than consistently,) that it is a society composed of knaves and fools,† he proceeds to prove, (not the knavery or folly which he has imputed, but) the ignorance which he has admitted, by an account of their character and conduct, so destitute of foundation, that it reflects no credit on his truth; and so deficient in probability, that it does no honour to his invention. In short it is good for nothing, but to goad, or assuage the Catholic feelings; and which of these effects it is best calculated to produce, is for the reader to determine. I shall merely observe that I have not only read, but (as of course he wished me,) have *applied*, that part of his quotation‡ from Mr. Burke, which adverts to “blowing up the blind rage of the populace;” and to certain “pestilential libels, which infect and poison the very “air we breathe.”

He ascribes to the Orange-Men, the commotions in Armagh. These preceded the existence of that association; and arose between the *Peep of Day Boys*, and *Defenders*. The Orange Society (of which I am not, nor ever have been one,) grew (as an antidote) out of that of the United Irishmen. The inadequacy of the laws, yet unfortified by those strenuous measures which were afterwards adopted, rendered

* Page 76.

†Page 75.

‡ Page 79.

dered it necessary for loyal men to embody for their own protection; else, dispersed, they were miserably and one by one cut off. The perils of the country continuing, and so increasing, as more than to keep pace with the strong provisions made against them, Administration *may have* indirectly countenanced* this loyal and coherent body. How the fact was, I do not know; but this I perceive clearly; that all which is urged against them (for the charges of assassination are untrue,) proves only, that in ordinary times such institutions may be objectionable. Hence it is *wisely* concluded that they are not adapted to a great emergency; and ought equally on such occasions to be discouraged and put down. But such an inference, sound logick will not justify; and political reason might lead to the opposite conclusion: else we must adopt the novel maxim, of *different case,—like rule.*†

As to “the short-sighted terrors of the con-
“niving government,”‡ the events which followed, refute this charge of timid and erroneous alarm. I advert to the transactions of the year 1798; which wore rather a serious aspect at Wexford and Scullabogue; and which we conceived to amount to a Rebellion: but this tract informs me they were merely a

G 2

civil

* Page 75.

† The legal maxim, on the contrary, is *like case, like rule.*

‡ Page 75.

civil war.* Thus the Yeomen and the Traitors stand *in pari delicto*: unless, goaded to resistance by the intemperance of their Rulers,† the latter may appear more excusable in Mr. Scully's eyes.

This gentleman is aware that his "countrymen are exposed to *great and trying temptations*;‡ and inasmuch as if they yield, and "swerve from their loyalty,"|| their offence must be venial, in proportion to these inducements, I am surprised that he, whose object was to excite allegiance, should suggest a consequence too obvious to have been overlooked. He feels that "they have much to dread from their own rashness, credulity, and *resentments*:"§ therefore, in order to allay, and counteract them, and cordially to attach his flock to their fellow subjects, and their government,—he adverts to tithes, under the appellation of "the exactions of the Parson:"¶ to "the burdensome land tax," prostituted on "the repair of churches, where not half a dozen of" those impious heretics "attend:"** to the "disability of the Catholics to fill corporate offices; and their exclusion (in a country, in which their ancestors have flourished, in former times,††) from professional honours, posts " of

* Page 89, and passim.

† Page 93, and passim.

‡ Page 89

|| Ibid.

§ Page 90.

¶ Page 96.

** Page 97. See the just observations of the Irish Loyalist on this subject; p. 35.

†† Page 1.

“ of dignity, and all share in the Legisla-
 “ ture:” to the “ damping of their spirit,
 “ the quenching of their ambition, and be-
 “ reaving their honest industry of its fair re-
 “ ward.”* The object of such allusions may
 be truly said to be

“ inscrutable, invifible,

“ As a nofe on a man’s face, or a weathercock on a
 “ fteeple.”†

With the like commendable intention, he
 reforts to the following soothing topicks of dif-
 cussion. He knows of many diftricts, over-
 “ run by gangs of armed orange ruffians, who
 “ *prowl* (he uſes the preſent tenſe,) amongſt
 “ the Catholicks in the ſilence of night, to
 “ gratify the love of plunder, or the worſt of
 “ paſſions. Theſe invade their cottages, vio-
 “ late their females, and levy contributions,
 “ at the muzzle of a piſtol.”‡—How judici-
 cious and harmonizing is the introduction
 of this picture! What a pity that it repre-
 ſents that which never had exiſtence,—and
 which the author has elſewhere denied to
 exiſt at preſent! “ You are not frightened
 “ from your houſes, by outrages upon your
 “ properties, or perſons.”||

But waving the contradiction, let me con-
 clude, by the following extract, my notice of
 his laudable endeavours to aſſuage Catholick
 exaſperation. “ The ſorry faction here, theſe
 “ anarchical” Orange “ Affociators who may
 “ hereafter

* Page 98.

|| Page 68.

† SHAKESPEARE.

‡ Page 104.

“ hereafter act the tragedy of the Cromwel-
 “ lian Revolution, and bring their Monarch
 “ to the scaffold,—would rather see their
 “ Catholic countrymen rushing upon mutual
 “ slaughter, and becoming rebels to their
 “ King, exiles from the land, or slaves to an
 “ Invader, than that they should not bow
 “ beneath their yoke.”* He then enjoins his
 Readers to fight on the side of these fan-
 guinary oppressors; and embryo Regicides.
 The insertion of this vision would be into-
 lerably disgusting, but for the tranquillizing
 purposes, which it is to serve. As it is, I
 shall only say that the Dreamer resembles an
 Astronomer, of whom we read in a work as
 fabulous as his own;† who mistook the mote
 which he had magnified, for a monster in
 the Sun. But the present author is entitled
 to indulgence. “ The members of this so-
 “ ciety are to him as so many ghosts;”‡ and
 having raised such horrid phantoms, it would
 be surprizing, if he was not in a bewildered
 state of terror and consternation. Yet, for
 the credit of his intrepidity, it must be al-
 lowed that his alarm does not prevent him
 from being an impartial enemy to extremes.
 He therefore bestows upon the quiet and un-
 offending Methodists, (described under the
 periphrasis of pillaging, hypocritical, canting,
 swadling knaves,||) whatever abuse he can
 spare

* Page 80. and 81.

† Not the fables of Musgrave, but (I believe) Æsop.

‡ Page 85. || Page 43.

spare from the contrastedly energetic Orange Body; though indeed he is so liberal of coarse invective to these latter, that we may believe what is asserted in page 85, of his not being acquainted with any *gentleman*—of that society.

Apprehensive that all his well meant pains to calm the tumults and anxieties of the Catholic mind, (although an endearing threat of assassination is thrown in,*) may notwithstanding fail to produce the desired effect,—he terminates these statements, by requesting his congregation “to beware of permitting their passions to hurry them into “greater excesses than those” (according to him sufficiently atrocious,) “of which they complain.”†

I have heard an anecdote, of which I am reminded by this passage. Some College Lads (as we call them) being engaged in inflicting the Academic punishment of *pumping* on an offender, a student, who happened to pass by during the operation, cried, “Ah! “Boys—don’t nail his ear to the pump!” these however, instead of attending to the recommendation, profited by the hint; and the Adviser thus, by cautioning them “to “beware,” occasioned that, which (we must suppose,) he intended to prevent.

As Mr. Scully’s good intentions might be as cruelly defeated, I am on the whole disposed

* Page 51.

† Page 86.

posed to wish that he should never again resume his pen ; but abdicating the dictatorial authority which he has been exercising, should retire to that

“ *Cool, sequestered vale of life,*”

for which he avows so steady an attachment ; * and to which he appears to be as fitted by talent, as inclination. Let him freely indulge his propensities to a retirement, which those who think with me, will wish never to molest.

I indeed feel for the disappointments, to which he may otherwise be exposed. Deaf to his warning voice, and unappeased by his pathetic enumeration of their sufferings, his furious audience, (like those whom Mark Anthony once addressed,) might be stimulated to hostility against their Protestant fellow subjects ; and be even encouraged to this breach, by a circumstance, on which the Moderator of their passions dwells. I mean that “ paucity of Protestant numbers,” which he represents as so contemptible, that “ in many” (*not Northern*) “ districts, they are not even to be heard of : and in short, that Catholics are to them, in about the ratio of a regiment to its fifes and drums †”.

On the other hand, punctilious critics may tack many animadversions to those which I have made. They may enquire how far this contempt of the Protestant numbers accords with

* Page 91.

† Page 57.

with the terrors, which in page 51 they are represented to excite. They may alledge that the computation, which states the Catholics to constitute four-fifths of the people, is more remarkable for its tendency, than for its truth *. They may analyse, and endeavour to extract disloyalty from, that passage, in which the French are reproached with having been tardy to relieve their friends against the Orange Invader †. They may admit that the memory of such Catholics as Mr. Scully, if of marble, ‡ preserves the record of fancied grievance, not of real favours. They may oppose the authority of Mr. Burke § to his admirer, Mr. Scully, when this latter states that, “after” nothing more serious, than merely “the slaughter or exile of two or three millions, the French having gained the opportunity of firmly fixing their liberties, and calmly choosing their own form of government, all their friends in other countries hoped that, pursuing a noble line of conduct, they would now produce some admirable masterpiece of a free constitution. ||” They may proceed to compare, (not for the purpose of displaying *opposition*, but *agreement*,) this sublime indifference to the lives of millions, with the sentiment of a Jacobin, of the name of *Redhead*, who was tried for sedition in 1794. The conduct of this man decided in *the affirmative*, the following

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* Page 57. † Page 13. ‡ Page 95. § See Mr. Burke's
Reflections. || Page 26.

ing question, which he had proposed, on paper. "Suppose," (he had written,) "a revolution should cost a hundred thousand lives: would the benefit be worth one hundred thousand lives? But a revolution may cost five hundred thousand: perhaps a million. Would the benefit be equal to that price?"

These snarling criticks might go on to comment on Mr. Scully's references to the authority of Thomas Emmett, by observing first, that if the whole of his evidence were believed, we should not hear tithes described as oppressive exactions of the Parson: secondly that when a state offender is making discoveries, to procure safety either for himself, or for his friends, (which *latter* I believe to have been the object of poor Emmett,*) it is better to hear his statements of such facts, as if untrue, are liable to be refuted, than to admit the theories which may be suggested, or the declarations of opinions or principles which may be made, by a person so circumstanced, at the time of his examination.

Thus a disaffected man, who dreaded the consequences of Orange loyalty, might flily represent the augmentation of that body, as tending to encrease the United Irish, and the friends of France.† Again, if he wished to delude Administration, into the adoption of a system, (miscalled conciliatory,) which,

* See note C, at end of letter.

† Page 83.

which, by giving influence and impunity, would promote the purposes of treason, he would declare the intention of the Rebel Directory to have been, to discard the French, “ if Government adjusted its differences with the people.”*

Nay the malice of such commentators might not stop here. They might criticise that strange and monstrous structure, whose stature (Mr. Scully tells us) is to *reach the skies*, and its base engrosses the entire surface of our soil.† This edifice, cemented with the blood of millions, they might invidiously mistake for the Church of Rome; and imagine they discovered “ *Horror plumed*” upon its summit. In a word, they might *sneeringly* assent to Mr. Scully’s position, that “ every wicked junto professes the most plausible purposes, in order to veil the most villainous designs;”‡

H 2

and

* Page 61.—I am here giving Mr. Scully the advantage of a concession, which I can very well spare; but might refuse. It appears from one of the state papers of rebellion, (promulgated about the time of Lord Moira’s coming to this country,) to have been the order of the day, that no conciliations on the part of Government should be allowed to arrest the progress of disaffection.

† The plan, as given by this political Architect, is as follows: “ Our patriotism will have raised a splendid monument, more durable than the marble pillar. Its head shall reach the summits of our lofty mountains; its extent shall be as spacious, as the superficies of Irish soil.” Page 114.

I know not what Mr. Burke would say of this *elevation*; but if the reader will not admit its *obscurity* to be *sublime*, he must surely, and at least, confess that its *sublimity* is *obscure*.

‡ Page 81.

and might enquire what enemy it was *really* intended that “from their bogs and their “defiles,” our gallant pikemen “should “annoy.*”

These, my Dear Sir, are amongst my reasons, for *protesting* against the counsels of the Catholick Adviser. In a moment so critical and awful as the present, I choose rather to commit my country to the care of Lord Hardwicke

* Pages 11 and 111. We find our Pikemen, at an early period, fighting for “*la Croce*,” and from the Poet’s description of their “*shaggy forms*,” they seem to have resembled their modern portrait, as given by Humbert.

“*Questi dall’ alte selve irsuti manda*

“*La divisa dal mondo, ultima Irlanda.* (a)

In a still more distant age, we see them *abetting France*; under the command of the Earls of Desmond, and *Kildare*; who were both of the illustrious family of *Fitz-Gerald*; and appear to have borne very nearly their present arms. (b)

“*Or guarda gl’ Ibernesi, apresso il piano :*

“*Sono due squadre ; e il Conte di Childera*

“*Mena la prima : il Conte di Desmonda*

“*Da fieri monti ha tratta la seconda.*”

But, waving an anachronism, which is not mine, but Ariosto’s, and which makes the great men of (at farthest) Henry the second’s day—cotermporary with Charlemagne, do I insinuate that the descendants of Desmond and *Kildare* (some of the very noblest blood, which our country has to boast of,) would follow the remote example which I have recorded? I do; and am glad to feel persuaded that they would. Their ancestors assisted a powerful, revered, and *Christian* Prince, to baffle the attacks of an *Infidel* invader. Surely these would do the same: for they would defend the Realms of George the Third, against the efforts of Bonaparte.

(a) *Tasso.*

(b) “*Nel bianco, una vermiglia banda.*”

wicke and yourself, assisted by the opinions of those eminent persons in the state, of whom I have had occasion to notice one of the most principal in this letter.

Indeed I cannot but be glad that our affairs are in your care ; because I wish well both to Ireland, and to you. In a moment like the present, the reins of Government should be swayed by vigorous and skilful hands ; and the conjuncture affords to an able man who holds them, a fair and honourable opportunity for stamping his reputation. Of this I wish an old and respected acquaintance to avail himself.

I consider our situation to be delicate, in more ways than one. Not merely because we are at war with a malignant enemy, and (I scorn to wink at danger, or deceive myself or others,) that our country is in a state of alarming disaffection. These considerations, perhaps, only prove the necessity for *quickly throwing in an ample, well provided, and well officer'd, military force.*

It is Sir, because the state of things has been lately changed, by a measure opposed by much of the sense and loyalty of Ireland. O ! that I could transfuse into every mind, the unalterable convictions which press upon my own, of the necessity that exists, for justifying the adherents, and conciliating the *liege* opponents of an Union* ;—by a cordial and *respectful* care of the interests of this country.

Let

* See note D at end of Letter.

Let not the former be driven to find excuses for their support, in alledging that if the interests of Ireland should be neglected, an event so *improbable* could never have been foreseen: nor the latter be compelled to seek for consolation, in the sagacity which predicted, and the patriotism which resisted those evils which they deplore. No--No--Great Britain will act the part, for which her Minister solemnly undertook, on the 24th of January 1799.*—Government will apply that purchase, *which they declared to be all that was required*, for raising the firm prosperity of our Church and State. They will feel that Union is a great imperial engine, which must be worse than useless, if left unemployed.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, Dear Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

A YEOMAN.

Dublin, Sept. 23d, 1803.

P. S. This letter having been written *à baton rompu*, and completed, (without correction, except of proofs,) within four days, may, perhaps be, on this account, thought entitled to indulgence. It is proper to add, that Mr. Wickham has never seen or heard of it, previously to publication. The anonymous author has taken the liberty of writing

* See Mr. Pitt's Speech in the British House of Commons.

ing to him, as a public man, without having obtained his permission, for that purpose. He therefore is himself alone responsible for all that is contained in the foregoing pages; nor can he tell whether the sentiments will meet the approbation of the Right Honourable Gentleman to whom they are addressed.

It now *begins* to be asserted, (how truly I cannot determine,) that amongst his brethren, Mr. Scully's work is generally disapproved. That it is by many of them, I am persuaded. But of *some*, I should be tempted to enquire the grounds of their disapprobation. Whether do they object to those doctrines which they conceive him to entertain,—or to the indiscreet explicitude, with which he may appear to have avowed them? They *may* think him wrong, for having *let the cat out of the bag*.

Sept. 26th, 1803.

NOTES,

NOTES.

(A) Page 36. This explosion, of which in the recent nomenclature of Jacobinical Patois, the last new title is *the Thomas Street Dispute*, is the same which in hyperbolical terms, the author of *Cursory Remarks* calls that “burst” of Irish rebellion, and massacre of the chief “criminal Judge, which produced military law, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act.” Still under the influence of the same mistake, this author, in another place, describes the present to be a “crisis of foreign danger, internal difficulty, and Irish Rebellion.”—Surely, if this were the case, *our Soldiers would have been permitted to carry their side arms.*

(B) Page 40. “I am not aware of more than one case, in which” Mr. Scully’s friend and advocate, “Mr. Fox and his minority could be considered as a possible administration; and that is the success of the invasion, or some other great disaster, which should lay us at the feet of France. He might perhaps be the vice-president of the Britannick Republick; but there is little prospect of his ever being the Minister of an English King.”

Cursory remarks, on the state of parties in 1803.—Page 74.

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The writer does not proceed to form a conjecture, who, in such an event, would be commander of the forces.

(C) Page 50. Considering the principles contained in the foregoing pages, I may here venture to confess the sorrow which I feel for the doom, though just and necessary, of those unhappy brothers. Their talents, and in some respects their amiable dispositions, if unperverted, might have led to a different and splendid lot. I might as a Juror consign them to the scaffold; or as a Yeoman meet them in the field: but I will never insult the calamities of the exile; or traduce the memory of the defenceless dead. I knew the elder, (Thomas;) and my recollection of what I thought, both of his head and heart, is, spite of me, and of what followed, accompanied with an emotion of sympathy and sadness. Perhaps, if he had succeeded, I should have been amongst his victims: but if other reflections do not check my feelings, they shall not subside, before one so selfish, and dastardly as this.

In truth it has been my lot to hear from others, (who yet have seemed the objects less of punishment than favour,) doctrines as seditious as any preached by Thomas Emmett. It is true that, in the crisis of 1796 (almost as serious a conjuncture as the present,) this latter resisting the entreaties of his friends, declined joining any corps of Yeomanry. It is, how-
I ever;

ever, doing him but justice, to add that he never had belonged to one; and therefore, cannot be accused of the less pardonable offence, of having suddenly withdrawn himself, in a moment of pressing danger.

'*A priori*, we should not suppose that to promulgate the doctrines of Republicanism, or Disaffection, would be the surest mode for gaining Ministerial countenance. But in the *latitude* of politicks, we may sometimes learn the variations of the practical needle, from theoretical polarity.

Many, (and even my humble self amongst the number,) if their principles would permit, could take this road to influence and respect. They could either hide themselves in a blinking silence, from the discussion of a decisive measure; and then tower above those whose firm probity was their only crime; or they could promulge the disloyal code, with boldness equalling, and talent (easily) exceeding, what any of the candidates for State honours may have displayed. It might seem ominous and severe, that loyalty should be found to be an impediment to advancement, and a forerunner of disgrace. I therefore rejoice that in this country, such anomalies are unseen.

Surely *humbugging* is one of the most necessary arts of life. If he who is ignorant of it, be only laughed at, he escapes with singular good fortune.

(D) Page 53. Not by flattering individuals ; but by serving Ireland. I am far from meaning to recommend a fawning prostration of the King's government to its opponents ; or supercilious discountenance of those, from whom, in an arduous moment, the Empire received a principled support.

Still less would I be construed to insinuate, that if (as, among such a number of opponents, might occur,) the opposition of some were built on the avowal of principles substantially repugnant to the constitution, these should be selected as objects, rather of homage, than cultivation.

Such conduct would be more likely at the last, to let down the government, than to exalt the idols. I should therefore lament being so misinterpreted, as to be supposed to recommend it ; and insert this note to obviate misconstruction. It was to *liege* opponents I adverted.

Addenda to Page 37.

Did the march of three hundred men from Naas to this city, or the assembling of one thousand, on the Commons of Rathcoole,*
smack

* Within seven miles of Dublin. *Here were men, as well as arms.* But as in other places we are informed that there were *Captains without companies*, here there were *Companies without Captains*. This regiment had been appointed to rendezvous on those commons ; and promised that it
would

smack at all of a riot at a country fair? By which of those drunken rioters was the Minister accredited, who is at this moment in Paris for French aid? * Disregarding the declaration of Robert Emmet, (whose enthusiasm forbade his stating a gross and studied falsehood,) that he did not create, but found and joined, a Plot already formed,—and which would, without him, have gone on, †—shall we mistake him for the life-blood and the soul of treason? Can we be so weak as to confound the comparative insignificance of those commotions, which alarmed our metropolis on the 23d of July, with the dark extent of that conspiracy, from which they seem to have overflowed? Or shall we on account of its minuteness, despise the petechial spot, which may denote a corruption of the general mass?

would there be met by leaders. None such appearing, the assembly dispersed. Of the *three or four hundred ruffians* who made the riot in our streets, about twelve hundred are thought to have concealed themselves after it was over, in the flat grounds which border the Liffey, between Dublin and Sarah's-Bridge.

* Mr. Emmet's Trial, page 96. † Ibid. page 103.

F I N I S.