

L E T T E R

T O A

M E M B E R

O F T H E

H—E of C—s of I—D,

O N T H E

Present Crisis of Affairs in that
Kingdom.



L O N D O N:

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A

LETTER, &c.

S I R,

REMOTE as I am from all the Business of the World, the Scenes of Ambition, and the Struggles of the Great, I am not insensible to the Good or Evil that may befall my Country, or ungrateful to those, who, in Pursuance of their Trust, shall promote the one, or prevent the other. In the present Crisis of our Country's Affairs, he must not only be obscure, but dead, who can be uninform'd of the Designs against it, or unsollicitous about the Events may happen. When the Mask is taken off, which has long been kept on, and Projects set on Foot, which were uniformly disown'd; when, after having been long suspected, and solemnly disclaim'd, they are openly push'd on by all the Arts of Corruption and the Weight of Power, Men can no longer hope to impose on our Credulity, or disguise, by their Words, what their Actions make evident.

As one of your Constituents I acquaint you with my Sentiments, and the Sense of all those you represent, (as far as my Knowledge of them reaches) both with regard to your past Behaviour, and what they expect from you hereafter. We consider you, of late, in the double Capacity of a Servant to the King, and a Guardian to the People, which, till very lately, were the same in this Kingdom; and how they became divided let them answer who occasion'd it. As a Servant

to the King, we leave you to your Masters ; and as we have made you our Representative, we require your Concurrence, and most strenuous Endeavours to oppose every Thing that shall be speciously recommended for the Service of the King, but is obviously destructive to the Welfare of your Country. Governors and Ministers may be as fallible as other Men ; and even a Multitude of Counsellors may be unacquainted with Safety. They may, possibly, resolve on the most pernicious Measures, and with the greatest Sincerity pursue them to our Undoing, unless check'd by that Power which the Constitution has form'd, as the last Resource against Injury and Oppression.

Should you differ in Opinion from any, or all, the King has intrusted with Power, you must pursue your own Judgment, be the Consequence as it will. If you incur their Displeasure, it is no Fault of ours ; but a Compliance with their Authority will be a Fault of yours, and an infamous Breach of the Trust you took upon you.

We have the Happiness to observe you have hitherto remain'd uninfluenced by Authority, and uncontroul'd by Power : As you set out, you have continued ; and we make no doubt you will persevere to the last. You have not been content barely to give your Voice as your Opinion led ; but, if we are rightly inform'd by numerous Testimonies, have exerted an Industry equal to your Abilities, and labour'd for your Country with the same Zeal and Diligence that others have used to encrease their private Fortunes. They, who divide from you, may plead the same, think they are right, and make the Good of their Country the Motive of their Actions ; but I would ask them one Question, Are they paid for their thinking so ? Were they loud in Opposition, till they were silenced by Pensions ? And then let them ask one Question of you, What do you expect ?— I leave the Answer to yourself ; but, in our ordinary

nary Thinking, you have nothing to expect, and nothing to fear.

It is the Artifice of all who are in Favour, or expect it, to clamour against such as suspect a Ministry of any evil Designs. For two Years past we have heard of nothing but the Wickedness of vile Incendiaries, and malignant Opposers to the best of Governors! desperate Wretches! who would imbroil the State by insinuating Mischief, and alarming the People with pretended Fears! Have they not told us they have nothing to ask, and can we possibly suspect the Purity of their Intentions? To whom, in my Opinion, the Answer would be pertinent, that the *Dutch* Burgomaster gave to *Lewis XIV.* “ I know all you can do, and you know what you intend to do.”

Is it nothing to ask us to alter the Constitution? to make Concessions that will be eternal Precedents? that we not only assent to Alterations made for us, and the Urgency of Affairs may render necessary once to comply with, but, to complete the Rule, that we begin it ourselves, and establish it into Law and Right for ever? Is this no Attempt that ought to put us on our Guard, make us deaf to Assurances, and give their Promises to the Wind?

In a Constitution like ours, all Concessions must be fatal, and every *Right* that is *unasserted*, or *given up*, must be, and will be, irrecoverably lost. The *Principles* of our *Constitution* are not *originally* in ourselves, and it never can be *mended*, by *resolving* to them again. Whatever we *allow*, and *consent*, we should be made, in that Condition we must remain for ever, without Hope or Possibility of Remedy. We have no Root of our own, and are only *grafted* on another Stock; and if left to abide where at first we took Growth, may live and flourish; but will languish and die, if our Situation be changed. *Ireland* is now no longer a *Sucker* that drains the Moisture from the *Parent Root*,

Root, without Increase or producing Fruit, but a thriving Branch if *duly cultured*, and profitable as any that the Tree can boast; but still it is a Branch, and, if once it withers, will not revive again.

England, sprung from a *native Root*, has, within herself, all the *Principles* of her *Constitution*, and, in all the Changes and Injuries she has suffer'd, return'd to them again, when her *Estate* grew desperate. She rose like a *Phoenix*, when she was thought to be consumed; and the Experience of more than twenty Centuries has shewn, that neither foreign Invasions, or domestick Oppressions, the Knavery of *Ministers*, or the *Tyranny* of Princes, are able to suppress that Spirit of Liberty by which she originally was founded, and which has preserved her to be the last of all the *Kingdoms* in *Europe* where any Freedom remains.

One Part of her Liberty, and one only, has been granted to *Ireland*, viz. to give the King Supplies by a *Representative* chosen by the People; for on that depends, and from that follows, every other Right and Property we enjoy: If that *Right* be given up, and we voluntarily divest ourselves of it, how do we differ from the most *despotick* State? or with what Propriety can we be said to possess any thing? if, instead of the *People granting to the King*, we acquiesce in the *King's granting to the People*, then the People, and their Property, are his for ever. They are in the same Condition with the Subjects of *Morocco*, and may be legally converted to the same Uses. And, in my apprehension, if such an Attempt had succeeded in this Country, it had been our Happiness to have been born *Blacks*, and have a *Sancho* for our Governor, to sell us Wholesale to the *Indies*; we could lose nothing by Transportation, and should gain a better *Climate* to comfort our Spirits.

Whether any such Attempt has been made, you best know; and whether likely to be made again, can best guess.

You

You were one of the first, I remember, to discover the deep-laid Design that was form'd for the Reduction of the *Kingdom*; and, by a well-judged Opposition, in a *Point* which seem'd to most People no Way connected with the *Publick*, forced a Discovery of *unripen'd Schemes*, and *sprung the Mine* before it was ready for Execution.

What a Train of *desperate* Councils and *odious* Measures have been pursued for the Space of three Years, to botch the bungling Mischief they had made, and *cram* down a Dose that must work our Dissolution? Thanks be to Heaven they have fail'd as yet; and the Soundness of our *Constitution* has eminently appear'd, and master'd the Poison they administer'd.

A *national Strength* is never known till try'd; and the Struggle you have had will convince our Enemies, that *Property*, united with *Honesty*, will be too strong for the *venal* Efforts of *Poverty*, and the Influence of *exhausted* Corruption. *Corruption* seems now to have *done her worst* among us; too *weak* to proceed, and too barefaced to lie hid. Exposed, detected, and defeated, she can hardly hope to raise her Head again, or recover Credit with her most devoted Friends. *Bankrupt*, can she hope for Credit? and, pennyless, can she give Security? Will *Promises* pass for current *Coin*, when given without *Authority*, and received without *Confidence*?

Men, at such a Juncture, must not only be without *Honesty*, but without *Sense*, to be made again the Tools of undone Ambition, and do the *Work of Iniquity* without the Wages of Prostitution.

With what Face these Gentlemen can meet their *Constituents*, on another Occasion, must be left to themselves; but one would think it must be an awkward Meeting, and with an ill Grace will they ask for Favours after Confidence abused, and Trust betray'd.

In all Debates have ever happen'd in this *Kingdom*, till this last Period of desperate Ambition, there was some Pretence, or colourable Evasion, for Apostacy and Infidelity; and to say Truth, for thirty Years past, the Occasions were not equal for defending or *plundering* with Alacrity.

When the Duke of *Grafton* came here, as Lord Lieutenant, Sir *Robert Walpole* had but just establish'd his sole Dominion; and tho' the Banishment of *Rochester* had convinced his Enemies, that he had Spirit to undertake, as well as Strength to execute, whatever he judg'd would be conducive to his Purposes: Yet he found an Opposition to every Measure he propos'd, and that the evenest, and most firmly conducted, that ever any *English* Minister had to cope with, as it was founded on general and popular Principles, and carry'd on by Men of singular Industry, great Abilities, and powerful Fortunes.

But his Genius rose superior to every Difficulty that lay in his Way, and he always carry'd the Point he had in View, without spending any Power, or temporizing with Parties. He was afraid of no Parties, and despised the Resentments of their greatest Leaders. *Stairs* and *Argyle*, the Patrons of a considerable Body. *Cobham*, *B—n*, *C—r—d*, *B—d*, and *C—t*, with the Protectors of the whole Body of Dissenters, and a hundred others, when they would not ply, he laid aside, with as much Ease, as discharge his Coachman. Thus, at Liberty to pursue his own Dictates, he was neither to be threatened into Measures, or saddled with *Favourites*; or ever obliged to employ *Men he did not like*, by Court Intrigues, or Country Clamour. He was compell'd in one Instance only, and that in a Kind of *Under-Plot* in the *State Drama*, to make an Attempt in *Ireland*, which had been of infinite ill Consequence if pursued, but which he dropp'd when he saw its Tendency; and probably had
never

never set it on Foot, if any other Method, than giving a Patent to *Wood*, could, at that Time, have been thought of there, to get a round Sum at once for a Friend at Court, who loved nothing belonging to the *British* Dominions, but their Gold and their Operas. His Successors in the Administration have not been so fortunate, as, for a single Hour, to find themselves free, either from secret Influence, or popular Opposition: They can have no Will of their own, because they have no Power of their own, but what is shared with many, and avoid publick Opposition only by complying with every private Sollicitation. They must flatter their Constituents, as their Constituents do their Electors, and share a precarious Power with any one who has a Burrough at Command, as much as he must bribe and flatter his mercenary Potwallopers. If it be ask'd, what can occasion this Difference between theirs and Sir *Robert Walpole's* Administration, when it is a Fact undeniable, that he built his Power on the same Foundations, on popular Venality, and Court Protection? the Answer is, That (setting aside superior Talents) he was true to the Constitution, though he practised every Art of Bribery and Corruption. He saw no other Way, when Opposition was so strong, to preserve his Power, which he resolved to possess for Life. But, without sacrificing the united Constitution of Church and State, and being, as Lord *Bacon* says of *Cæsar*, his own Centre, he drew every Thing to it; but did not, like the other, to effect his Purpose, weaken, much less overturn, the Foundation on which he stood; or, what is next to overturning, resign the Supports of it. If he left his Country in a less flourishing Condition, and less respectable Figure in the Esteem of our Neighbours than might have been expected from a peaceable and profuse Administration, he left it the Means of recovering both, when any succeeding Minister, in more happy Conjunctions, or,

at least, more favourable to his own Support, should have Ability and Courage to undertake it. The Constitution remained in all Essentials as he found it, and, I believe, no Instance can be given of his varying once from fundamental Laws, through all the Instances of his Mismanagement.

He knew he was not *exerting*, but resolved not to impair, the Strength of the Constitution. The *British Oak* may be pruned and lopp'd, have her Branches stunted, and her Growth suppress'd, may be riven by Blasts, or defaced by Storms; but, whilst the Root remains untouch'd and sound, will, one Time or other, make a vigorous *Shoot*, erect her Head, and overspread the Forest. But this will never happen, till a Minister shall arise, both with great Abilities, and concurring Advantages, or from the Security of his own Power at home, shall be able to *make*, instead of *waiting for*, a *Crisis*. When this will fall out I shall not pretend to guess, or what might have hinder'd it during *Walpole's* last Years of Power, or in the Interval since that expired; but, sure I am, it is not to be expected under any precarious or pusillanimous Administration which may hereafter arise. It is not to be expected from them if they prove so short-sighted as to weaken their Hands at home, in order to strengthen them abroad; if they flatter one *Part* of his Majesty's Dominions at the Expence of *another*; if they beggar one *Part* to enrich *another*, and look no farther than the Proximity of the Danger they remove, and neglect a greater, because more distant. Sir *William Temple* compares the Genius of such a Ministry to a *scanty Blanket*, if you cover your Shoulders you expose your Feet; which, though it may be preferable to being uncover'd above, is still uncomfortable, and will not fail, if we lie long a-bed, to bring on painful Cramps, and make us walk very awkwardly when we rise.

I desire, Sir, I may not be misunderstood, or supposed,

supposed, by you, to glance at the present Ministers, or reflect on any Thing they have hitherto done. I think, in general, they have done more than could well be hoped for in many Circumstances we remember them beset with; but I argue on supposed Events, which we are told must soon fall out, but which, I hope and believe, are not presaged on any certain Knowledge of new Designs, or that any Thing is design'd without a free Deliberation first had, and the Utility of all Measures well weigh'd and agreed to. It were an Injury done our Governors to suppose otherwise; and, I again repeat, I suppose nothing of this, as I hope you will plainly observe in the ensuing Part of this Letter, wherein I beg leave to remind you of what, perhaps, you knew better than I do, but did not, in our last talking together, think material to be consider'd.

Whatever then may have been the Reasons, it is certain that, in all the successive Administrations we can remember, nothing was ever projected materially distressful of *I—d*, or tending to Innovation in the Government of it, unless where we were restrained in certain Articles of Trade, which no Right to, but Custom and Indulgence, was ever pretended, and which manifestly interfered with that of *England*: And altho' the Ministry forbore many Things they knew would prove beneficial to *England* as well as *Ireland*, such as letting us into lower Branches of the Woolen Manufacture, traffick from the Plantations in the unenumerated Goods, and sundry other Articles, in compliance with the general, tho' wrong Apprehension of several trading Towns, and Wool-growing Countries, of *England*; yet it is but of late that a Petition from any single manufacturing Town, attended with obvious Advantages to our Enemies, and no Benefit to more than two or three leading Tradesmen there, should prevail against the Interest of a whole Kingdom, and a long continued

and encouraged Industry. I desire, Sir, if you can, you will give me a better Reason for it than this, (*viz.*) that a Burrough-Interest, and not a national Interest, has brought it to pass. Burroughs make it a Point with their Representatives, the Representatives with their Friends, and all in a body with the Minister, who, I am afraid, cannot help complying, without impairing his Strength, and losing Friends at a Pinch; and the Example being set, other Representatives have a Call, in their Turn, on the Friends they have obliged, to humour their Constituents, and get them a Market for their Wares. Thus, Sir, it will, probably, go round, 'till a Minister be proud enough to refuse, as well as too proud to ask.

But tho' this seems to me a clear Account of some Things transacted on t'other Side, I think it would be impossible to account, on any other Principles than those of Caprice, or Corruption, for any Innovation in the Forms of Government here, or any Attempt to take Power out of the accustomed Channel. Things have gone on in the same Track ever since we can remember. When the Duke of *Grafton* came here, he ask'd nothing but the ordinary Supplies, recommended little more than a Care of the Linen Manufacture, and the Speaker of the H—e of C—s carry'd every thing quietly, and to general Satisfaction. Lord C——t, it is well known, was made Lord Lieutenant, with no other View but to get him out of his Office, where, it seems, he was not agreeable to the Minister; and tho' the Activity of his Genius, and his Disposition to Levity, made him affect Intrigue, and put on a Face of Mystery and Business, yet it soon appear'd to be but a Copy of his Countenance, and that he had nothing in charge more than what was usual: And to speak Truth, *Ireland*, at that Time, was hardly worth undoing, and forced to run in Debt to maintain her Lists, which may be an Apology for that Nobleman's Conduct,
and

and Indemnify him in the Opinion of his Friends, who might otherwise be inclined to think meanly of his Parts, as one who did not know what belong'd to his Business, or deserve the great Character he had acquired, tho' very unjustly, of doing well for himself.

His Excellency, however, let Things run on in the usual Channel, and the Feint he made of substituting the Chancellor and Primate in the Room of the Speaker, and administering his *Government* by them, turn'd out to be no more than a Piece of *State Wagging*, and seem'd only design'd to testify the Contempt in which he had both them and the Kingdom.

His Successor, it is certain, gave no Offence, or any Cause of Suspicion in the first Years of his Administration; and the Attempt made to get granted some Revenue for Twenty-one Years, was not of his promoting; nor was it rightly understood without Doors, where it was generally thought to include *all the Revenue* granted to his Majesty, and raised a groundless Clamour of a Design to lay Parliaments aside for the Term intended. His G—'s present Administration need not be mention'd. To write a Panegyrick on it, would be like praising one to his Face; and to say any thing short of the Testimony his M—y has borne and *testify'd* of his G—'s Conduct in every high Station he has occupy'd, were Presumption in any private Person (however respectable,) much more in a Plebeian; and, in effect, were to contradict the united Sense of all, whom his M—y has thought fit to honour with his Confidence, *and trust with his Commands*.

Our late Vicegerent may also be pass'd by for Reasons, tho' not so cogent, yet, in some Degree, respectable, as he not only carry'd with him the Approbation of the People whom he govern'd, but was remember'd with Honour when he quitted Power, and his M—y's Choice most gratefully acknowledged

acknowledged by those, from whom only his M—y expected a Representation to be made. I shall, therefore, only say of his Excellency, that he attempted no Change in the Plan of Power deliver'd down to him.

His immediate Predecessor (for I observe no Order of Succession in this Letter) came to us at a Juncture when Innovations might be dangerous, and when great Abilities might be thought necessary to keep his Ground, and acquit himself with Safety to the State, and Credit to himself. He did both; and tho' I am far from doubting the Integrity and Candor, Penetration and Judgment of that beloved Nobleman, yet I must have leave to say, that his Lot was not unfortunate, when he fell on troubled Times, or his Government the less likely to be easy, that the People were uneasy and alarm'd, and justly apprehensive of Dangers. He had a Certainty of finding an unanimous Concurrence with him in Parliament in every Point that concern'd the Publick Weal, and a particular Attention to it then, from fix'd Principles of Loyalty, as well as occasional Considerations of Danger: And for any Attempts out of Parliament, they depended on Successes elsewhere, which his well-timed Courtesy to the Papists, and the benign Sentiments he expressed towards them, had but little influenced one Way or other, if Occasion had served to their Expectation. But tho' his Excellency made no Changes in the usual Course of the Administration, he sufficiently shew'd his Attention to Men, without much Consideration of their Fitness for any Office, or any Employment to which he destin'd them; and, in quieter Times, had probably given farther Proofs of that gentle Disposition of Mind, and Easiness of Temper, as well as Manners, which ever guided him, in his most important Transactions, to prefer those who could divert him, before such as could serve either himself or the Publick.

I have

I have pass'd by the D—e of D——e, as the least has been said of his Administration of any we have known; tho' this must be said by all, that an honest Gentleman never appear'd in so high a Station, or one more resolved to act in publick, without any Considerations of private Favour. As he came into Power unwillingly, he testify'd, by his Conduct, that he had neither promised, or would be persuaded, to concur in any Jobs, that might be recommended to him here or elsewhere.

After this View of the Course which has been steer'd by so many of our Governors, in such different Situations, I believe, Sir, you will think it pretty natural to enquire, what can be the Motives that should induce any succeeding Governor to shape another Course, which we are told (but, I hope, without Authority,) is intended. Is it on publick or private Considerations, that Power must be diverted from a Channel where it ran smoothly on for many Years past? Has the publick Welfare declined, or his Majesty's Revenue been lessen'd, under the usual Administration here? No such Thing. The Kingdom has prosper'd, in a few Years, beyond Expectation, and beyond Example. Has his Majesty's hereditary Revenue, and which may be call'd his Privy Purse, been straitened, or his Assignments on it refused? On the contrary, it is much greater by the Increase of Inhabitants, and, consequently, of Hearth-money; and all Over-drawings are chearfully comply'd with. Has our Prosperity been a Detriment to our Mother-Country? Impossible; as we go on different Trade, and our Wealth is pour'd into her as fast as she will receive it.

It seems then, however ridiculous in the Supposition, that Motives, altogether *personal* and *private*, must be the leading Causes of the strange Resolutions we hear of; but where to fix them is difficult: It can hardly be intended to gratify a

young Gentleman here, only to shew his Friends how well he can become every Station, from the *lowest* to the *highest*: It cannot be design'd to humour another *young Gentleman*, only to gratify his *Parents* with the Pleasure of seeing him in a venerable Dress. It cannot be design'd to make a Fortune for a *third young Gentleman*, who, unhappily being a younger Brother, must be made equal to his elder in Point of Fortune. Much less can I imagine that any Design is on Foot to make the C——s of I——d so dependent on the Government, as to take the Law from the Council-board, as is idly suggested; because this Dependency can no Way be secured but by one of their own Body, whose Regards for this Country they must be well assured of: And without such an one, it has already been found, no Business there can be done, or proceed with Satisfaction both to King and People; and such a Man will not answer other Purposes of the Scheme.

But tho' the Secret is not easily found out, and the *Design*, as well as Motives may be hid among the *Arcana Imperii*; yet the mighty Preparations that are openly making, the infinite Industry, Artifice, and Interest employ'd to secure Friends, and intimidate, by *Authority*, those they cannot gain, plainly discovers a Design, in some Persons, of compassing something they are sufficiently aware will be disagreeable to the People. I have seen, Sir, in another Kingdom, an Attack on Power, where the Scene was to be shifted; and tho' the Stage was larger, and the Plot more interesting, yet the Actors, tho' more numerous, were not busier, or more attentive to their Parts, than ours are. The least curious must observe this; and to want Curiosity, at such a Time, is to want Sense, or to want Honesty: In the first Case we are the *Dupes*, and in the second the *Tools* of Ambition.

Shall we, Sir, be amused, intimidated, or
banter'd,

banter'd, by the Favourites of Favourites, by the Dependents or Expectants of Men in Power, to believe, that nothing is meant by all this Stir, but the national true Interest and Glory, as some of these subaltern Schemers absurdly phrase it? We have nothing to do with Glory, the Glory of *England* is ours, which we have a Right to share in, as we principally promote it; and enjoy more sincerely than even *British* Subjects the Successes of our great and glorious Monarch.

If, laying aside Glory, these Gentlemen would prove, that the joint Interests of *England* and *Ireland* are intended by the Measures they are pursuing, we might think more favourably of their Intentions, than we are disposed to at present, whatever be our Opinion of the Measures. The last they may say; and, plausibly, it is not prudent to disclose prematurely, but it is both prudent and necessary, for their Scheme, to shew the Possibility of bettering this Country by any Change in the Forms of Administration, that they will serve more to enrich the Subject, and, at the same Time, enlarge his Majesty's Power of rewarding the Merit of his Servants. That a Change is intended, at least, by some here, they will not have the Front to deny; and if they should, every Declaration they make, and every Step they take, sufficiently evinces the Design. Every Promise to sooth, and Menace to terrify, must leave on the Mind a deep Sense of premeditated Malice, and the hopeless Condition of their desperate Enterprize.

They say, in Case of Opposition, *England* will cramp our Trade, and withdraw the valuable Indulgences and Favours they have heap'd upon us, &c. I own, Sir, it does not seem possible to me, that we can provide for our civil and military Lists, if we are farther restrain'd in the main Articles of our Commerce. The overplus Revenues, which have been growing for a few Years, are plainly owing to the Encrease of our Wealth during

the War, and the prodigious Imports we made in every Article of Luxury, when we could find no other Employment but to squander away what we had gained by so unexpected a Chance. It is natural for all poor Countries, (as well as poor Persons) to judge, like young Gamesters, that every Spurt of Success they meet, will prove a settled Inheritance; and, in this sanguine Hope, squander more in a Week, than, with proper OEconomy and Frugality, might be a sufficient Fund for Industry to work on the Remainder of their Lives. Nothing therefore can be fairly concluded from this Menace.

It is further urged, that such an Opposition will cut off every *Irishman* from any Hope of Preferment to Places of Trust and Eminence. For my own Part, or rather, according to my own Sense, I answer, Let them saddle us with as many *English* as they please, provided they have some Regard to the *Quality* as well as *Quantity* they are pleased to import; though, I confess, I should be better pleased to see some of their curious Imports in every Station re-shipp'd, such as, *Coxcomb Judges, who know in Law, nor Text, nor Margent; Tradesmen Bishops*, who come to improve us in Frugality and Book-keeping, calculating Expences by wise Maxims, and Peasant Observations.

But of all the Insinuations which they daily throw out to amuse some Men and intimidate others, the weakest, and the least founded on Reason and Experience, seems to me to make the strongest Impression. Are we not, say they, in the Power of *England*? shall we offend them by an ill-timed Opposition? shall we provoke them, by refusing Demands, to exert their Power, make Laws without our Consent, and perhaps lay aside all Parliaments in *Ireland*? Pray, in such a Case, what can we do, or how can we resist?

We neither can, or intend to do any Thing, and none but Fools or Madmen can ever think of Resistance :

Resistance: But happy is it, and happy has it been for the Liberty of *Ireland*, that they who love us least, have always been, and always will be, the Protectors of *our* Liberty, till they have lost their *own*; and, whatever Steps any Ministry has taken to establish, or even enlarge, a discretionary Power among us, have been so soft and gradual, as to be almost imperceptible, to give no Alarm to the Jealousy of *England*, or the Apprehensions of the people there for their own Safety; or else when their Designs of governing *us* without Law have been visible and avowed, they have never failed to end in the Ruin of the Projectors here, overturn the Ministry, and even shake the Throne. In how many Instances has this been verifys'd in the Course of one Century, from the Times of *Strafford* to *Tyrconnel*, to pass by other less distinguished Events?

The Manner of conniving at, or encouraging an arbitrary Power in *Ireland*, was so well understood in King *William's* Reign, that there was hardly a Quarter Session held in any Part of *England*, but the Chairman took Notice of it in his Charge to the Inquest. I could produce enough to make a Volume, but will only mention to this Purpose, the Charge of Lord *Delamer*, afterwards Earl of *Warrington*, at the Sessions of *Warrington*, 1689, when he was Member in Parliament for *Cheeshire*, and is printed under the Title of, *Observations on the Prince of Orange's Declaration*. His Words are these. “ He that would set up arbitrary Power in *England*, must first try his
 “ Hand upon *Ireland*, it having been observed,
 “ that whatever arbitrary Thing has been done in
 “ *England*, it has first been practised in *Ireland*;
 “ so that whenever Things go irregularly in *Ireland*,
 “ *England* cannot think herself safe; for there
 “ is nothing more certain in human Affairs, than
 “ that, when a King misapplies his Power in one
 “ Kingdom, it is not for Want of Inclination,

“ but Means and Opportunity, that he does not
 “ so in all other Places of his Dominion; as, for
 “ Example, if a King keep *one of his Kingdoms*
 “ *without Parliaments*, he would do so *in another*,
 “ if not compelled by Necessity to do otherwise.”

—And again. “ The Irregularities of Adminis-
 “ tration in *Ireland* will sooner or later affect *Eng-*
 “ *land*.” Thus far, and much farther, proceeds
 this good Patriot, and brave Stickler for the Liber-
 ties of *England*, against the arbitrary Measures of
 two popish and tyrannick Princes.

This, Sir, with your own Reflections on the
 Nature of the Constitution, as well as the Temper
 and Disposition of the People of *England*, will be
 enough to convince you, that these Gentlemen only
 threaten us with a Power they will not be permitted
 to exert, and which no King of *England* ever yet
 exerted, without raising the Jealousy of his Subjects
 at home, and which, in two Instances, proved fa-
 tal to two Kings; and for which one Lieutenant
 lost his Head, and another went into Exile with
 the unhappy Prince, whom he, and other evil
 Counsellors, had conspired to throw headlong from
 his Throne.

It is pleasant to observe the Grimace of some,
 and the sagacious Fears of others when these Sub-
 jects are talked of — they should be sorry the Lord
 Lieutenant were opposed in doing the King's Bu-
 siness—fatal to *Ireland* to give Offence—God knows
 what they will do if provoked——let us keep well
 with *England*——with a String of other Sayings
 equally Senseless, or calculated to deceive. Pray
 does the *British* House of Commons comply with
 all the King's Demands? Don't they every Day
 debate and oppose the Measures he proposes? and
 shall it be Disaffection in the Commons of *Ireland*
 to oppose the Designs of his Vice-Roy?

Whatever shall be the Fate of the Sp——r and
 his Friends, he has shew'd the World an Instance
 of *Roman* Spirit, not equall'd in the History either of
 this

this or our *Parent Country*; nor were the Circumstances of any *Minister* in either, so glorious to himself, or so shameful to his *Opponents*. In all popular *Oppositions* we read of, and in every *Stand* made against any *Minister* from the *Earl of Kent*, to the *Fall of Walpole*, (*Mortimer* only excepted) it was a *Struggle* of the *People* against the real or supposed *Encroachments* of the *Crown*. It was *Privilege* against *Prerogative*, and publick *Property* against *private Right*. But, in his Case (as singular as the *Virtues* that distinguish him) it is a *Struggle* of the *People* to add *Power* to the *Crown*, to enlarge *Prerogative*, and break every *Fence* against *Will* and *Pleasure*, when ever we are so unhappy as to have a *Prince* on the *Throne* less good and gracious than the present. He is not defending either the *People* against the *Crown*, or the *Crown* against the *People*, (for thank God, in this *loyal Country* the last is needless) but he has spent his *Life*, foregone all *Hopes* of *Wealth* and *Titles*, *Reward* to himself, or *Grandeur* to his *Family*, to defend and protect some infatuated *People* against themselves. A *People* not worth undoing till he made them what they are, by convincing every *Governor* of his *Time*, that any *Endeavours* to suppress their *growing Fortunes*, if attempted, should not succeed, or find the least *Concurrence* either in him, or his *Friends*.

From a *late Attempt* we may judge and foresee what we are to expect when that *Power* shall be removed, which has hitherto withstood all *Attempts* to makes us surrender up ourselves, and disclaim all *Right* and *Property* in our *Inheritance*; to acknowledge ourselves but *Possessors in Trust*, and indebted to our *Owners* for the *Money* we earn, and the *Bread* we eat.

How long we shall be otherwise, depends solely on ourselves. Weak as we are, we have it still in our *Power* to preserve our *Rights* and *Liberty* entire; and happy is it for us, that they, who love

love us least, will protect us in them till they have lost their own, and not suffer any *ambitious Minister* to take one *arbitrary* Step to our Undoing. But if a People will conspire against themselves, and legally make over their Property to another, there is no Remedy against their own *Act and Deed*. They are *Felo de se*, and Goods and Chattles must be forfeited of Course. If they will use the same Industry to ruin themselves, that all other Nations have done for Preservation, they may, probably, succeed, and enjoy the Happiness of having undone their Country. They may have the same Pleasure on seeing a *Great Man* fall, that *Children* have on being set free from the *Power* that controul'd them, at the same Time it preserved them, and restrain'd their Follies whilst it secured their Happiness.

A little Time will shew, whether *Madness* or *Reason* shall prevail, and whether the Endeavours of the *Needy* and *Profligate* shall be able to reduce to a State of Wretchedness and abject Dependence, a People just emerging from *Poverty* to *Wealth*, and from Contempt to Veneration; or whether the *righteous Guardians* of their Property, and every Thing valuable, to whom they have entrusted themselves and their Posterity, shall be able to resist the *Torrent* of Corruption has been breaking in upon them, and reserve their *Country* for *better Times* and a happier Fate.

But whatever be the Event, one Thing is sure, that they and their Descendants, who shall betray their Trust, will be mark'd with *Infamy* to the latest Generation. Their *Numbers* will not protect them from present Detestation, or their unhappy Families from everlasting Abhorrence.

And that they who have been faithful, and particularly *they*, who have *risk'd their Fortunes* to serve their Country, and exerted their *superior Abilities and Eloquence* to influence a *desperate* and *self-devoted Representative*, shall draw upon themselves, and
entail

entail on their Families the Esteem and Love of all good Men, and the lasting Blessings of the People. And that our great *Patriot* and *Protector* shall be had in *Remembrance* whilst *Virtue* and *Integrity* shall remain among Men, or the *Constitution* last, he has so nobly defended. *Stand*, or *fall*, his *Merit* is the same, and his *Felicity* will be either Way secure; he may say with *Brutus*, *Si secuta fuerit quæ debet fortuna, Gaudebimus omnes, sin minus, Ego tamen gaudebo.* And whether *Joy* or *Grief* is doom'd for his Country, his good Name will abound. And (as the best of Writers * speaks of the best Governor of *Britain*, whom he remarkably resembles in the Plainness of his Manners, the Modesty of his Pretensions and the Firmness of his Mind.)

“ Whatever we have loved in *B—e*, whatever we
 “ have admired, still continues, and will continue
 “ in the Memories of Men, the *Fame of Deeds*,
 “ and the *Annals* of Time; many will die inglorious,
 “ and be bury'd in Oblivion, but *B—e*
 “ shall survive, be deliver'd down to Posterity,
 “ and commemorated in After-Ages.”

* TACITUS in the Life of AGRICOLA,

F I N I S.

