Robert Ward Esq.
from the Author

THE

YEOMAN'S

SECOND

LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WICKHAM,

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

OCCASIONED BY THE SECOND EDITION
OF AN IRISH CATHOLIC'S ADVICE
TO HIS BRETHREN.

By Sir Wm. Cusack Smith, Baron of the Exchequer

SECOND EDITION.

Quid tergiversamur? sunt hæc tua verba, necne? In eo quidem libro, qui continet omnem disciplinam tuam?—Non enim verbo solúm posuit; sed etiam explanavit quid diceret. Num fingo? Num mentior? Cupio refelli. Quid enim laboro, nisi ut veritas, in omni quæstione, explicetur?

CICERO, Tuscul. L. 3.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY AND FOR R. E. MERCIER,
31, ANGLESEA-STREET

1804.

Houses of the Oireachtas

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WICKHAM,

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

I ASK pardon for this ſecond intruſion; which ſtands the more in need of an apology, becauſe I am aware of your indiſpoſition. But indeed you muſt protect me from the contact of Mr. Scully: which I would avoid, on the ſame principle, that leads us to decline wreſtling with the members of a certain vociferous profeſſion, who reſemble, in coſtume, the "ſable warriors" of the law; and are ſcarcely leſs *denigrans* than the Catholic Adviſer.

My ſecond letter is occaſioned by the peruſal of a Tract, entitled the ſecond edition of his advice; in which I find a flattering portion of notice beſtowed upon *the Yeoman;* conſidering that the Author deſcribes him as one altogether beneath attention. *

On the pages of

"this paſt, vamp'd, future, old, revived, new piece,"†

I ſhall take the liberty of offering ſome comments; beginning with the preface; which I

 conjecture

* Preface, p. 41.
† Dunciad.

conjecture to be the joint production of a Dennis and a Tibbald; * if it be not the ſole performance of the latter.

The Writer commences by informing us, that "the motives which dictated the former "edition are pretty obvious: that his views "in writing that addreſs have not been miſ-"taken; nor can be eaſily miſrepreſented;" and that thoſe laudable intentions "have been "approved of by even thoſe anonymous Pens,† "which have made the work a ſubject of faſ-"tidious verbal comment. They have ad-"mitted its advice to be ſound in many re-"ſpects, excellent in more, deſerving of cor-"dial praiſe in others, and on the whole "praiſeworthy in its motives and objects. "Such is their outline of its compoſition." He adds that "a miſerably imperfect and "mutilated edition" of this valuable diſcourſe "was put forth without the Author's know-"ledge, in September."

Having thus given the ſtatements, let us compare them with the facts.

Firſt, the *mutilated* Edition is copied verbatim from that, publiſhed under the auſpices of the Author, a month before. ‡

Secondly,

* Two Dunces, of whom mention is made in the Poem before cited. Pope there informs us that the name which is pronounced Tibbald, is uſually written Theobald. (*a*) So Dennis is ſometimes fantaſtically written Denys.

† Viz. of the Iriſh Loyaliſt, and the Yeoman.

‡ Though Mr. Scully proclaims himſelf to be "a true "born

(*a*) See the notes to the Dunciad.

Secondly, the Yeoman's alledged *approbation* of Mr. Scully's views—is expressed in the following terms.

"If we are to estimate the merit of a work, "by its tendency to promote the end for which "it was designed, and if 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 publick. 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 pur-"pose: 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 con-"tent *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 meantime, 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 warrant a "suspicion

"born Irishman," (*a*) I presume he will not contend, that an *addition* of notes is a *mutilation* of the text. Yet I have heard of gaining a loss; which is a species of acquisition peculiar to our country.

(*b*) Advice, p. 2.

" 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. " One of a writer's firſt taſks is the ſelection " of his topicks: and in making a judicious " choice, much ability may be ſhewn. But " this ſelection *may* be ſo extravagantly impru- " dent, 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 what* " *he really had in view*." And again. " if 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." †

Having

* With what liberality and politeneſs, this treatment of Mr. Scully, by the Yeoman, has been requited, the preface and notes to his ſecond edition abundantly ſhew; leaving no doubt, independently of all conſiderations reſpecting anceſtry, as to his being a Gentleman.

† In pages 52, 53, (and paſſim) of the Yeoman, *ſimilar* teſtimonies in favor of the motives of Mr. Scully, may be found. In page 13 indeed, a ſingle paſſage of the Advice is praiſed. But the author there declares that he muſt " ſepa- " rate it from the pollutions in which it was immerſed, leſt " their impure contact ſhould defile his approbation." The Yeoman proceeds civilly to deſcribe the paſſage which he ſo commends, as " according better with Mr. Scully's reſpect- " able character, than with his objectionable tract." How this courteſy has been returned, it is for the publick to decide.

Having collated Mr. Scully's aſſertions with the facts, I ſubmit to the reader to pronounce upon their contraſt, or correſpondence. For my part, conceding that his views " have *not* " been miſtaken," and preſuming to hope that my former letter may have rendered it difficult " to miſrepreſent them,"—I muſt not withhold the tribute of juſt encomium from that candour, which induced the author, in the firſt and ſecond pages of his work, to give the reader an introductory and warning ſpecimen, of his ſtrict and honourable regard to truth: inſtructing us as to the degree of alliance which may be placed on ſubſequent allegations; for example on the equally well-founded charge, which he has ventured to bring againſt the Yeoman, of miſquotation. * But, though my extracts from the firſt edition were made with the moſt accurate fidelity, † I admit that a conſiderable variance will be found, between the ſentiments appearing in the Advice, ſince it has been altered and *taken in*——and thoſe which having been printed by the Adviſer, in the laſt year, were correctly reſtated to the publick, by the Yeoman. I inveighed againſt certain moſt pernicious doctrines; and their Author unexpectedly aſks me where they are to be found? I held what I (perhaps erroneouſly) conceived to be the baſe coinage of ſpurious loyalty. in my hand; and had expoſ-

ed

* Preface, p. 3.

† As a reference by thoſe who poſſeſs that edition, to the pages which I have cited, will evince.

ed the thinly waſhed and covered diſaffection. The Juggler produces his ſecond edition; and bids the detected counterfeit begone. But let us be patient. The powers of Mr. Scully are far from ſupernatural; and the impure ſubſtance which ſeems to have eſcaped us, may be found lurking in the pages of his recent publication. But even though this were not the caſe, a recantation of former ſentiments or expreſſions, inſtead of refuting, would juſtify my reprehenſions: and there would be as little of gratitude, in at once profiting by and objecting to the Yeoman's cenſure, as there is of logic in the concluſion, that by amending a fault, we prove it not to have exiſted; and that by conforming to the precepts of a Criticiſm, we refute it. In a word, I confeſs, the Letter which the Yeoman wrote in 1803, contained not a ſingle prophetic animadverſion, on any unborn doctrines which may have ſince appeared.

Having attributed to the Yeoman, miſrepreſentations, of which not a ſingle inſtance can be adduced, and imputed objects to him, which are about as rational in the conception, as they are gentlemanly in the ſtatement, * the Catholic Adviſer proceeds to deſignate, in a mode that precludes all uncertainty and doubt, one of the Judges of the land, † as the

* Preface, p. 6. "We alone can render government," &c.—The paſſage ſhall be again referred to.

† Evidently Baron Smith; as will ſhortly appear.

the author of the letter; and object of his unqualified contumely, and vituperation.

Suppoſing for a moment, the conjecture to be right, that Baron Smith was the author of the letter ſigned a Yeoman,——yet nothing ſhort of perſonal aggreſſion, or the promulgation of illegal or immoral doctrines, on the part of this anonymous writer, could excuſe Mr. Scully's flagrant attack on a public Functionary, of, I apprehend, unblemiſhed character; and certainly dignified ſituation. But ſo free from perſonality are the pages of the Yeoman, that he has, with greater plauſibility and ſhew of juſtice, been accuſed of treating his opponent with more reſpect, than was conſiſtent with a due attachment to that Conſtitution, whoſe vital principles this Antagoniſt ſo openly * aſſailed: and as to the tendency of thoſe doctrines which are to be found in his letter, a reference to its contents will enable us to decide, whether theſe ſhould be conſidered as pernicious: unbecoming a loyal ſubject,or a reaſonably enlightened, and conſtitutional interpreter of the laws.

An anonymous writer cannot correct a wrong conjecture as to who he is, without more or leſs aſſiſting the publick to form a right one; and thus raiſing a portion of the veil which he has taken. But to prevent all cavil, I am diſpoſed to cut the knot, which (whilſt I preſerve my incognito,) it is difficult to untie.

* I advert to the tendency of the work; not the intentions of the Author.

In my former letter, towards facilitating discussion, I assumed the views of Mr. Scully to be laudible; or at least innoxious. It is not a more extravagant hypothesis, to suppose that the person who now addresses you is Baron Smith. I am therefore tempted, for the sake of argument, to do so; and, (with the view above explained,) to proceed on this supposition.*

If the doctrines of my former tract be repugnant to the constitution, and that Baron Smith be the author of them, he should submit patiently to the censures, however coarse, which he has provoked. But if the letter be liable to no such objection, he is blameless at the least. Maxims which, on the bench, he would have been *bound* to recognise, he must surely be *at liberty* to reduce to writing in his closet: and might even be thought entitled to some praise, for opportunely disseminating remedial doctrines; and gratuitously exposing an ambuscade, which threatened the Constitution. If such were his merits, they have been but ill repaid, by calumnies amounting to Scandalum Magnatum. Indeed, to wound the character of Baron Smith seems (but doubtless is not,) a grand object with the Adviser; while the defence of himself, † against serious and supported charges, is postponed, as a subordinate and secondary consideration.

With

* I do not assert the case to be so; but concede the supposition, in order to bring matters to a speedier issue; and shew that such an hypothesis would not justify the treatment which Mr. S. has offered to this Judge.

† Or rather, of his work.

With the former view, we find him ſtating, * that a certain Individual " abdicated an office " of dignity, and ſcampered, *ex mero motu*, † " to Paris. There he doffed THE ERMINE " OF JUSTICE, for the enſanguined *habiliments* " *of a Chef de Brigade* ‡ as a qualification " for the Conſular levee. Thus equipped, *he* " *caſts rank and office at the feet of Regicide* " *and Uſurpation; in the face of Europe;* to " the amazement of his ſober brethren, and " the amuſement of the newſpapers. Re- " turning, *he declaims upon the charms of the* " *Revolutionized Departments; and the ſplen-* " *dour of ſacrilegious pillage:* and finally, after " this probation, *denounces* this advice, under " the aſſumed appellation of a Yeoman. Such " a traveller has *doubtleſs*, a ſtrong antipathy " to Jacobiniſm!" §

To come within the above deſcription, it is neceſſary that the perſon be an Iriſh Judge: and as Baron Smith happens to be the only ſuch, who viſited Paris during the peace, the ſlander applies manifeſtly, and excluſively to him; while the paſſage alſo marks the Au-

 thor's

* Page 24.

† Viz. under the Lord Lieutenant's leave of abſence, on account of his health.

‡ Quere, what, preciſely, this means?

§ Theſe are heavy charges againſt a Judge. I will not ſay what ſhould happen if they be falſe; but if they be true, I think it plain that he ought to be removed.

In another place (p. 13.) the ſame perſon is ſaid to have fallen " foul of Mr. Scully's Appeal to the Reaſon of the " Catholicks, as ſavouring of *moderiſm*, a crime, which " his viſit to Paris has taught him duly to abhor."

thor's opinion, that he is the Yeoman. Indeed, from this ſtory we may pronounce that the veracity, which Mr. Scully vends throughout his work, correſponds with the ſamples which he furniſhed at the outſet. For firſt, Baron Smith was never at a conſular levee, nor preſented to Bonaparte: * ſecondly, he never, while on the Continent, appeared in, or poſſeſſed any military coſtume; and thirdly, he has never ſpoken of the French regime, in any other terms thoſe of ſtrong diſapprobation. For thoſe lively and inaccurate ſtatements, to which Mr. Scully ſeems addicted, the Engliſh language has a ſhort, and energetic name. But being as indelicate, as it is expreſſive, I therefore chooſe to ſuppreſs it: acknowledging however, that this and other pages of the Advice, remind me of an obſervation which I have heard made upon ſome man; that he drew for his wit upon his memory; and for his facts upon his imagination. In ſuch caſes, it is not the Draught, but the Drawer, that is diſhonoured.

The above ſcandal is introduced, in order to repreſent its object as a partiſan of France; † in furtherance of which purpoſe, he is, in another place, ‡ deſcribed as extremely "angry" at

* I do not mean to ſay that he is a jot the better or more loyal man on this account; but merely to ſuggeſt that the cenſures of the Catholick Adviſer are founded not on facts, but falſehoods.

† See the paſſage in the text of Preface, p. 24, to which the note refers.

‡ P. 13.

at the temperance of the Adviſer; and as having, during a three weeks ſtay at Paris, learned to abhor what this writer terms "Moderiſm." The Yeoman is utterly unconſcious of having felt reſentment towards Mr. Scully; and even doubts whether this cool and well bred Gentleman be capable of exciting ſuch a ſentiment in his mind. He therefore wiſhes to have thoſe clauſes of his letter pointed out, in which the ſuppoſed traces of this anger may be found. Meantime, the repreſentation of Baron Smith, * as a ſanguinary and ferocious Jacobin, is nearly as entertaining, as it is libellous. *Incredulus odi*, is not a maxim of univerſal application. On the contrary, I can ſometimes reliſh thoſe bold inventions, which ſet not only truth, but probability at defiance. There is a ſublimity in ſuch flights. They ſnatch a grace which lies beyond the reach of art, and is only attainable by the moſt unparalleled aſſurance.

To this ſame poetic faculty, we are indebted for the ſtory † of the Yeoman's publiſhing his own opinion of his Letter, in an Engliſh review; therein announcing himſelf as a man of rank and talents;—reviling the members of Government, and the King's law officers, by name;—and flinging an imputation on the anceſtry of Mr. Scully. This account, in all its branches, is utterly deſtitute of a particle of truth. I never wrote or publiſhed, or cauſed to

* Whom the Catholic Adviſer identifies with the Yeoman.
† Preface P. 37.

to be written or publiſhed, or knew of the writing or publication of,—any opinion of the letter in queſtion, in any Engliſh review, or elſewhere.

It is tautologous to add, that I did not revile the Government or Crown Officers, by name or otherwiſe;—announce myſelf as a man of abilities and diſtinction; or caſt any ſtigma on the lineage of the Catholic Adviſer. Baron Smith is as innocent of the above charges, as I am myſelf. I pledge my honour to the truth of thoſe aſſertions; and having done ſo, I ſhall not contradict Mr. Scully, if he avers that he is not an unprincipled defamer.

But Mr. Scully is conſiſtent; in repreſenting as an angry adverſary, and ſcurrilous reviler, one, to whom he aſſigns the character of ſpleen, peeviſhneſs, and ill nature. *

Whether I am acquainted with the perſon ſo deſcribed, may be a queſtion. But though there are others, whom I love much better, he is one, for whom I have no ſlight regard; and I hope for his own ſake, as well as that of his ſociety, that thoſe inſinuations againſt his temper and diſpoſition may be ill-founded; though whether they be, I do not feel myſelf competent to decide. If they ſhould be falſe, a generous ſentiment will probably induce thoſe, who form the circle in which he lives, to vindicate their friend from ſuch a ſlander.

In

* Preface, P. 28. We have already ſeen that, with the Adviſer, Baron Smith and the Yeoman are the ſame.

In the meantime, to diſparage the private character of his adverſary, though it may gratify the ſpite, will not ſtrengthen the arguments of the Catholic Adviſer, nor refute the objections which have been urged againſt him. Indeed, I ſhould be even aſhamed of having, however tranſiently, digreſſed, to a matter ſo irrelevant, and ſo unintereſting to the publick,—if it were not that the diſcuſſion, by expoſing the animoſity, may affect the credit, of my prejudiced opponent.

Having aſcertained the *impartiality* of its author, let us now examine the Revolutionary Tribunal which he has erected, for condemning all the principles that ſecure our conſtitution: entering on our ſurvey by that new portico and front, with which (like ſome Dublin architects,) he has faced the unſound and ruinous fabrick, which it is intended to conceal.

I in the firſt place miſs an inſcription,* that adorned the former veſtibule; but which has been judiciouſly omitted. The Adviſer probably conceived, upon reflection,—that a motto, which if it meant any thing, meant this, that Catholicks were perſecuted, plundered, and enſlaved, by Proteſtant Intolerants, Free-booters, and Oppreſſors,—was leſs calculated to promote charity, than to foment jealouſies and diſcord;—and rather tended to produce, than to "repel, invaſion and civil "war."

But

* From a Speech of Mr. Burke.

But how is the inſcription, * which has been ſuffered to remain, conducive to thoſe conciliatory and loyal ends, which this Counſellor of his Brethren profeſſes to have in view? In order that the Catholicks may form ſuch an "eſtimate of their ſituation," as ſhall induce them to give the Government a firm and cordial ſupport, he reminds them, that without any aſſignable reaſon, (and therefore not compatibly either with policy, or with juſtice,) all of their perſuaſion are ſhut out from public honours; and invidiouſly excluded from the Council, and the Bench.

It was perfectly conſiſtent with the ſpirit of ſuch a *parole*, but not equally ſuitable to the profeſſed object of the Adviſer, to call upon the Catholicks to "awake inſtantly from "their lethargy;" † and to allure their attention by an aſſurance, that his ſentiments were untainted, "with the leaſt mixture of ſolici-"tude for the intereſts of England." ‡—But to the remonſtrances of the Loyal, againſt theſe latter expreſſions, he replies, § that in ſo ſhort an addreſs, it was not neceſſary to profeſs any ſuch ſolicitude; and that in applying to any body of men, the moſt perſuaſive topicks which we can reſort to, are their own peculiar intereſts.—But firſt, the objection is not that he has caſually omitted to

profeſs

* From Archdeacon Paley.
† Firſt Edition, p. 4.
‡ Ibid.
§ Second Edition. Preface, p. 8.

profeſs, but that he has ventured explicitly to *diſclaim*, a proper ſolicitude for the intereſts of Britain. Secondly, as to the efficacy and decorum of addreſſes, to the *peculiar* intereſts of a party, I conceive that theſe might be illuſtrated, by a familiar ſtatement. Suppoſe, that towards encouraging a ſervant to defend his maſter's houſe, againſt a gang of robbers that was expected to break in,—I ſhould inſtead of warning him againſt the guilt of petit treaſon, or ſuggeſting the duty of domeſtic allegiance,—declare to him that I felt no ſolicitude about the intereſts of his maſter; but was afraid that if the doors were forced, his own ſtrong box and money would be taken, —I doubt whether my exhortation would be orthodox, or unobjectionable. At leaſt, if the aſſailants were apprized of the arguments which I meant to uſe, they might obviate them by promiſes of indemnity or reward. For the ſurrender of his intereſts, a man may obtain what they are worth: but how can he be adequately paid for a violation of his duties? It is therefore on an inculcation of theſe latter that we ſhould rely; and we bring our own loyalty under juſt ſuſpicion, by preaching, not the obligation, but the prudence of allegiance. *

Indeed Mr. Scully appears to underſtand the value of " an honeſt and unpurchaſed

 " attachment

* If the paſſage in which Mr. Scully diſclaimed ſolicitude for Engliſh intereſts was objectionable, why has he ſought to juſtify it? (*a*) If it was juſtifiable, why has he omitted it, in his ſecond edition?—See p. 2. of his Advice.

(*a*) Preface, p. 8.

"attachment to the throne." * But if he claim for himſelf the merit of ſuch a ſentiment, it is not on his Advice to the Iriſh Catholicks, that his pretenſions ſhould be founded. † I am aware that many of the moſt reprehenſible, and cloven-footed paſſages of the firſt edition, have been altered or totally omitted in the ſecond; and thus thoſe very cenſures of the Yeoman juſtified, againſt which the Adviſer brawls, with coarſe and vulgar invective.

Rode Caper, vitem: tamen hinc, cum ſtabis ad aras,—&c.

Your pruning is in vain. Many copies of that former edition, which you endeavoured to ſuppreſs, remain; with all its original luxuriance of expreſſion, to aſcertain the extent and quality of your allegiance. Meantime the publick feels with due reſpect for your honourable conduct, in putting forth your preſent vamped and mended paragraphs, as if theſe had been the objects of my criticiſm in September.

Having deviated, in the above apoſtrophe, from that *diſtant* path, which at the commencement of my preſent letter, I avowed a wiſh to keep, I return in haſte from the perilous digreſſion, to obſerve, that extraordinary as any co-incidence of opinion, between the Adviſer and the Yeoman, may appear,—yet this latter, far

* Preface, p. 4.

† See firſt edition, paſſim: eſpecially pages 63. 65. and 99. ſmoothed down in pages 38. 39. and 63. of ſecond edition.

far from being desirous, that in the approaching struggle, the great body of the people should misconduct themselves,* has on the contrary concluded, by exhorting Catholicks to arm in defence of our common country and Religion; and by venturing to promise them a sure, and cordial reward. † Mr. Tighe has done the Author the honour (of which he is sensible) of introducing the entire passage into his letter to Mr. Fox; which amongst other merits possesses that of being the work of a gentleman

Mr. Scully observes that the Yeoman, † in his clamour about the phrase of "assassinations at Ballinamuck," overlooks the fact, that no such expression appeared in the "Advice." The Adviser is mistaken. It is he who has overlooked the fact, that no such expression was attributed to him by me; nor any clamour raised on such an imputation. But nothing is farther from the intention of my opponent, than to "assimilate" the occurrences of Wexford and Ballinamuck; though he has applied the epithet of "Massacre," indiscriminately to both. "Massacre, Carnage, "Strages, Cædes," § with him mean putting Rebels and Deserters, on the field of battle, to the sword; or butchering the innocent and

 unresisting

* As is indirectly imputed to him in preface, p. 4 and 5.

† Yeoman's Letter to Mr. Wickham, pages 88. and 89.

‡ Preface, p. 5.

§ Preface, p. 5. and Advice, p. 5. and 9. second Edition. It appears, that with this learned Gentleman, *Massacre* is also synonymous with *Supplicium*.

unresisting loyal, as the case may be. "Massacre does not attach a stronger character to "the affair which occurred at Ballinamuck, "than that which is applicable to the effusion "of blood, in military execution. Milton "applies the word generally to homicide.

"of whom such Massacre
"Make they, but of their Brethren, Men of Men?"

Butchery is also another of the Catholic Adviser's synonimes: for in his first edition, he states the French to have seen "with unconcern, almost every man of their *poor* Irish "allies *butchered* before their eyes;" and this, in his second edition, he translates, seeing "with unconcern their Irish allies devoted to "military execution." Of course he considers the former expressions as merely equivalent to the latter. Otherwise he would not meanly substitute those last cited, without noticing the change; and acquiescing in the Yeoman's censure of those which he had discarded. If the epithets which he has chosen, apply properly to military, they will be perhaps equally applicable to the case of civil executions. Yet we should be startled by the novelty of such phraseology. "Yesterday, pursuant to the "sentence of a court martial, a number of "privates, who had deserted from the —— "regiment, were *butchered* at Blackheath. To-"morrow, several persons convicted at the "late commission, will be *massacred* in Thomas "Street; as the law directs. The commission

"is

" is ſtill ſitting; and it is expected that a ſimi-
" lar *carnage* will take place in a few days."
We ſhould conſider theſe as curious paragraphs; if we were to meet them in one of thoſe old " news-papers or magazines,"* which the claſſical Mr. Scully recommends to my attention.

I doubt whether the paſſage from Milton will bear him out. It is as follows:

——— ——— ſo *Violence*
Proceeded, and *Oppreſſion*, and Sword Law,
Through all the Plain; and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in Tears; and to his Guide
Lamenting turned full ſad: O what are theſe,
Death's Miniſters, *not Men*, who thus deal Death
Inhumanly to Men, and multiply
Ten thouſand-fold the Sin of him, who ſlew
His Brother: for of whom ſuch *Maſſacre*
Make they, but of their Brethren, Men of Men?
PAR. L.

I believe however, that Mr. Scully, content with referring to Johnſon's Dictionary, omitted to conſult the Paradiſe Loſt. He therefore is to be excuſed, if the Poet's context is at variance with his ingenious interpretation. But having referred to our great Lexicographer, he is leſs pardonable for having omitted to apprize us,—that " Maſſacre is, by him, defined to be " Murder, Butchery, indiſcriminate " Deſtruction;"† and that two authorities, beſides that which he has candidly extracted, are there given, in ſupport of this definition:

Slaughter

* Preface, P. 6.
† Johnſon defines Carnage to mean Havock.

Slaughter grows *Murder*, when it goes too far;
And makes a *Maſſacre*, what was a war.

DRYDEN.

The *tyrannous* and *bloody act* is done;
The moſt Arch Deed of piteous *Maſſacre*,
That ever yet this Land was *guilty of*.

SHAKSPEARE.

Indeed the Catholic Adviſer is rather capricious, in the phraſeology which he adopts; and after trampling down eſtabliſhed diſtinctions, in the caſe which we have juſt mentioned, becomes ſuddenly and punctiliouſly diſcriminative in another; aſſuring us that Methodiſts and Swadlers are ſects perfectly diſtinctly;* whereas we had conceived the latter to be but a ludicrous, and unbecoming nickname, for the former. On the whole, I muſt ſtrongly recommend to Mr. Scully, to annex a copious gloſſary to the next edition of his work.

But this is verbal criticiſm; and we ſhould not hamper with it, our approbation of thoſe "unequivocal expreſſions of loyalty,"† with which the Advice to the Iriſh Catholicks abounds. I anſwer, firſt, that whether the language be equivocal, is a queſtion of conſtruction; not to be decided by Mr. Scully; or by me, who differ with him; but by the publick. Secondly, that towards aſcertaining whether the ideas be thoſe of loyalty, we muſt, in a doubtful caſe, (which I conceive the preſent to be,) examine the ſigns of thoſe ideas; viz.

* Preface, P. 15. and Advice, P. 25. Note.
† Preface, p. 5.

viz. *Words*. But the Author vindicates the humane Lord Cornwallis, from the charge of cruelty at Ballynamuck.* And how? By admitting that he conſidered it as a carnage; (which was all that the Yeoman had aſſerted;) and alledging that his Lordſhip was not there upon the day. An allegation which is immaterial,—unleſs we underſtand him who makes it, to condemn the tranſaction, as a maſſacre; and to inſinuate that it was diſapproved of, by the Nobleman in queſtion.

But, though the expreſſions of loyalty were as ſtrong as they are alledged to be, the world is ſo marvelloufly given to doubt and defamation, that ſtill the views of the writer might not eſcape ſuſpicion. What was the object, which the Author of the Life of Bonaparte profeſſed to have in view? To join Mr. Scully, in inſtructing his countrymen "to repel in-"vaſion." And if the two productions be, in point of heavineſs, the ſame,—the merit and patriotiſm of the former muſt be admitted to be greater, by nearly thirty degrees, than thoſe of the Catholick Adviſer: for the life of the firſt Conſul ſold for a penny; and the Advice coſts two ſhillings—more than it is worth. Yet we know how ungratefully the Biographer has been uſed. The Catholick Adviſer might (poor fellow! †) experience ſimilar ingratitude; or even worſe, if he proceeded.

* Preface, p. 5.

* Mr. Scully conſiders this as an appellation of contempt; and ſynonymous with pauvre Diable!

ceeded. The public might call him what he has termed the Yeoman, * a Pſeudo loyaliſt; and treat him as if he were one. In this latter caſe, if his future pages were like his paſt, it would not be "fatal learning" that would "lead him to the block." On the contrary, his preſent paragraphs ſo completely hide every particle of knowledge, that until furniſhed with clearer proofs of its exiſtence, than they ſupply, † I am ſtrongly inclined to warn the gentle tribe of Dunces, againſt awaking from the ſalutary lethargy, which protects them.

"Ye blockheads, hear,—and ſleep!"

But the Catholic Counſellor is untruly charged "with having throughout his ad-"dreſs, ſtyled Rebellion civil war." ‡ No. § The accuſation is expreſſed in the following terms. "I advert to the tranſactions of the "year 1798; which we conceived to amount "to a Rebellion; but which this tract ‖ in-"forms me, (paſſim,) were merely a civil "war." ¶——If the reader wiſhes to have change for *paſſim*, I refer him to pages 9, 10, and

* Preface, p. 8.

† For I do not mean to deny that Mr. Scully may be a man of genius, and information. I merely aſſert that in the pages before me, no trace of either can be (by me) diſcovered. In ſhort I obſerve "not on the author; but ſole-"ly on the work."

‡ Preface, p. 6.

§ On the contrary, the Yeoman, (p. 28.) admits the Adviſer to have called it Rebellion.

‖ Viz. the Advice.

¶ P. 44. of the Letter to Mr. Wickham, by a Yeoman.

and 89, of the firſt; and to pages 5. and 57. of the ſecond edition of the Advice: where he will find the paſſages altered, by the interpolation of the word "Rebellion."—It is, in this place, only neceſſary to add, that even where Mr. Scully adopts this latter term, he in the ſame breath attributes *guilt* to the loyal ſubject; and extenuates the criminality of the Traitor. * Inadvertently, no doubt. Indeed if the caſe were otherwiſe, we ſhould, to a man whoſe ſentiments appeared at beſt to hang balanced between diſaffection and allegance, be tempted to exclaim, in the language of our Poet,

——— Who can be
Loyal, and neutral, in a moment? no man †

Before I enter on the diſcuſſion, at which, in my progreſs through the preface, I am arrived,—*viz.* of the terms in which the late King William is deſcribed, let me give Mr. Scully the full benefit of his ſtatement, ‡ that the word "Invader" was printed in Capitals, by a mere error of the preſs. I can, without any material ſacrifice of ground, put the topick of magnitude entirely out of the caſe; and argue the queſtion as if the letters of this word were of the ordinary ſtature; and as if the defamation of the Prince of Orange was *Roman Characters.* Having thus withdrawn

 my

* Pages 61. and 93. of firſt edition: altered in pages 37. and 59. of the ſecond.

† SHAKSPEARE.

‡ P. 7. of ſecond edition.

my ſpecial Demurrer, (to adopt his black letter alluſions, *) I admit, that upon the ſubſtance of thoſe expreſſions, which have expoſed him to cenſure, he is as humorous as argumentative; and vice versâ. † But in defiance of his reaſoning and his wit, and expreſſing myſelf in the falſe ſpirit of this latter,) I hope by a few ſimple and intelligible propoſitions, to put not a comma, but a period, to the flimſy ſophiſms, and ſlippery tergiverſation of his work.

In the firſt pace, he enquires " of what " import to the principles of Liberty it can " be, to diſpute at this day, whether the Iriſh " ſubjects of James II. in 1689, conſidered, " or ought to have conſidered, King William " in the light of a Dutchman, or Invader?" ‡

This queſtion reſts upon a ſuggeſtio falſi; *viz.* that the aſſertion which attracted the cenſures of the Yeoman, was no more than this, that in 1689, the Iriſh conſidered William's landing as an invaſion. For the purpoſe of inſinuating this, he in the ſecond edition interpolates certain words, which ſhall be given in a note below; and diſtinguiſhed by Italicks. The paragraph, as it ſtood in the firſt

* " In vain, it ſeems, did Ruggle, two centuries ago, " ridicule ſuch Criticks. In vain has he held up his black " lettered hero, Ignoramus, exclaiming O ho! hic eſt " Defalta *literæ:* emenda; emenda: nam in noſtrâ lege, " unum *comma* evertit totum placitum." Pref. p. 10.

† In p. 10, 11, 12. of Preface.

‡ Preface, p. 12.

firſt edition, and provoked my reprehenſion, was as follows: "Never was any place more "gallantly defended, than Limerick, by our "*loyal* Anceſtors; who fought for their heredi-"tary King, againſt a Dutch Invader, and his "hired battalions. No ſuccour came; and af-"ter enduring incredible hardſhips. the brave "Garriſon were forced to give up, with break-"ing hearts, their laſt poſſeſſion in their coun-"try; but not without having obtained, and "deſervedly, glorious terms of capitulation. "The French fleet came, (as they have al-"ways to their *friends*,) when all was over; "and they were not wanted. Never after-"wards did they ſeriouſly attempt to reſtore "James to his Throne; or our exiles to their "country." *

Now to anſwer Mr. Scully's queſtion.—It may not be important to enquire, whether in 1689, the Iriſh Adherents of James conſidered his Son-in-Law as an Invader. Indeed it muſt be conceded that they did.

But it is of moment to the cauſe of civil Liberty, and Britiſh Connexion, to refuſe to the Adviſer the privilege which he claims, of diſ-

 cuſſing,

* Advice, p. 12. firſt edition. In the ſecond, the paſſage is thus altered. "Never was any place more gallantly "defended, than Limerick, by our loyal Anceſtors; who "fought for their hereditary King, againſt *what* (*a*) *they* "*conſidered as* a Dutch Invader, and his hired battalions. "No ſuccour came," &c. (as in firſt edition.) "Never "afterwards did the French ſeriouſly attempt to reſtore "James to the Throne, *which he had ceaſed to deſerve*;" &c

(*a*) A novel uſe of the word *what*.

cuſſing, as a matter open to controverſy and diſpute, whether William ought to have been conſidered in ſuch a light. To treat this matter as queſtionable, would ſhake to their foundations, both the Throne, and the Conſtitution. What becomes of his Majeſty's title to the Crown, if the act which limited it to the iſſue of the Princeſs Sophia, never received the Royal Aſſent of that hereditary King, on whoſe ſide Mr. Scully's loyal Anceſtors fought ſo bravely; but was merely ratified by the ſanction of an Invader, and a Dutchman,—in ſhort of the ſucceſsful Uſurper who depoſed him?* What becomes of the annexation of the Iriſh, to the Imperial Crown of England, if it be queſtionable whether in 1689, † William ought not to have been conſidered *here* as an enemy, and a ſtranger? What, in a word, becomes of the eſtabliſhed principles of civil Liberty, or of the Conſtitution, if the intimately blended title of their Aſſertor, William, be diſputed?

I do not deſire to impute to Mr. Scully, any diſloyal opinions, which he may be diſpoſed to diſclaim. Nor if he formerly held ſuch, and has relinquiſhed them ſince laſt Auguſt, would I deprive him of the benefit of his recantation. I ſhould merely aſſert, that in this latter caſe, it would be manly to avow the retractaion; and confeſs the juſtice of

* Stat. 12, 13. W. III. c. 2.

† *i. e.* a year after the Revolution had placed this latter on his head.

of that wholeſome correction, by which he had profited; and which was inflicted while ſuch objectionable ſentiments were unretracted. It would be but candid to recollect, that the Yeoman's animadverſions were pointed againſt his firſt edition; and publiſhed long before the appearance of the altered and amended ſecond.

But though I will not aſcribe to my opponent, any tenets, which feeling to be diſgraceful, he may wiſh to diſavow, I am free to examine the plain import and conſtruction of thoſe pages, which he has ſubmitted to the judgment of his country. I am the more at liberty to do ſo, becauſe the examination can operate no injury to him. The pages are there to ſpeak for themſelves; and refute me, if I miſconſtrue them. They are open to the publick; who may carefully peruſe them; and correct, or utterly reject my interpretations, if erroneous. I hold then, that the paragraph laſt quoted in my text, does not ſo much appear to diſcuſs, as an unſettled queſtion, whether William ought to have been contemplated in a hoſtile point of view, as it ſeems broadly and explicitly to aſſert the fact, that he ſhould have been conſidered as a foreign Invader; attacking, at the head of mercenary bands, the loyal and brave defenders of their hereditary King. It ſeems to deſcribe theſe latter, in terms of the moſt affectionate intereſt; and of the moſt tender, and admiring commiſeration. It appears to me to lament

lament their defeat; and to dwell for comfort, on their glorious capitulation. It ſeems to imply a reſentful jealouſy of the French, for having been tardy in the ſuccour which might have rendered James's cauſe victorious. In ſhort, it applies to William the epithet of a Dutch Invader; and will the Author deny, that what he called him, he conſidered him to be?

I believe (and do not mean to aſſert the contrary,) that in this country, James met with brave and generous ſupport; from perſons acting under, what we are now bound by our allegiance, to conſider as at beſt an error of the judgment; but whom I am willing to look upon as inſtigated by honourable ſentiments; and by principles of loyalty which were meritorious, though miſapplied. I am diſpoſed to look upon ſuch miſguided perſons, as entitled, when alive, to as great a portion of clemency, and their memory, when dead, to as much indulgence, as may have been then, or as may be now, conſiſtent with an effectual reſiſtance of their ſchemes; and ſupport of our religion, our liberties, and conſtitution. But as a liege ſubject, I cannot admit theirs to have been the better cauſe; nor doubt that many of thoſe, whom my adverſary commends, fought not in the cauſe of monarchy againſt revolution; or of James againſt his ſucceſſor; but (as they had done under Cromwell, and in 1641,) againſt the Engliſh government; and in the cauſe of ſeparation.

Still

Still leſs can the obtuſeneſs of my intellect diſcern, how he who holds the ſentiments which I have extracted, can conſiſtently, be attached to our eſtabliſhment, in Church and State.

But Mr. Scully would, as an antidote "to "the doctrines of Paine, renovate the priſtine "zeal of our countrymen for Royalty," * by extolling their ancient fidelity to James. He would, by the memory of this loyalty, (refracted to the Houſe of Brunſwick, from the family of Stuart,) encounter the Republican doctrines of the preſent day. He would furbiſh up the ruſty Jacobitiſm of the ſeventeenth century, as an impenetrable hauberk of allegiance for the nineteenth; and give ſtability to the conſtitution- by removing its corner ſtone. When he informs us that the conſtitutional balance had been exactly ſettled, in the reign of the ſecond Charles,† he forgets that it was again, and ſeriouſly diſturbed, by his ſucceſſor; and only *practically* and ſecurely re-adjuſted, on his abdication:—and when, on the authority of that free diſcuſſion, which was permitted on the queſtion of Union, he claims to controvert the legitimacy of the Revolution, he forgets that the latitude of enquiry which he cites, ceaſed as ſoon as the act of Union received the Royal Aſſent. The ſettlements which took place in 1688 and 1800, it is not now our buſineſs to canvaſs; but ſubmit to: as, on the

* Pref. P. 11.
† Pref. P. 10.

the other hand, it is the bounden duty of our Governors, *to make the law of the land promote the happineſs of the people.*

But though it is objected to Mr. Scully, that he has defamed the Revolution, he miſtakes the charge which has been made againſt him with reſpect to Cromwell; whom he ſeems to parallel with King William, by ſtyling him "*another great man.*" * He is not accuſed of having "caſt a ſlur on the memory of" that uſurper: but of having miſrepreſented the tenor of what occurred in Ireland in his time; by obſervations calculated to invalidate many titles to property at this day, He anſwers the charge, by aſſerting that thoſe titles now reſt ſecurely, on ſtatute and preſcription. But this merely diſproves the efficacy, not the tendency of his ſtatement: and the account which he gives of this ſtatute, is not highly honourable to the legiſlature which paſſed it. "Oliver Cromwell (of infamous memory,) "having brought over an army of pillaging "knaves to Ireland, they after the ſlaughter "of one hundred thouſand perſons, obtained "various eſtates amongſt us; whilſt the Pro-"teſtants *who had invited them* over,—and the "Catholicks who" (on the contrary) "had "*no*

* Pref. P. 13.—The Author marks this (I hope inadvertently) with inverted commas; and alſo ſeems to give it as a parallel of the Iriſh Loyaliſt. If it be not his, then the parallel between William and Cromwell, is Mr. Scully's own; and he deſcribes the latter as one of infamous memory. Therefore William noſcitur à ſocio.

" *no crime* to anſwer for, were trodden under " foot, &c." * To ratify theſe recent and nefarious partitions, " a ſolemn act of Parlia- " ment paſſed," † on the reſtoration.

Now hear *my* narrative. Firſt, the Iriſh *had* a crime to anſwer for; viz. that of deſerting Ormonde, and the Royal cauſe. ‡ Secondly, much of the land, which the followers of Cromwell thus obtained, had been juſtly forfeited, by rebellion committed againſt King Charles. § Thirdly, the act which was paſſed in his ſon's reign, was therefore fairer in its origin, than Mr. Scully repreſents: for it did not ratify the plunder of innocent proprietors; (which had not occurred;) but merely remitting the rights of the Crown, (on which the uſurper Cromwell had infringed,) confirmed *illegal* grants of *legal* confiſcations. Fourthly, this correction of Mr. Scully's inaccuracies, by tracing thoſe titles to a purer ſource, than he deſcribes, is the leſs frivolous,—if if it be true, that the metes and bounds of forfeited property are held ſcrupulouſly in remembrance; the hereditary owners accurately deſignated; and maps of theſe ſurveys periodically publiſhed.

With the Adviſer's palinody on the ſubject of Lord Camden, I find no fault. He declares

 that

* Advice, firſt edit. p. 43, 44.

‡ Preface, p. 14.

‡ Hume.

§ Ibid.—The matter is more fully diſcuſſed in p. 14, 15, 16, of my former letter.

that " no perſon is leſs inclined than him, to „ derogate from that Nobleman's juſt merits."* But ſurely I am excuſable, for having been ignorant that the Author's ſentiments were ſo reſpectful, when I found his lordſhip deſcribed as " deputed, without adequate capacity or " experience, (as the event proved,) to fill the " vacant and perilous poſt of power; which " he held with an unſteady hand." †

Quid facies odio ?—ſic ubi amore noces.

But the " enormities which diſgraced" the adminiſtration of the noble Lord, whom Mr. Scully thus reveres, are " to be attributed to " the temporary ſway of certain Individuals, " whom he found it impoſſible to control." ‡ Whom does the Catholic Adviſer mean? aſſuredly not Lord Clare. For though he may have called this Nobleman "unpopular," and " intemperate," § yet he admits him to have been a juſt man; and one whoſe good qualities have never been diſputed. He even pronounces him to have deſerved (and of this aſſertion I confeſs the truth,) far abler praiſe, than was within the compaſs of my talents to beſtow. Yet I am not aſhamed of my ſcanty offering at the ſhrine of departed worth.

I gave to merit, all I had,—a tear;

and

* Preface, p. 17.

† Advice: firſt edition: pages 55, and 68.

‡ Preface, p. 18.

§ It is not true (as alledged by the Adviſer, in the 45th page of his ſecond Edition,) that I cenſured thoſe two epithets, as invective.

and the tribute of the heart can never be altogether unworthy of acceptance.

But ſo far was Mr. Scully from inveighing againſt Lord Clare, that "*thoſe two Epithets*, "intemperate *and* unpopular, *comprize the* "*whole of what related to that Nobleman, in* "*the firſt edition*" of his work!! *

In preparing the ſecond, a page of the former muſt have been miſlaid; and its contents have eſcaped the Author's memory. I will reſtore it.

"Neither could I have rejoiced, in ſeeing my "country delivered over, through the ſame "evil council," (during the adminiſtration of Lord Camden,) to a few *intemperate perſons*, "*who undertook to rule five millions of men*, "WITH A ROD OF IRON. *Thoſe perſons have*, "in my firm judgment, *nurſed the feuds, and* "*ſwelled the diſtractions, that diſgrace this Iſle.* "But, as more than a year has paſſed away, "ſince the foremoſt of them has been arreſted "by the hand of Providence, in his career in "this world,—and as the others, and thoſe of "their ſchool, are either unemployed, or un-"noticed by our preſent excellent Rulers, I "ſhall not now enlarge upon the incapacity, or "*demerits* of the *departed*, or of the fallen." †

I confeſs, (with a ſhame, of which I am not

 myſelf

* Advice: ſecond Edition: p. 45.

† Advice: firſt Edition: p. 55. But perhaps the Adviſer will ſay that this paſſage did not relate to Lord Clare. I wiſh he may ſay ſo. "But, as more than a year has paſſed away," &c.

myſelf the object,) that the above paragraph was amongſt the *errata* of the firſt edition; and that in the ſecond it is omitted wholly. We know (aliunde) that the Catholic Adviſer is a Gentleman; and therefore cannot heſitate to believe, that the import, and even exiſtence of ſuch a paſſage were forgotten, when he aſſerted that two epithets comprized the whole of what, in his firſt publication, related to Lord Clare. But whilſt we acquit him, we muſt excuſe the Yeoman, if he did not perceive what was not very manifeſt,—the Author's reſpect for the character of that Nobleman and Lord Camden.

Having examined his reprobation, let us now proceed to criticiſe his praiſe. The tranſition will not ſeem violent to thoſe, (if any ſuch there be,) who conſider this latter as a maſk'd invective; which beneath an eulogy on A, conceals a ſlander upon B.

So far was the Yeoman from objecting to Mr. Scully's "feeble tribute to the merits" * of Lord Hardwicke, that he avowed (and now repeats) his cordial aſſent to ſuch encomiums. No man reſpects his Excellency more highly, than the Yeoman. But he diſapproves of the topicks which the Panegyriſt has ſelected; and of the ſuſpicious *tournure* of his praiſe. He thinks it an inſult to the underſtanding and principles of that nobleman, to ſuppoſe that he can be cajoled into an abatement of his vigilance,—a relaxation of his vigour,

* Second Edition, p. 44. note.

gour,—or the placing of his confidence, where it is not deſerved: *—to conceive that he can tolerate that audacious and offenſive praiſe, which is grounded on the imputation of opinions which he rejects, and of conduct which he has not purſued: to hope that he will endure to be placed in contraſt with thoſe, whom he eſteems; and to be commended, with a mere view to their diſparagement. † The Viceroy will be cautious in accepting praiſe from him, who has preſumed to ſpeak irreverently of the King. ‡

Neither have I diſſented from the praiſe which he has beſtowed upon the Engliſh. I have only obſerved, that conſidering the mode of its introduction, it ſeemed to inſinuate unjuſt cenſures of our countrymen. § If ſuch *flagornerie* does not evince diſlike, neither is it a proof of amity to Britiſh connexion. ‖ This is to be preſerved, by cheriſhing the genuine principles

* Mr. Scully in the 26th page of his preface, gives the following, *not inapplicable* extract, from Plautus. "Quod "ſibi volunt, dum id impetrant, boni ſunt: ſed id ubi jam "penes ſe habent, ex bonis, peſſimi fiunt."

† We now ſee, in the high poſt *that Lord Camden held with unſteady hand*, the good, the firm, and the upright Lord Hardwicke, &c. &c.

‡ The diſreſpectful paſſage here alluded to, ſhall be given in another part of my letter.

§ See page 47. of the firſt, and page 28 of the ſecond edition of the Advice. The alterations which it has ſince endured, will entertain thoſe whom they do not diſguſt; and will leave no doubt on the mind of any, as to the Author's being an ingenuous, and manly perſon.

‖ See the Author's boaſt; Preface, p. 35.

principles of loyalty amongſt us; and by the ſound policy of their conduct, who adminiſter the affairs of Ireland. It is not by fawning on our Engliſh fellow-ſubjects, who have ſpent little or no part of their lives in this country, and who conſequently muſt be deficient in that experience, which would inform them of the true circumſtances, ſentiments, and ſituation of its inhabitants,—it is not by availing ourſelves of this inexperience, and miſleading them on theſe material points,—that we ſhall promote, or evince a wiſh to ſtrengthen the connexion. Therefore, though the culprit "pleads guilty to the "charge, of reſpecting the character of his "Britiſh fellow-ſubjects,"* I ſhould be ſtrongly diſpoſed to acquit him of ſuch a ſentiment if his writings were the only evidence before me. I have heard of a jury, whoſe previous experience of the veracity † of a certain criminal,

* Preface P. 36.

† I have already obſerved, that my remarks apply not perſonally to the Author; but ſolely to the work. I ſee him, merely through that medium. He may be a man of ſtrict veracity; but his work abounds in egregious, though perhaps not intentional (and therefore not moral) falſehoods. He charges me (*a*) with having painted the Meſſrs. Emmett, as "men of the beſt qualities of the head and "heart." This is falſe. See my former Letter; p. 95.—I am alſo ſtated to have declared this, on the authority of a perſonal acquaintance. This likewiſe is untrue. With Mr. Thomas Emmett I was acquainted: but ſo far from knowing his brother Robert, I have never even ſeen him; and have no where ſtated myſelf to have been acquainted with him.

(*a*) Page 15. of ſecond edition.

minal, induced them to acquit him of a charge, merely becauſe he had confeſſed it.

I have now done with Mr. Scully's cenſures, and his praiſe: which latter I may have enlarged upon, in ſome inſtances, not adverted to by my preſent letter. Whether rightly or wrongly, Time and Experience will, for the information of others and myſelf, decide. When that deciſion has been made, I ſhall, as the event may be, applaud my own diſcernment, which I hope and expect, will be the caſe;) or pore humbly on the lot of human fallibility. In the mean time I wait, in patient expectation; and am not aſhamed, if I have ſacrificed private feeling to the deſire of rendering public juſtice; and if, while I ſought to be unprejudiced, I have fallen into a liberal extreme, of prepoſſeſſion in favour of thoſe, who were entitled to no partial kindneſs at my hands.

Finally, (or almoſt finally as to him,) I congratulate the Adviſer, on "the teſtimonies "which have been borne, by Proteſtants as "well as Catholicks," (and which I admit to have been "flattering,") "to the utility of his "Addreſs."* But if he be right in his aſſertion, that the work "has been found gene-"rally to accord with the ſentiments of that "claſs of perſons, who were its objects,"—this is a fact, on which I cannot felicitate the Publick: nor indeed can I conſider the *appro-*

vers

* Pref. P. 41.

vers of ſuch a tract, to be as "valuable," (though they may be as "numerous") a body, as he deſcribes them.

I acknowledge however, that the addreſs may have "produced the ſalutary effect, of "undeceiving ſome of" the Adviſer's Pro-"teſtant fellow-ſubjects, reſpecting the incli-"nations and opinions of ſuch of his Catholic "Countrymen," as concur in ſentiment with him. Indeed in ſuch caſe, it would be well calculated to purge the viſual ray of the moſt dim ſighted; as may appear by the following ſelection of paſſages which it contains.

I do not tranſcribe the whole of the addreſs; nor in all caſes follow the arrangement of the Author: but I give his own words; without a ſingle interpolation. In ſhort the ſubjoined abridgment no otherwiſe alters Mr. Scully's ſenſe, than by the juxta-poſition, and as it were new ſetting, of thoſe brilliant ſentiments, which are ſcattered through his work.

"My Countrymen,"*

"I addreſs you with a heart full of devo-"tion to your welfare; and deeply intereſted "in the deſtiny of that beloved country, where "in former times our anceſtors † have flou-"riſhed. I perceive no reaſon, why men of "different religious perſuaſions may not ſit "upon

* It may be proper to obſerve that, from the title page, this Advice, appears to be addreſſed excluſively to the Author's Catholic Brethren.

† See laſt note.

" upon the ſame Bench; deliberate in the
" ſame Council. We know that toleration is
" odious to the intolerant; freedom to op-
" preſſors; property to robbers; and all de-
" grees of proſperity to the envious.* The
" following ſentiments flow from an unbiaſſed
" ſurvey of our intereſts; without the leaſt
" mixture of ſolicitude for thoſe of either
" England, or France; farther than as theſe
" countries affect our proſperity and independ-
" ence. I am a true born Iriſhman; a Mile-
" ſian; a Catholic: ſharing in the ſame pri-
" vations, reſtraints and grievances, with my
" Catholic countrymen. I wiſh to demon-
" ſtrate the calamities which impend, unleſs
" we ſhall inſtantly awake from our lethargy.
" I feel pride in belonging to a claſs of people,
" who ſuffered, with manly fortitude, a cen-
" tury of unexampled injuſtice; and finally
" redeemed themſelves from ſervitude, by
" their unbroken energies. The French pro-
" claim the menace of invading our iſland. It
" is high time therefore, to bethink ourſelves,
" whether we ſhall act with them or againſt
" them? We are to conſider, whether to re-
" ceive thoſe French viſitors with open arms;
" whether we ſhall keep to ourſelves what we
" now have, be it ever ſo little; and drive
" them back?

" Let us diſcuſs this queſtion calmly; and
" when we have determined, let us act with
" vigour, and in concert.

* Mottos.

" It is 112 years—ſince the capitulation of " Limerick, to William III. It was the laſt " place which ſurrendered to him; and never " was any more gallantly defended, than it " had been by our loyal anceſtors; who " fought for their hereditary King, againſt a " Dutch Invader, and his hired battalions. " France had amuſed the beſieged with pro- " miſes of ſuccour: no ſuccour came; and " the brave garriſon, after enduring incredible " hardſhips, were forced to give up, with " breaking hearts their laſt poſſeſſion in their " country: but not without having obtained, " and deſervedly, glorious terms of capitula- " tion. The French came, (as they have al- " ways to their *friends*,) when all was over; " and they were not wanted. Never after- " wards did they ſeriouſly attempt to reſtore " James to his throne, or our exiles to their " country; although they had plenty of ſhip- " ping. In 1798, at Collooney, who were their " conquerors? They were Catholicks: brave " Iriſh boys; deſcended from the renowned " defenders of Limerick. The French, over- " taken by Iriſh troops, at Ballinamuck,— " finiſhed their ſhort race by an act, ſcarcely " to be equalled in cowardice and treachery, " towards 1500 of our hapleſs countrymen. " Theſe diſhonoured fellows, inſtead of de- " manding terms for their allies, ſaw with " unconcern, almoſt every man of thoſe poor " Iriſh butchered before their eyes. I have " ſince been on the field of maſſacre; and was

" ſhewn

" ſhewn the large pits, into which heaps of
" Iriſh carcaſes were thrown; without the or-
" dinary rites of Chriſtian interment. The
" French never afterwards complained of this
" maſſacre, as of a matter which concerned
" their honour, or our eſteem for them.

" If we need not fear, what better reaſon is
" there for us to love them? let us *coolly* con-
" ſider this matter; and ſee whether their
" amity is to be confided in; or their alliance
" eſteemed. Their revolution is at an end.
" They had gained, after the ſlaughter or exile
" of two or three millions, the opportunity of
" firmly fixing their liberties,—and of calmly
" chooſing their own form of Government;
" whether a limited Monarchy, a qualified, or
" a pure Republick. All their *friends* in other
" countries looked for the event, with impa-
" tient ſolicitude; and hoped * that the
" French would *now* produce ſome admirable
" maſterpiece of a free Conſtitution. † But no.

" We have ſeen their baſe treachery at Balli-
" namuck. We know that they have ſeduced
" ſeveral Iriſhmen to their cauſe; ſome of whom
" were *undoubtedly* men of great talents and
" *integrity*. But we know that they have been
" cruelly deceived and diſappointed. They

 " were

* This *friendſhip*, and theſe *hopes* nothing abated, by the ſlaughter or exile of two or three millions; nor by the proſpect of a *pure republick*, as the maſterpiece which they might produce.

† Now, that they had got rid of their two or three millions of impedimenta.

" were promiſed ample and generous aid from
" France: they believed in thoſe promiſes.
" Allured by the falſe lights of France, to
" ſteer to ſuch a coaſt in queſt of Liberty,
" their reception has been ſo cold and chilly,
" that you would really pity their preſent feel-
" ings. They are allowed no Penſion. Thus
" our *abuſed* Exiles drag on the burden of life,
" in the land of *unfeeling* Strangers; *unjuſtly*
" ſuſpected of being robbers and aſſaſſins.
" Now let us compare this character, with that
" of the Engliſh Regulars and Militia, who
" were in this country. Did they not gene-
" rouſly and ſucceſsfully interfere, * in ſtem-
" ming the animoſities of the ruling party,—
" in repreſſing the fury and bigotry of our
" countrymen, and in protecting the weak
" and unarmed native? need I name our pre-
" ſent commander in chief Fox? † I come now
" to

* Unlike the treacherous French; who did not ſtem the animoſities of the ruling party, at Ballinamuck; but ſuffered the poor natives to be butchered before their eyes.

† Who will be aſſerted by Mr. Scully to be no *friend* to *the Yeoman*. Nor perhaps were all his general orders well calculated to refute this aſſertion; however groundleſs. Be this as may, " the regulars and militia did not at all times " ſucceſsfully interfere in ſtemming the animoſities of the " ruling party,—in repreſſing the bigotry and fury of our " countrymen, or in protecting the weak and unarmed na- " tives. Need I name" the 23d of laſt July? Amongſt the unarmed and unprotected, who periſhed on that occaſion, there was one, whoſe name was Wolfe, and whoſe title of honour was Kilwarden. But I freely admit that his death

" to a painful topick: our redemption from
" our present political degradation, is that to-
" pic

death was not only the effect of accident, (*a*) but of surprise; and that for our safety on that alarming night, the Providence to which we are indebted, is Divine. (*b*) Mr. Scully indeed, in both his editions, views the matter in a light extremely different; and this is to me *no* matter of surprise: No doubt, whenever his advice shall have been widely circulated, it will correct the error under which government seems to labour. Meantime, our parliament, our privy council,—and our courts of justice, appear to be under the influence of a strange delusion. To quell this insignificant dispute, the former have read the *riot* act, not once, but three times; and given it the pompous title of the Irish martial law bill: whilst in spite of the wholesome admonitions of the Adviser, now six months after the affray, this statute remains in force; and the habeas corpus act continues to be suspended. But when we shall have been converted to the tenets of Mr. Scully, our parliament will repeal their rigorous provisions; our council retract their hyperbolical proclamations;

(*a*) " The impartial Observer" has held an inquest; which found it accidental death.—See his Pamphlet.

(*b*) I am sorry to learn that, by some of my friends, this passage has been misconceived. That, on the 23d of July there was surprise *somewhere*, I meant to assert; and who will deny? But I have *not* asserted that *our Government* was surprised; nor so far as (with, I admit, inadequate means) I have been able to obtain information, respecting a subject on which, perhaps, farther light should have been thrown, does this appear to have been the case; but the contrary. Government may, at last, have been taken unawares. But it is equally true that this *may* have arisen from neglect, in another department, of the warnings and directions which Government had given. If Government wished to proportion their preparations to the probable extent of the danger of which they were apprized, and not alarm the loyal, or encourage the disaffected, by precautions exorbitantly more than adequate to the occasion, their conduct, (spite of events) would be (as I believe it was) not only blameless, but praiseworthy.—At present how does the case stand? Serious blame is, almost avowedly, imputable in some quarter: *therefore* we will not enquire where, or by whom, it has been deserved.—My imagination cannot suggest the latent proposition, which shall turn this enthymeme into a syllogism, consisting of premisses which will warrant the conclusion.

" pic; and it conſtantly aſſociates itſelf, in the
" minds of ſome of us, with French invaſion
" and revolution. We are indeed in a ſore
" ſtate; and gladly would I avert my eyes from
" thoſe bleeding gaſhes, to which ſalves ought
" to have been long ſince applied. The active
" parts of that degradation bear moſt heavily
" upon the middling and higher claſſes; and
" I feel my full ſhare of them, as ſeverely as
" any of you. But they bear indirectly upon
" us all; and the acrimonious irritation which
" they cheriſh, to our annoyance, is far more
" oppreſſive than their political operation. But
" is our ſtate of life ſo galling, as to leave us
" no alternative, but French tyranny? *

" Some

proclamations; and our judges ceaſe to inflict the penalties of high treaſon, on thoſe who have in fact been only guilty of a miſdemeanour. Probably what ſticks with them may be a circumſtance, which the adviſer overlooked. (*a*) I mean that formidable depot, the exiſtence and contents of which he has entirely forgotten; in making his tot of the dangers of July. He has omitted the part of Hamlet, in his recital of the tragedy.

* The late Mr. Robert Emmett was of opinion that there was; and the language uſed by him on the day of his execution, (as given in the Dublin Journal,) bore a ſtrong reſemblance to that of Mr. Scully. Mr. Emmett's avowal of equal antipathy to Britiſh and French connexion, led me after quoting his expreſſions, to aſſert, (in p. 21 of my former letter,) that anti-gallicifm and anti-angliciſm might be conſiſtent. This Mr. Scully flippantly pronounces to mean, that loyalty and wiſdom may conſiſt with diſaffection and folly. (Pref. p. 20.) But this is not the caſe. It only means

(*a*) Preface, p. 20.

"Some of you will ſay, that a certain faction "cannot longer be endured;* and force you, by "their inſults and outrages, to favour thoſe "foreigners: that they terrify you by the me-"mory of the maſſacres in Wicklow, Armagh, "and Wexford: that you cannot enjoy ſecu-"rity in your homes; or repoſe in your beds; "and that Deſpair drives you into rebellion, "for ſhelter. I ſay to you that this faction, "diſloyal as they may be to their King, and "terrible as, if they had power, they might "be to their country, are yet Angels of Mercy, "compared to French tyrants. †

"Some of you will tell me, that you ſuf-"fered much of injuſtice, indignities and ca-"lumny, ſome years ago. I admit the fact; "and have keenly felt and ſympathiſed with "thoſe ſufferings. There is no good ſenſe in "extenuating the vices of our former rulers. "Would to God the effects of thoſe vices "could be expunged! But, ſince they muſt "ſubſiſt

means, that a wiſh for French alliance is not the neceſſary conſequence of a diſlike to Britiſh connexion: nor do I mean to deny that the ſentiments of the Adviſer *may* be antigallican.

* This, and the following ſentence, furniſh an anſwer to the queſtion put in the preceding.

† *i. e.* So far from diſputing the truth of what ſome of you ſay, I adopt your ſentiments and poſitions; and make them my own. But terrible as this faction of buſtling bigots is, I aver that even they are better than the French. Therefore rid yourſelves of your intolerable tyrants, without the interpoſition of French aid. Mr. Emmett would have given ſimilar advice. Mr. Scully cannot have intended to give it. His words muſt pervert his meaning.

" ſubſiſt for public ſhame,—let them ſubſiſt
" for public inſtruction. It befits our can-
" dour, to define to our Legiſlators, the feel-
" ings and wants of upwards of three mil-
" lions of ſubjects; whom it is their duty to
" govern with ſkill, and to legiſlate for with
" wiſdom. * And, as we are not repreſented
" by thoſe who might ſpeak our true ſenti-
" ments,—as we are prohibited by the law from
" chooſing any perſons to watch over our in-
" tereſts,——occaſional publications might be
" found amongſt the leaſt exceptionable chan-
" nels of communications, between our rulers
" and our body. In the following review
" therefore, you will receive a pledge of my
" attachment to your intereſts; and our rulers
" will find ſome uſeful matter. I know you all
" agree with me, that when his Majeſty's mi-
" niſters † violated their faith with the Iriſh
" people, after having poſſeſſed themſelves of
" the Iriſh purſe,—when they cauſed a peal
" of indignant complaint to ring from Derry
" to Dingle,—when they deputed Lord Cam-
" den, without adequate capacity, as the event
" proved, to fill the poſt of power,——they
" liſtened to evil counſel; and acted with-
" out good ſenſe. Neither could I have re-
" joiced

* *i. e.* to the taſte of Mr. Scully.

† At the head of thoſe treacherous miniſters was Mr. Pitt; to whom the Adviſer renders homage in the 12th page of his Preface. I may agree with Mr. Scully in conſidering Mr. Pitt as a truly great man; but cannot in the ſame breath concur in thinking him a public ſwindler.

" joiced in ſeeing my country delivered over, " through the ſame evil counſel, to a few " intemperate perſons, who undertook to " rule five millions of men *with a rod of* " *iron.* Thoſe perſons have nurſed the feuds, " and ſwelled the diſtractions that diſgrace " this Iſle. Our diſcontents had however " nearly ſubſided, when Hoche appeared at " Bantry Bay. We came forward to ſhake " hands with our fellow-ſubjects. It was not " a moment for them to heſitate, in accepting " *our* aid, towards maintaining *their* eſta- " bliſhments. They looked round; and ſaw " the paucity of their numbers: that they " ſcarcely exiſted, or were to be heard of, in " many of our diſtricts. To venture alone " upon the taſk of repelling invaſion, would " be, as if our drummers and fifers were to " charge the battalions of France; whilſt our " rank and file lay in their tents.

" Thoſe generous peaſants were offered mo- " ney as the reward of their ſacrifices: but " they ſpurned money. What rewards did " we look for? not money; but juſtice: the " removal of unmerited diſhonour.* We ex-

G " pected

* Such is the gratitude avowed by Mr. Scully, for the then and ſtill recent favours, conferred by a Proteſtant legiſlature on thoſe of his perſuaſion: for the repeal of the penal code, the grant of the elective franchiſe, and the removal of every incapacity, ſave that of ſitting in Parliament; and filling a few of the principal offices of State:—and in this angry effuſion he is not aſhamed to indulge, after all that occurred in the year 1798.

" pected that his Majesty's ministers would have
" unyoked us. That was a fit time for them-
" to have abolished the remnant of civil dis-
" tinctions, which have been permitted, during
" an additional period of ten years, without
" necessity or provocation, and at so much cost
" to humanity, to prolong their goading ex-
" istence. They did not seize that opportuni-
" ty. I fear they listened to those meddling
" men, already alluded to. We all lament
" this foul play; and its disastrous conse-
" quences. I shall pass rapidly over the hor-
" rid scenes, which were afterwards acted.
" Sanguinary men, both the loyal and the re-
" bel, outraged the properties and persons of
" the innocent,* and guilty, almost indiscri-
" minately. Some fled to the laws for re-
" dress. But the doors of justice were clos-
" ed; and they were repulsed by bills of in-
" demnity. Others obtained compensation,
" from the same legislature, that enacted those
" bills. † I grant all those things; nor do I
" vindicate the rulers of that day, or their
" measures.

* If we peruse this sentence with moderate attention, we shall find it to present the picture of sanguinary Loyalists, outraging *innocent Rebels*.

† I at first did not understand the objection to this Statute. But I now recollect that the objects of compensation were suffering *Loyalists*; and that innocent Rebels, who had suffered in their property, were not within the meaning of the act. The acts of Indemnity indeed protected Rebels; and so far were unexceptionable. But they also threw a shield over the excesses of loyalty; and hinc illæ lachrymæ.

" meaſures. But a change of meaſures, and " of men, has taken place. The faction whom " you dread, have changed ſides; and are be- " come clamorous againſt Britiſh connexion. " They are incenſed by the late Union; which " has demoliſhed (not our parliament;* for we " had no ſhare in it, but) their club-houſe.

" The firſt magiſtrate in every country is " liable to fits of anger, and caprice, and pre- " judice, like the reſt of us. He may *natu-* " *rally* be at times obſtinate, ill-humoured, " improvident, or even infatuated upon ſome " particular ſubjects. Let us conſider

" How ſmall, of all that human hearts endure,
" That part, which Laws or *Kings* can cauſe, or cure!

" A new and happier day dawns upon us. It " is not to be imagined, that in deſpite of the " reaſonings of a Butler and a Newenham, a " quibbling crotchet in an oath will circum- " ſcribe the juſtice of the father of his peo- " ple. Even though relief ſhould be obſtruct- " ed for a moment,—yet our ſuſpenſe will not " be meaſured by eternity. We ſee an en- " lighten'd Prince, beckoning us to the banner " of *genuine* Loyalty; and drawing leſſons of " future policy from our Patron, the gallant " Moira.

 " This

* The Legiſlature, which Mr. Scully thus diſclaims and reviles, may be ſuppoſed to have been influenced by no undue partialities, when they conferred on his Brethren the many valuable privileges, which they enjoy.

"This *was* your"—pamphlet; and in my mind, contained doctrines, less calculated to conciliate, than "to threaten, and command." Whether the sentiments, to which you have become wedded since, are conveyed in expressions deserving equal severity of reprehension, I shall not stop to enquire. Let it suffice to say, that these latter pages coincide sufficiently with the former, to resemble, in my eyes, a foul Satire on the constitution.

But I have wandered into a second apostrophe. Let me return.

The Irish loyalist, and his humble copyist,* the Yeoman, are charged with motives of no venial kind. They are inimical to British connexion; and not averse from French alliance: they dislike the Catholicks; and reject their cooperation: they would menace the Irish people, and shout 'Rebel' in their ears; in hopes, by irritating, to prevent them from conducting themselves unexceptionably, in

* This charge is better founded, than many in the "Advice." I certainly was anticipated in several important topicks, by the work from which I am stated to have copied mine. Feeling this to be the case, I not only cited the Remonstrance, whenever I borrowed from it, but in p. 5. of my letter, the following passage will be found. "Let me now proceed to consider Mr. Scully's topicks seriatim: "*if indeed the undertaking be not rendered superfluous, by the "sensible and constitutional Remonstrance of an Irish Loyalist.*"—I shall only add, that if my letter was the mere plagiarism which it is alledged to be, it seems strange, that besides reading the *original* Remonstrance,—the Publick should have called for five Editions of the Yeoman's servile *Copy*.

in the impending ſtruggle; and meriting, and obtaining, the reward of their allegiance. In ſhort, they would "wreſt the reins of power "from the ſervants of our ſovereign; and "trample on the laws and conſtitution of the "country."*

Whether the *Yeoman* has juſtly incurred theſe imputations, will be beſt determined by a peruſal of his letter; and his *rancorous* enmity towards Catholicks, and wiſh that the great body of the Iriſh people ſhould miſconduct themſelves, may, for inſtance, be collected from his two concluding pages. †

But if ſuch were his malignant views, it ſeems unlikely that this anonymous writer ſhould be Baron Smith.

On the maternal ſide, Baron Smith's connexions are chiefly Catholick; and he quarters the arms of an ancient family of that perſuaſion, with his own. In flinging contumelies on their worſhip, he would thus reflect peculiar diſhonour on himſelf. Beſides, he would contradict his own conviction; that as bright examples of ability and worth may be diſcovered amongſt thoſe who profeſs that faith, as amongſt their Proteſtant fellow Chriſtians. With one of that Religion he was once acquainted; for whom, whilſt alive, he felt the tendereſt affection; and the memory of whoſe virtues he muſt ever cheriſh, and revere: one,

"Good

* Pref. pages, 4. 5. 6. 7.—19.
† *Viz.* P. 88, 89.

" Good without noiſe,—without pretenſion great ;"

and whoſe exemplary life ſupplied unanſwerable proofs, how amiable a ſincere, and zealous Catholick may be.

Can he ever regard with averſion or contempt, opinions embraced by one, whom he ſo eſteemed? tenets, on which were founded thoſe virtues and pious hopes, which he truſts are now amply rewarded, and fulfilled?

No! never can he look, but with reſpect, upon the path, which has led this beloved Relation to a better world.

But let us ſee how far his conduct has been conformable to the ſentiments, which we pronounce him to entertain. The examination is not impracticable: for though not an eminent, be has, for ſome years, been a public Man.

I would however take up the queſtion, at a ſtill earlier period. In the year 1792,* there appeared ſome eſſays on political ſubjects, which if not publiſhed under his name, were generally aſcribed to him. From theſe I ſhall take the liberty of making the few following extracts; as pertinent to the ſubject which we are upon.

" The paſſage from Cicero, which I have " ſelected for my motto †, is a key to my opi- " nion, on what is called the Catholick queſ- " tion. That great Man conceived, that the " poſſeſſion

* *i. e.* Previouſly to 1798; and to many Paſtoral Inſtructions.

† " Minimé mirum eſt, communicatâ cum his Republicâ, " fideles eſſe,—qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem ſuam ſemper " præſtiterunt."

" poſſeſſion of privileges was calculated to pro-
" duce attachment, to the ſyſtem under which
" they were enjoyed; and that we might pro-
" mote the loyalty of the Subject, by giving
" him an intereſt in the defence of the Conſti-
" tution. But, aware how inconcluſive mere
" theory might be, the Stateſman has thought
" fit to add the previous loyalty of thoſe, to
" whom new privileges were extended: *fidem*
" *ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.* Thus, conſiſting of
" blended principle and fact, I truſt the rea-
" ſoning will apply to the Iriſh Catholicks. It
" is founded on conſiderations of political ex-
" pedience; that rational and wholeſome
" ſource, whence alone I would derive any ar-
" guments in their favour.

" Cicero built no concluſions on imaginary
" Rights of Man. He, in his higher ſphere, left
" ſuch doctrines to Mark Anthony;* and I,
" in my obſcurity, conſign them to Thomas
" Paine.† It therefore is with grief, that I
" have perceived the hopes of the Catholicks
" cheer'd by the cries of the ſeditious:‡ that
" I have obſerved Atheiſm affecting to extend
" the hand to Chriſtianity; and found the pe-
" titions of ſubjects, for conſtitutional privi-
" lege, drowned in the claims of rebels, for
" pretended Rights of Men. The bonds of
" religion

* See his Philippicks.

† Of whom, (Pref. p. 11.) Mr. Scully inſinuates that the Yeoman is an abettor.

‡ For inſtance, Mr. Tone.

" religion connect Proteſtant and Catholick to-
" gether: for though not of the ſame Church,
" we are but varieties, alike belonging to the
" ſublime claſs of Chriſtianity. That we
" ſhould be their friends, is therefore to be
" accounted for, on principles conſonant to
" piety and good order. Indeed the policy
" ſeems obvious, which ſhould make Chriſ-
" tians coaleſce, at a moment like the preſent,
" to oppoſe a ſtronger barrier to the irruptions
" of Infidelity. But what ſhould unite the
" Atheiſt with the Catholick? What but a falſe
" cement, formed of miſchievous deſigns,
" which having firſt produced a temporary co-
" herence, muſt ſoon explode, with ruinous
" diſunion!—I am a friend to Catholicks: but
" I am a friend to Order, to Religion, and
" the Conſtitution; and though I may re-
" joice at the liberality which my brother
" Chriſtians have experienced, and may hope
" to ſee the generous principle extended far-
" ther in their behalf,—yet I qualify my hopes,
" with a proper deference to that Legiſlature,
" the invaſion of whoſe privilege, is a ſurren-
" render of my own. The treaſures of our
" moſt valuable Conſtitution—I would ſhare
" as extenſively, as is compatible with its
" ſafety; and ſhall therefore conſider the queſ-
" tion of Catholic privilege, with reference to
" the complete ſecurity of the State. The fol-
" lowing are amongſt the topicks, appertaining
" to this ſubject. The number of the Catho-
" licks: their ſhare of national property: the
" political

" political tendency of their religious ſyſtem; " and their propenſities to order, or commo- " tion,—as evinced by their paſt, and preſent " conduct.

" Firſt, upon their numbers they ſhould not " be fond to dwell. The circumſtance only " proves that every benefit, which can with " ſafety, ought to be extended to ſo numerous " a body;—and if it be qualified with the hy- " potheſis of their unfriendlineſs to preſent eſta- " bliſhments, this circumſtance, of their num- " bers, becomes an argument againſt their " claims. No doubt, thoſe civil benefits ſhould " be ſcattered widely, for the attainment of " which, political inſtitutions have been formed. " But this liberal principle is not applicable to a " caſe, where the more numerous body in a " ſtate, is ſuſpected of diſaffection. Whilſt he " maintains his allegiance, the Subject ſhould " be cheriſhed; for *id firmiſſimum longe imperi- " um eſt, quo obedientes gaudent.* * But having " aſcertained the diſloyalty of any body, we " ſhould not inveſt them with privileges, which " amount to powers of diſturbing the ſtate, to " which they are ill affected. I ſay then to " my Roman Catholic countrymen, that ſupe- " riority of number is weak ground on which " to ſtand. Alone, it is inſufficient to ſupport " their claims: add that they are well affected, " and its aid is ſcarcely wanted: ſuppoſe them " to be diſloyal, and their numbers make " againſt them. For though, as already men-

 " tioned,

* Livy.

" tioned, Government ſhould aim, in the firſt
" inſtance, at ſecuring the attachment of all
" bodies, by a liberal donation of advantages
" to each, yet let any of thoſe bodies be al-
" ready hoſtile, and there will (under ſome
" reſtrictions,) be every reaſon for proſcribing
" them. Their enmity was all we had origi-
" nally to fear; or by the conceſſion of bene-
" fits, were likely to prevent. Once they have
" declared war, we are to conſult our own ſe-
" curity; by ſhuting the gates of our conſti-
" tution. Political privileges are powerful
" weapons; and muſt not be put into the hands
" of the ſuſpected."

" I am next to conſider the ſhare which
" Catholicks have, of national property and
" dignities amongſt them. And here the foun-
" dation which they ſtand upon, if ſufficiently
" extenſive, undoubtedly is firm. From their
" rank and wealth in the country, as from a
" commanding eminence, they may be able to
" point out various grounds of policy, which
" ſhould produce them an acceſſion of autho-
" rity in the ſtate."

" Indeed the wiſdom of the legiſlature me-
" rits praiſe; for having permitted them to
" acquire permanent property, as a prelimi-
" nary to political importance. We have al-
" lowed them to ſettle and improve in the
" outſkirts of our conſtitution; until by ſafe
" degrees they may become citizens with our-
" ſelves. Mingled into the ſeveral orders of
" the ſtate, and enjoying dignities and poſ-

ſeſſions

" ſeſſions which that State protects, they will
" have acquired intereſts which may connect,
" and identify them with our eſtabliſhment."

" With regard to the tendency of their re-
" ligious ſyſtem, if (as is ſaid to be the caſe,*)
" as Catholicks, their opinions and habits be
" monarchical, this tendency may be conſider-
" ed as favourable to their pretenſions, at a
" moment, † when Republican doctrines very
" miſchievouſly prevail. Perhaps (though this
" I will not venture to pronounce,) it *might*
" be added, that by poſſeſſing a Hierarchy,
" (that link, connective of our Church and
" State,) they *politically deſerve* to be preferred
" to thoſe, whoſe clerical democracies leſs ac-
" cord with the principles that pervade our
" conſtitution. Thus *Hume* admits, that the
" maxim of " no Biſhop no King," is not
" without foundation: and aſcribing to the
" puritanic clergy a violent turn towards Re-
" publicaniſm, conſiders ſuch principles as al-
" lied to their religion. But if the Catho-
" licks, on account of their Hierarchy, ſhould
" merit favour, yet the ſubordination of their
" clergy to a foreign power—muſt be con-
" feſſed to diminiſh, and weaken, this ground
" of claim."

" But the good conduct of the Catholicks

 " is

* Not by Doctor Huſſey; whoſe Paſtoral Letter had not appeared when theſe eſſays were publiſhed. In that letter, he takes pains to prove that the R. C. religion can thrive *to the full* as well under a Republick, as under a Monarchy: and it may be ſo.

† Viz. 1792.

" is what muſt ſupply their ſtrongeſt claim upon
" our kindneſs. Yet I preſume not to ſay
" that the legiſlature has been parſimonious
" of indulgence. In caſes ſimilar to the pre-
" ſent, it is prudent to convey an intereſt that
" ſhall attach to the conſtitution, before we
" beſtow a privilege that might diſturb it: nor
" where the quiet of an empire, and perma-
" nency of a valuable eſtabliſhment are at
" ſtake, can any caution be conſidered as ex-
" ceſſive. I hold then, in general, that Ca-
" tholicks deſerve our favour: but the pro-
" per limits of conceſſion, it is for the legiſ-
" lature to define. I will not ſay that they
" ſhould obtain no more than is already grant-
" ed: but I am ſure that gratitude for what
" has been beſtowed—will corroborate their
" title to additional and future kindneſs. *If*
" *we find that we have created loyalty, by be-*
" *nefits conferred, we may expect to promote its*
" *growth, by conceding powers.* Upon them-
" ſelves will depend, the enabling us to im-
" part the more intimate and important pri-
" vileges of our conſtitution;—and juſtifying
" our conceſſions, on the principles of liberal
" policy, to ſay with the Roman Stateſman,
" whilſt we enrol them amongſt our citizens,
" *minime mirum eſt, communicatâ cum his repub-*
" *licâ, fideles eſſe,—qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem*
" *ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*

Again, in the thirteenth of theſe eſſays,* the following proofs of enmity to the Roman Catholicks may be found.

" I think

* Written in January, 1793.

"I think the elective franchise should be "extended to the Catholicks: but doubt if it "should not be, with some limitation. I de-"precate the mass of abject dependance, which "might be let in, if this privilege were pro-"miscuously conceded. We have too many "forty-shilling freeholders, as it is. And since "any restrictions which I annexed to the grant, "would be meant to regard, rather property "than religion,—perhaps they ought to apply "equally in future, to indigent persons of "the Protestant persuasion. Perhaps twenty "pounds per annum would make a proper "qualification; and that persons possessed of "long terms for years should be electors; the "grounds of their exclusion being obsolete, and "merely feodal. Yet, as to the expediency of "abridging the elective franchise in the hands "of Protestants, some doubts may perhaps be "entertained; grounded (amongst other consi-"derations,) on the superior numbers of the "Catholicks; and the necessity towards sup-"porting the religion of the State, of politically "embodying as many members of the Church "of Ireland, as may be *. Therefore, while I "offend the Roman Catholicks, by proposing "limits to our concession of franchise to them, "I may disgust Protestants, by (even doubt-"ingly) suggesting any abridgement of *their* "privileges. But here is my motto:

"Papist,

* "And therefore, if by admitting Leaseholders to vote, "we should lodge with the Roman Catholicks, an over "proportion

" Papiſt, or Proteſtant, or both between;
" Like good Eraſmus, in *a golden mean*: *
" In moderation placing all my glory;
" While Tories call me Whig; and Whigs a Tory." †

In 1795, Baron Smith, then in Parliament, ſupported the Roman Catholic Bill; ‡ and in his ſpeech on that occaſion, made uſe of the following, amongſt other arguments; which though they may not prove ability or knowledge in the Reaſoner, ſtill leſs demonſtrate enmity towards the objects of that bill.

"I ſupport the Catholick claims, on grounds " of policy and juſtice; and in fact he that " proves the juſtice, goes a great way towards " demonſtrating the policy of any meaſure. " The

" proportion of the elective franchiſe, a new and ſolid ob- " jection ſucceeds the ancient feudal one—to their ad- " miſſion." Note annexed to Eſſay.

The elective franchiſe in the hands of Proteſtants has been, in effect, abridged by thoſe regulations, which diſqualify perſons holding offices in the Revenue from voting, &c.

* Viz: of property.

† Pope. Indeed Baron Smith may be conſidered as a ſort of Mule; not in reſpect of his obſtinacy, but of his hereditary unfitneſs for the propagation of religious bigotry. For the firſt of his paternal anceſtors who ſettled in this country, was a Colonel in the " hired battalions" of the " Dutch Invader;" and had three ſons killed in action, by his ſide, fighting againſt the " loyal anceſtors" of the Catholic Adviſer.

‡ And uniformly, (I do not enquire whether rightly,) was the advocate of their pretenſions, whenever theſe were brought forward, during ſeven years, and in two ſucceſſive parliaments, of which he was a member. Thus implicit was his acquieſcence in all the political opinions of Doctor Duigenan. Avunculus excitat Hector. See preface p. 29. Baron Smith's father, the preſent Maſter of the Rolls, had alſo ſupported the R. C. claims in Parliament. (*a*)

(*a*) See Sir Michael Smith's ſpeech on the R. C. Bill, Feb. 25, 1793.

" The abſtract juſtice of the Catholick de-
" mands—is deducible from the legitimate end
" of political power; which, according to the
" principles of our revered conſtitution, is the
" ſecurity of civil right.

" The Catholicks therefore, being poſſeſs'd
" of rights, which our late liberality has even
" much enlarged, it may perhaps be reaſona-
" bly inferred, that they are become entitled
" to powers, for their defence. Our rights
" Sir, are our conſtitutional poſſeſſions; whilſt
" our privileges form the ſtrong entrenchment
" which ſurrounds them; and that man may
" be thought to hold the former inſecurely,
" who holds them unattended by protecting
" powers." * * * " But the Catholicks are ſo
" numerous, that if the powers demanded be
" conferred, their religion will predominate;
" and our eſtabliſhment be overturned. Againſt
" this riſk, having preferred it to a greater, I
" am willing that we ſhould guard. I ſhall
" always concur in defence of the Proteſtant
" aſcendancy; an expreſſion, which conveys
" no more, than I think our religion ſhould
" enjoy. I would give complete aſcendancy
" to the Church; and as much to the individual,
" as may be requiſite to ſecure it. It would
" undoubtedly be deſirable, that our popula-
" tion ſhould not lie one way, and our eſta-
" bliſhment another. But we muſt take things
" as we find them; and where riſk of ſuch kind
" muſt be encountered, on the one ſide or the
" other, all that we can do is—to prefer the
" leſſer

" leſſer danger. Thus here, ſuperficial con-
" ceſſion may be fundamental conſervation;

" *imaque tellus*
" *Stet, quia ſumma fugit.*"

" I would fain preſerve our church eſtabliſh-
" ment, not only unimpaired, but religiouſly
" inviolate, in its uttermoſt *pomœria:* but
" would rather abate ſomewhat of Proteſtant
" pre-eminence, than not enſure the fabrick
" of both church and ſtate." * * * * * * If
" there be danger of Catholic aſcendant, and
" Catholic politicks, on the one hand,—is
" there no fear of infidelity and jacobiniſm,
" on the other? And if the poiſon of this lat-
" ter has already tainted the Iriſh people,
" ſhall we not at leaſt try to prevent the fur-
" ther progreſs of the infection? What pledge
" have we, on the part of the Catholic Eccle-
" ſiaſtick, for his averſion to the wild chaos
" of Jacobinic opinions? We have the cruel-
" ties exerciſed on his order, by the French:
" his conviction, that the prevalence and ope-
" ration of thoſe opinions, would involve the
" inevitable ruin of the prieſthood. What ſe-
" curity have we for the anti-jacobiniſm of
" the Catholick Gentleman? We have his pro-
" perty and his rank; which conſpire to render
" him the natural champion of ſubordina-
" tion." * * * " It muſt be admitted, that
" Proteſtiſm is the eſtabliſhed religion of
" the ſt. But I will go a ſtep higher; and
" aſſert that Chriſtianity is, more remotely,
our

" our eſtabliſhment. In the ſacred and para-
" mount bonds of this Religion, whoſe very
" name ſuggeſts good will towards men, we
" are at once connected with our Catholick
" fellow ſubjects. Let us, as far as policy and
" exiſting circumſtances will allow, remember
" this grand union, and forget ſubordinate
" diſtinctions. As ſtateſmen, as well as be-
" lievers, we ſhould be Chriſtians: for Infide-
" lity and Jacobiniſm ſtalk through Europe,
" hand in hand; and the ſame man who
" wrote the *Age of Reaſon*, was alſo the author
" of the *Rights of Man*. Chriſtianity is aſ-
" ſailed. Should not all its deſcriptions be em-
" bodied for its defence,—and the worſhip,
" throughout all its branches, be made reſpect-
" table?—Bearing this principle in mind, we
" ſhall be the leſs reluctant to remove any in-
" capacities, which attach upon the Catholick.
" We ſhall feel, that we ought to guard againſt
" even ſeeming to impoſe penalties on reli-
" gion; and that we may offer a bounty to
" the Infidel, by impoſing a tax upon the
" Chriſtian."

Such was the ſpeech of Baron Smith in 1795. Whether the doctrines which it contained, or rather perhaps the application of thoſe doctrines, ſhould be conſidered as unexceptionable, was then doubted by many of our wiſeſt and moſt upright ſtateſmen; and the legiſlature decided againſt the concluſiveneſs of ſuch reaſoning. And it muſt be confeſſed, that if the arguments for complying

 with

with Catholick wiſhes were then weak, they have not been ſtrengthened, by any thing which occurred in 1798. The above extracts have been given, not ſo much for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing the queſtion which they concern, as with a view to reſcuing from the charge of enmity to any deſcription of his countrymen, the perſon whom Mr. Scully identifies with the Yeoman. At the ſame time, I ſhould not have cited thoſe ſentiments, if they were not, to a certain degree, my own. I accede to them preciſely in the ſame degree, in which at the preſent day, he who uttered them may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to do. That I do ſo, may be collected from thoſe final pages of my former letter, to which I have already had occaſion to allude. In the ſpirit of the opinions delivered there, I maintain that—conſidering the proportion between the two religions in this country, nothing, ſhort of neceſſary policy, can juſtify a political diſtinction between the Catholicks and us. I go farther: I conſider the neceſſity as a national misfortune: as an unlucky obſtacle, which impedes the operation of principles, in the abſtract, liberal and ſound: and I ſhould regard that man as a benefactor to his country, who could diſprove, or terminate, the exiſtence of this neceſſity, for continuing diſabilities on any claſs of the King's ſubjects; or thwarting the honourable ambition of the individuals who compoſe it. *

It

* Feeling at the ſame time, as I do, the miſchievous falſehood and abſurdity, of deſcribing as ſlaves, the Catholicks; who

It is therefore I have ſuggeſted, that Invaſion might ſupply a teſt, which would ſatisfy the moſt ſcrupulous, of the title of the Catholicks to a farther acceſſion of political importance; and that the loyalty of their conduct, in the courſe of ſuch a ſtruggle, might juſtly procure them all, that they can reaſonably require. *

It is not Baron Smith, or the Yeoman, that is their foe. It is the man who circulates, under the name of Paſtoral or other Letters, his rancour to our Church, and diſaffection to our Government. Such men as (unleſs their writings do injuſtice to their opinions,†) the late Doctor Huſſey, the preſent Mr. Scully, and the writer of thoſe Inſtructions, on which I commented in my laſt letter. If the pages of the "Adviſer" ſtate his opinions with preciſion, and if, as he aſſures us is the caſe, theſe "have been "found to accord with the ſentiments of that "numerous claſs of perſons, who were the ob-"jects" ‡ of his addreſs, then on their own heads be the odium of their excluſion from that political conſequence, to which they ſo ardently aſpire. If they hold, with Mr. Scully, § that the government under which they live, is founded on an uſurpation, which their "loyal

who enjoy complete toleration; equal protection with ourſelves; and no inconſiderable portion of political power.

* I do not ſay that other circumſtances beſide Invaſion, might not furniſh ſuch a teſt.

† As perhaps they do. ‡ Preface, page 41.

§ For ſuch is my conſtruction of the import of his firſt edition; (pages 12. 13. &c.) and it is this firſt edition which he aſſerts, (in his preface to the ſecond) to have contained ſentiments

" anceſtors" unſucceſsfully reſiſted,—it is evident that their doctrines muſt negative their pretenſions: nor in that caſe, will the cunning of ſeditious advocates avail, to wheedle the Britiſh Lion into a ſurrender of his teeth and claws. Let the Catholicks, if they would ſucceed, reſort to arguments and to conduct, of an oppoſite deſcription. Let them ſhew cordiality to their Proteſtant brethren; and allegiance to their Proteſtant rulers. In a word, and in the language of an anonymous writer, already quoted, (and conjectured to be Baron Smith,) " let the Catholicks reſpect the " venerable fabrick of that conſtitution, in " whoſe benefits they ſo largely participate " already; and in whoſe privileges, (if it be " not their own fault,) they may be ſtill more " intimately intereſted hereafter. Let them " haſten to detach themſelves from their ene- " mies, the Factious; and in every Patriot, " they will find a friend." *

But the Yeoman Baron, (whoſe antipathy to Catholicks we have already ſeen,) is a friend to French, and a foe to Britiſh connexion; would provoke and irritate his countrymen to miſconduct themſelves; and would audaciouſly trample on the laws and conſtitution.

Inſtead

ſentiments which accorded with thoſe of the claſs which he addreſſed. The *whole* ſentiments have indeed been honoured with the approbation of a Gentleman, who has publiſhed a ſhort Appendix to this Letter; and who is reported to enjoy a penſion under that Government, which Mr. Scully deſcribes to have originated in uſurpation. But I have heard that this addreſs was not generally approved of.

* Eſſay xi.

Inſtead of enquiring, whether it be conſiſtent with the ſeeming tendency of Mr. Scully's pages, that their author ſhould hold ſuch views to be fit matter for reproach, I ſhall conſider how far they are imputable to the perſon to whom they are aſcribed.

For this purpoſe, I ſhall give ſome farther extracts; which I ſhould not, if they were a digreſſion from my ſubject. But I would be underſtood as adopting the ſentiments which thoſe paſſages contain; and tranſcribe them, as pertinent to the matters which we are treating.

In Auguſt laſt, while the events of the late inſurrection were ſtill recent, I find this modern Jefferies (if we may rely on a news paper report,) making the following attempt to provoke and irritate his countrymen.

"What fate was in ſtore for our country or ourſelves, it would be preſumptuous to pronounce with certainty. This reſted in the womb of time, and diſpoſal of the Almighty. But let our lot be what it might, our principles and conduct were at our own command: we could be loyal to our King, and devoted to our Country: we could be prodigal of our lives, in defence of our Religion, our Liberties, and our Conſtitution, Bodies, ſuch as he addreſſed, had the privilege of declaring thoſe feelings to their Sovereign, and inculcating them on their Country. Allegiance, patriotiſm, intrepidity, moderation,—theſe were ſentiments, of which no human enemy, be he foreign or domeſtic, could deprive us. He was perſuaded the

Grand

Grand Jury would agree with him, that however critical the times might be, they did not the leſs (perhaps the more) call for moderation, and a ſtrict obſervance of the law. They would agree that nothing which had recently occurred, or which rumours ſtated to be impending, ſhould be permitted to open or exaſperate the wounds of the year 1798. He knew the liberality of the Gentlemen whom he addreſſed; and therefore relied on their concurrence with him. The diſaffected, covered as they were with crimes, were yet our Countrymen; and if they were not the victims of deluſion, would be our friends. Therefore, though the menacing reports which were in circulation ſhould be authentic, our meaſures, however vigorous and cautious, ſhould be all defenſive: not marked by any harſh or party ſpirit. We ought, on the contrary, to encounter treachery, with generous forbearance; and be mild to thoſe, who were ſanguinary to us. It became the righteouſneſs of our cauſe, and the humanity which characteriſtically belongs to courage, to ſhield from oppreſſion the very arm that was raiſed againſt us; and afford the protection of the law, to thoſe deluded creatures who were attempting its deſtruction. We ſhould thus deny to diſaffection even the ſhadow of pretext; and render treaſon (if that were poſſible) more unpardonable than it is. We ſhould thus obey the dying injunctions of the good Kilwarden, that *no man ſhould ſuffer, but by the laws of his country;* adminiſtered with caution, and executed in mercy.

cy. Such conduct muſt correct every ſpirit which was not incorrigible. But ſhould we be at laſt obliged to meet our enemies in the field, could we doubt that ſuch conduct muſt ſecure to us an invincible ally? could we doubt that *God would defend the right?* or that the defence of Almighty Power muſt be effectual for our protection?" *

So much for his wiſh to goad the great body of the Iriſh people to diſaffection. And now for his attachments to France; and his enmity to *the ſcene of his education*, Britain.

Baron Smith's firſt coup d'eſſai, in the way of political controverſy, was a pamphlet entitled the "Rights of Citizens; or civil "Rights of Man: contraſted with the unſo-"cial code of Mr. Paine." This tract was written in 1791; and its author there oppoſed the pernicious doctrines of the French; at a time when "their friends in other coun-"tries expected they would produce ſome ad-"mirable maſterpiece of a free conſtitution.†" The motto to this pamphlet ſuggeſts the tendency of the Work:

"*Juſque datum ſceleri canimus; populumque potentem;*
et rupto fœdere REGNI,
"*Certatum totis concuſſi viribus orbis,*
"*In commune nefas.*"

Amongſt thoſe political Eſſays which have been already cited, the fifth, ſixth, and ninth, afford

* Baron Smith's Charge to the Wexford Grand Jury, at the Summer Aſſizes, 1803; as given in the Newſpapers.

† See the Advice p. 26. of the firſt, and 15. (altered) of the ſecond Edition.

afford a ſimilar example, of the author's revolutionary propenſities, and adherence to Mr. Paine. The two former contain an allegorical encomium on our conſtitution, as contraſted with one formed on the model of French opinions; and the latter is entitled "Rights of "Waters, *a fable*; intended as a companion "for Paine's *fable*, of the Rights of Man." The writer was "a very young man,"* when thoſe Eſſays were compoſed; and will not be diſpleaſed with me for obſerving, that I diſencumber them of the *thus et odores*, in which they have been long embalmed, for the purpoſe of evincing, not the talents, but principles of their author.

In

* Preface to Advice, P. 29.—I do not preciſely know whether Mr. Scully be angry with Baron Smith, for having been, or for having been called, "a very young man," in 1799. If the former, I apprehend he might plead "not "guilty," to the charge: for in that year he was thirty-three: an age at which, whatever may be the caſe of the Adviſer, it is uſual for men to put away childiſh things. In 1792 however, I conſider him to have been a young man; and this circumſtance may excuſe the levity of the following additional and burleſque proof, of the extent of his attachment to thoſe principles, to which Mr. Scully profeſſes himſelf ſuch a foe. It is a paſſage from a fictitious leter. "Quant au rétabliſſement de l'egalité, chez "les François l' on s'y prend autrement, Je l' avoue. "Là, on fait pendre les petits; ce qui doit leur alonger "le cou: enſuite on tranche la tête aux Grands; et voila "tous les Citoyens de niveau. Mais, malgré mon pen-"chant pour le dégat politique, Je ne ſaurois gouter les "uſages d'un pays, on l' on exerce le deſpotiſme, pour "l' amour de la liberté: ou, l' on fait *mourir* le peuple, "au milieu des cris de "*vive* la Nation!"

In the ſeventh and eighth numbers, written in the months of Auguſt and September, 1792, I find the following ſymptoms of attachment to French doctrine; and deſire to trample on our laws and conſtitution:

" Caliban.—*Freedom! hey day! hey day! Freedom*
" *Freedom! hey day! Freedom!*
" Stephano.—*O brave Monſter, lead the way.*
SHAKSPEARE."

" What Stephano addreſſed to the patriotic " Caliban, I am tempted to apply to the Jaco- " bins of France. It is not enough to ſhout " *Freedom* in our ears; without acquainting " us in what form of government ſhe dwells. " Direct us ye Calibans, or rather Cannibals " of France, in that ſearch for liberty, which " you preſcribe:

" O brave *Monſters! lead the way.*"

" Nor ſhall we be ſatisfied with the flou- " riſhes of mob-leaders; which are probably " as inſidious, as they are certainly abſurd: " nor yet with the extorted profeſſions of poor " ſlaves, who in boaſting of their liberties, " are trembling for their lives; and know " that a ſingle moderate expreſſion would be " treaſon. You muſt point out that freedom, " which you ſay is within graſp; and whoſe " attainment could alone, and barely, palliate " your exceſſes."

" When Liberty was deified by the heroes " of antiquity, they inveſted her with no at- " tributes ſubverſive of order; or incompati-

" ble with reaſon, and with ſocial duty. Of
" that rational freedom which they adored, I
" ſhould—if neceſſary, join in the purſuit. If
" not already in our poſſeſſion, I would im-
" port from abroad, this worthy object of ve-
" neration; and place her with reſpect in the
" citadel of my country. But could any man
" be mad enough to look for Liberty in
" France?"

" Amidſt maſſacre and pillage, anarchy and
" deſolation, the deſperate fury of a tyrannic
" mob, and more diſciplined cruelty of a po-
" litical inquiſition, can Liberty be ſuppoſed
" to have ſelected her abode? Are we per-
" mitted to deem that nation free, where pri-
" vate thoughts are capital offences, and the
" ſuſpicions of the rabble—legal proof? or even
" to believe that the people are not Barba-
" rians, where of thoſe that have been killed,
" ſome have alſo been devoured? If my
" readers would contemplate liberty in a the-
" oretic ſtate, it muſt be ſoared for, through
" the ſubtilties of analyſis and abſtraction. If
" they would ſee the ſpirit of Freedom embo-
" died in practice, and animating the machine
" of

* " An obſolete term, for what is now called the people:
" derived from *Mobile*, a latin word, ſignifying moveable, or
" unſteady. The reader will obſerve, from the date of this
" number, that it was written ſhortly after the French ex-
" ceſſes of the 10th of Auguſt, and maſſacres of the 2d
" of September, 1792.

" of government, I have only to refer them " to the conſtitution of our country." * * * *

" I never can contemplate that blood-ſtain'd " web, which Mob and Jacobins have con- " ſpired to weave, without ſhuddering at its " horrors, and lamenting its advancement; " and can ſcarcely forbear exclaiming to my " countrymen,

" See the grieſly texture grow,
" 'Tis of human entrails made;
" And the weights that play below,
" Each a gaſping warrior's head.
" Shafts for ſhuttles, dipped in gore,
" Shoot the trembling cords along:
" Sword, that once a monarch bore,
" Keep the tiſſue cloſe and ſtrong." *

" The moral quality of thoſe motives which " firſt actuated the French, or *remote* tenden- " cy of the tumults which now agitate their " country, is a queſtion, which I confeſs my " inability to anſwer. Perhaps, from the ex- " ploſions of this horrid chaos, a ſyſtem of " beauty *may* at length ſtart forth. The *poſ-* " *ſible* event, my dim ſight cannot diſcern: the " *paſt* and *actual* evils, I am not at liberty to " doubt. I have means to know, and huma- " nity to lament them."

The ſentiments which immediately follow thoſe that I have cited, muſt be confeſſed to be leſs anti-Gallican than Mr. Scully's: who (in his firſt edition,) declares that he

 would

* Gray.

would not " live in one houſe, or travel a " day's journey with a Frenchman, if he " could avoid it." * Nevertheleſs, at the hazard of Baron Smith's character, I will quote them.

" To France, I wiſh freedom and happineſs, " moſt ſincerely. The accumulations of her " knowledge have contributed to my improve- " ment. I connect her with much that is ele- " gant in literature, and valuable in ſcience. " Happineſs, I muſt ſuppoſe to be the object " of her ſearch: and through conqueſt or de- " feat, I wiſh her to attain it. Yet while I ſym- " pathiſe with the miſeries, and wiſh the hap- " pineſs of France, I look on her as the germ " of a great example.'† Let us wait until that " example ſhall have been matured. Let us " *wait the great teacher*," Time, for his deci- " ſion: nor be haſty to import the reality of " miſchief; in order to conſtruct what, after " all, may b no benefit. The experimentaliſt " in mechanicks,‡ who deſerting precedent, " ſpeculates upon bold and hazardous improve- " ment, loſes nothing if he fails, but his time, " his pains, and his materials. But it is the " duty of him who would ſpeculate in mat- " ters of government, to reflect that the mi- " ſery

* Page 42.

† Written and publiſhed in September, 1792, previouſly to the murder of Louis XVI.

‡ See Mackintoſh's Vindiciæ Gallicæ; where experiments in government, and mechanicks, are put on the ſame footing.

" ſery of his ſpecies may be the conſequence
" of his miſcarriage.

" Therefore,

——— " The art, and practic part of life
" Muſt be the miſtreſs to *this* theorique." *

" But, perhaps the tenuity of ſpeculative
" Good will now condenſe, to the palpable
" conſiſtency of ſolid practice. Perhaps France
" is about to exhibit an example, which will
" proſtrate my theories in favour of mixed
" government. *If* ſo, I ſhall ſubmit to this
" chaſtiſement of my pride. But let us be
" patient, until the leſſon is completed. Let
" us wait, until Experience ſhall reviſe her
" ſyſtem; and inſert the new diſcoveries, in
" her political chart: nor, in the meantime,
" prove Infidels to that Reaſon which ſhould
" guide us; and worſhip an imperfect image,
" in her ſtead. The propenſity of the French
" has been always, to invention; whilſt the
" practice of the Engliſh has rather been, to
" *ſelect* experiments for purſuit; and delibe-
" rately following where France led the way,
" to improve, *with accurate diſtruſt*, upon her
" plans. Let us not, in a matter of ſuch
" moment as our liberties, relinquiſh this na-
" tional diſtinction of character; nor deviate
" from a caution, ſo demonſtrably beneficial.
" The late experiments of the French, in go-
" vernment—reſemble *at beſt*, their former at-
" tempts in æroſtation. They may have taught
" liberty to ſoar; but have not yet found means
" to guide it. Until this be done, ſuffer me to
" cling

* SHAKSPEARE.

" cling to my ancient and eſtabliſhed tenets: " to doubt the prudence of raiſing a ferment " in my country; in order to puff out, for " vulgar admiration, a flimſy form of govern- " ment, which Wiſdom cannot guide; but " which our ſtormy Paſſions may blow about, " at pleaſure."

" Freedom finds its baſis, and ſecurity, in " Law. But in a government which is uncom- " pounded, law cannot be really, though it " may be nominally ſupreme. To the law, " as to the man, that ſeeks to govern, the " counſel of *divide, et impera*—may be given. " Perſiſting therefore in that preference of " mixed government, which I conceive to be " founded on reaſon and experience,—*and* " *abating nothing in my praiſe of the Britiſh* " *Conſtitution*,—it will not be foreign to the " object of theſe eſſays, if I touch on the right " of petition.*

" The conſtituent parts of the Britiſh na- " tion, (ſay the King, the Ariſtocracy, and " the People,) have each a theoretic right to ſo " much power, as will preſerve the balance " between them all. More than this, is uſur- " pation. With this principle for our guide, " we ſhall eaſily find the limit of the Subjects " right of petition. So ſoon as the petition " becomes

* " About this time, ſeveral petitions were preferred to " the King and Parliament, which ſeemed revolutionary, in " their origin and tendency; and were afterwards lament- " ably demonſtrated to have been ſo, by the occurrences " of 1798." Note annexed to Eſſay.

" becomes a hoſtile ſummons,—ſo ſoon as the " petition'd begin to tremble at the prayers, " and crouch before the bold humility * of ſup- " plicants, whoſe enterpriſing meekneſs re- " vives the characteriſticks of a tyranny now " extinct,†—ſo ſoon as the Legiſlature may uſe " to its petitioners, the language of Cæſar, to " the ſuppliants who took his life,—*iſta qui-* " *dem vis eſt*, ‡— in that moment, the equili- " brium is deſtroyed: the conſtitutional ſym- " metries are at once diſtorted: Right is diſ- " figured to the monſtrouſneſs of Power; and " the act which in form is legal, is in ſub- " ſtance, treaſon." §

" Towards defining ſubordinate and partial " rights, (as of petition,) we muſt hold in " view the right paramount in *all* the people, " to maintain that balance undiſturbed, whoſe " ſlighteſt trepidations are formidable to public " ſafety."

" For

* See Mr. Scully's "*communication* to our Rulers," of the propriety of doing "juſtice" to his flock; by removing "the remnant" of diſability and reſtraint. "On voit "d'abord, que *s'il vous plait* ſignifie dans leur bouche, *il* "*me plait*; et que *Je vous prie* ſignifie *Je vous ordonne*. (*a*) The above paſſage may be thus rendered into political Engliſh. "It is eaſy to perceive, that *the humble petition* means "*the Sovereign pleaſure*; and *your Petitioners will pray*, means "*your Maſters will compel*." Note annexed to 11th Eſſay.

† The ancient deſpotiſm of the Servus Servorum.

‡ Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. c. 82.

§ Such are the principles of a Man, whom Mr. Scully, having pitched upon as being *the Yeoman*, deſcribes as wiſhing to ſnatch the reins from the hands of Government; and trample on the laws and conſtitution.

(*a*) Rouſſeau, Emile. Livre 3.

" For, beſides that portion of political do-
" minion, which is compoſed of the demo-
" cratic rights and privileges, the authority
" of king, of lords, and commons, are all in
" fact, component parts of the people's power.
" The three eſtates, in this ſenſe, repreſent
" the people.

" To repel hoſtility, whether foreign or do-
" meſtick,—to arbitrate between contending
" powers,—to deliver over the accuſed to the
" inquiry of the law,—to put the national will
" in execution,—to call forth merit, and en-
" liſt it in the public ſervice,—or embelliſh it
" with rank, as an encouraging example,—to
" raiſe ambitious talent, ſafely into greatneſs,—
" and divert ſeditious propenſities, by the view
" of honours and diſtinctions, compatible with
" public ſafety; *—

" To throw up an intrenchment round ho-
" nours, when conferred,—to cheriſh and pro-
" tect the hereditary principle,—and keep
" guard upon the eminences of cultivated life;
" —to ſecure dignity from envy, and opulence
" from rapine; †—

" To manage economically the public funds;
" and purchaſe with them, the public wel-
" fare;—to concentrate the wiſhes and inter-
" eſts of a multitude, too numerous to coa-
" leſce, but by the medium of repreſentation;
" to foſter public ſpirit,—to check the inroads of
" inſulting Greatneſs, in thoſe deſcents which,
" from

* Royal power.
† Privileges of the Peers.

" from its ſummits, might be made upon the
" rights (if unprotected) of the humble; *

" To lift the voice of the populace to the ear
" of that legiſlature, of which one branch is
" in a great meaſure of their own creation:
" to bid proud defiance to the menaces of op-
" preſſion; and refer the cauſe of Innocence
" to the tribunal of Impartiality: † this is a
" rude ſketch of that power in the People,
" which, prudently diſtributed, to enſure its
" preſervation, exiſts diſperſedly—in the king,
" lords, commons, and the publick.

" It is the peculiar, and fundamental excel-
" lence of the Britiſh conſtitution, that it is a
" more effectual mode than has ever been de-
" viſed, for collecting the ſenſe of a whole ci-
" viliſed people; and diſcovering that path
" along which Authority may move, without
" trampling on the intereſts of any order in the
" ſtate. It is a government of combination;
" not diſunion: unity is, on the contrary, its
" end, and its attainment.

" Equal law, in the mean time, encircles like
" a glory, the whole ſocial maſs: while that
" coherency of principle, which is related to
" it, and fixes the title to the crown, on grounds
" analogous to thoſe, which ſupport that of an
" obſcure ſubject to his ſmall hereditary eſtate,
" gives to the Monarch, and ſome of the
" humbleſt amongſt his people, a reciprocal
" intereſt to maintain each others rights." ‡

L From

* Authority of the Commons.
† Right of petition, trial by jury.
‡ Eſſay xiii.

From *the Rights of Citizens* I ſhall make no quotation; but merely tranſcribe a paſſage, from a letter of the late Mr. Burke to the Author; which perhaps is not entirely impertinent to our inquiries.

"You talk of Paine with more reſpect than "he deſerves. He is utterly incapable of "comprehending his ſubject. He has not "even a moderate portion of learning of any "kind. He has learned the inſtrumental part "of literature; a ſtyle, and a method of diſ-"poſing his ideas; without having ever made "a previous preparation of ſtudy or thinking, "for the uſe of it. *Junius*, and other ſharp-"ly-penn'd libels of our time, have furniſhed a "ſtock to the adventurers in compoſition, which "gives what they write an air (and it is but "an air,) of art and ſkill: but as to the reſt, "Paine poſſeſſes nothing more, than what a "man whoſe audacity makes him careleſs of "logical conſequences, and his total want of "honour and morality makes indifferent as to "political conſequences, can very eaſily write."

With the above quotation, which though I cannot control the wantonneſs of ſome readers, I am far, myſelf, from preſuming to apply,—I ſhall here take the liberty of diſmiſſing Mr. Scully, if it be not his own fault, (and ſuffer me to add his own misfortune,) for ever. I alſo hope (without meaning to compare him to the Catholick Adviſer,) that I ſhall ſoon have done with Baron Smith: of whom I muſt confeſs that I am tired.

We

We have now got rid of his French principles, his church of Ireland prejudices, and his wish to take the reins of government into his own hands. It remains to discuss the justice of the assertion, that he is unfriendly to British connexion. Though indeed his conduct has been, in this respect, too uniform and explicit, to require many comments, in refutation of such a charge. We find him expressing the following sentiments, in 1795.* "I wish these two countries to continue, ever, "one intimately well connected empire. I "wish their harmony, from prejudice, as "well as principle: from prejudice, the "growth of my partialities towards England. A considerable portion of my life "was spent there; and the thought of England connects itself with much, that is pleasing to my mind. It was the place of my "education: † the scene of those early years, "and of those early habits, which the memory recalls and cherishes, with most delight. I am proud to think it contains many "friends who regard me; and whose esteem "affords a reasonable ground for pride. ‡ I "am besides persuaded, that in their harmony, "consists the welfare of both islands. If any

 "man

* In his Speech on the R. Catholic Bill.

† He was of Christ Church; where he had the honour and advantage of being educated under the auspices of Doctor Jackson; who was then, and still continues Dean.

‡ In this circle he may possibly have included Mr. Wickham; with whom he had the honour of forming an acquaintance at Ch. Church.

" man wiſhed a breach, and endeavoured to
" foment it, he ſhould find in me, if not a
" formidable, yet a ſtrenuous opponent." &c.

Again in 1800, he repeats the ſame political creed; accompanied by a ſtatement, which demonſtrates the correſpondence of his conduct with his profeſſions.

" I for my part, am a ſincere friend to the
" connexion: I have ever been ſo. But I
" would ſuit my practice with my principles;
" and not rant about my regard for that, which
" my conduct manifeſtly tended to diſſolve.
" On theſe grounds it is, that for now a ſeries
" of years, and uniformly ſince I have ſat in
" Parliament, I have ſupported every import-
" ant meaſure of Government, except the re-
" jection of the Roman Catholick claims. I have
" done ſo, not only without being connected
" with Adminiſtration, but without ſeeking or
" poſſeſſing that intercourſe with them, which
" uſually ſubſiſts between Government and
" even the humbleſt of its ſupporters. Scorn-
" ing to refute the miſrepreſentation of thoſe,
" who deſcribed me as a member of oppoſi-
" tion, (and who have betrayed me into this
" ſhort egotiſm, by preſuming lately to ſpeak
" of me as a man who had changed my prin-
" ciples,) I contented myſelf with reſiſting
" Parliamentary Reform: with ſupporting the
" Inſurrection Bill, and oppoſing its Repeal:
" with concurring to ſuſpend the Habeas
" Corpus Act: with indemnifying thoſe, who
" had

" had transgressed the Law, to save the Con-
" stitution: with visiting the crimes of the
" Traitor on his descendants: with strength-
" ening the hands of Government to an un-
" precedented degree: with not deserting my
" post in Parliament to the last. In short, I
" fought for the connexion, &c."*

Finally, Baron Smith's marked support of an incorporate Union, furnished no glaring proof of hostility to British connexion. As for the tendency of those arguments, with which he supported his opinion, he might refer the vindication of these to Mr. Pitt. That this great Man was an enemy to the connexion in question, I have never heard: and the Baron may probably recollect with exultation, that *on the same night*, in the British house of Commons, that enlightened Minister resorted to the very arguments, in support of this Imperial measure, which were urged by his (not copyist, but) admirer, here. †

Of

* Letter to Henry Grattan, Esq. by William Smith, Esq.

† Mr. Scully, who is such a foe to " ill-natured spleen, " and party irritation," (*a*)

(Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam !)

appears as if he laboured under their effects, when he indulges in such strong displeasure against Doctor Duigenan, (*b*) for having commended the arguments advanced on the question of Union, by Baron Smith. This latter, it is likely, reflects with pride, that others, on that occasion, exposed themselves, in the same way, to the Adviser's censure.

(*a*) Preface P. 28.
(*b*) Preface P 29,

Of the various lights, in which this latter viewed that queſtion, the Publick were put in poſſeſſion at the time: and if they had not curioſity to read thoſe publications then, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would patiently endure extracts from them now. Indeed I am the leſs diſpoſed to annoy the reader with any ſuch, becauſe this might tend unneceſſarily to revive a difference of ſentiment, between Baron Smith and a number of loyal and reſpectable perſons in this country, with whom he may expect, on moſt other queſtions, to agree. Nor ſhould I have ſaid ſo much, if any thing, with reſpect to this Gentleman's opinions; but that for ſeemingly ſlanderous purpoſes, he has been identified with the Yeoman.

And now Sir, it is time to reſume my apologies, for having treſpaſſed on you, by the preſent Letter. The excuſe, made at my commencement, proved my reluctance to engage in a correſpondence, which I conceived might

For example, Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Corry, and Judge Daly, (then Prime Serjeant. (*c*) But the crime of the Judge of the Prerogative is aggravated, by his having called Mr. Smith "a very young Man." (*d*) Inſtead of endeavouring to extenuate his offence, I would merely enquire, whether it be likely that the Adviſer is as correct, as he is flippant, in his application of the paſſage which he extracts from the letter to Mr. Grattan (*e*). If he be, is it conceivable, that Dr. Duigenan would applaud—what, in ſuch caſe, his opinions muſt lead him ſtrongly to reprobate?

(*c*) See their Speeches in Parliament on the queſtion.
(*d*) Preface P. 29.
(*e*) Preface P. 27.

might be degrading; but did not ſhew that I was therefore warranted in troubling you, who (I am ſorry to know,) are indiſpoſed, and have retired. Give me leave ſincerely to expreſs my hopes, of your ſpeedy reſtoration to health, and public life. You muſt alſo permit me, from my ſoul to wiſh, that—in a moment which the recent Union has rendered critical for this country, and the ſtate of Europe renders intereſting and awful, to the empire,—you may be ably ſucceeded, in the department which you have filled. Your ſucceſſor will enter on his ſituation with advantage: for, I truſt, he will have to act as Chief Secretary to our preſent Viceroy; and thus the merited popularity of Lord Hardwicke will extend its encouraging influence to him. Under ſuch auſpices, the loyal will expect a firm and vigilant government; and will not deem the ſyſtem leſs entitled to their confidence, becauſe its vigour is tempered with the greateſt moderation. Nay, though this latter ſhould appear to them in ſome inſtances to be exceſſive,—they will recollect how conſtitutional *ſuch* exceſſes are,—and will accompany their expoſtulations with attachment and reſpect. They will imbibe (what I hope and believe to be) the ſpirit of our adminiſtration; and keep as much aloof from the Alarmiſt, as from thoſe *Extenuators*, who aſſimilate the late inſurrection to a riot at a Fair.* They will feel

* Thus inadvertently encreaſing the terrors, which they would appeaſe.

feel aſſured, that our Rulers can ſet limits to their mildneſs; and, on occaſion, be as prompt and formidable, as they have been hitherto, ſlow to puniſh. If the callous Traitor ſhall inſiſt on being taught a leſſon ſo ſevere, our governors will, however reluctantly, convince him that wrath loſes nothing of its weight, by having been very long, and very patiently ſuſpended. In the meantime, they are the more entitled to our reverence, for imitating, as far as human infirmity may permit, that Divine Indulgence, which, far from deſiring the death of an offender, rather wiſhes that he may turn from his tranſgreſſions, and ſtill live.

Reſiſting a panic, which late circumſtances, if they did not juſtify, might excuſe, they permitted the municipal law to take its courſe; with all the lingering appurtenants of mercy, in its train. But if the moment of emergency, which I truſt will not, ſhould arrive, they will prove, that though long-ſuffering, they have not been timid. Having puſhed their clemency to the fartheſt warrantable point, and thus ſtripped Diſaffection of its laſt pretext, our conſtituted Authorities will put forth their terrors, and cruſh, without compunction, their rebellious foes. For the preſent, they will take care that if Diſloyaly be treated with indulgence, it ſhall not miſtake clemency for fear, favour, or affection. Their countenance will be reſerved for thoſe, whoſe loyalty is ſtaunch. Theſe they will not only treat with

juſtice,

juſtice, but generoſity; and will take Allegiance, cordially and publicly, by the hand.

But I am tranſgreſſing my province, and interfering with ſuggeſtions, which may be juſtly deemed officious. My former letter appears to have ſatisfied the coarſe appetite of my loyal countrymen, who prefer the ſolid, beef-and-pudding doctrines of ancient times, to the ſyllabub and ſpun-ſugar politicks, by which ſome pamphlet writers ſeem to think that thoſe have been ſupplanted;—but I am aware how quickly my plain maxims might diſguſt thoſe more refined and ſqueamiſh taſtes, (if ſuch there be,) which can reliſh the lucubrations of the grave (not merry) Andrew,* the adviſing Denys, the fluent Tibbald, and the Impartial Obſerver. Neither ſhould I ſeek a ſeat in ſuch a Cabinet: but on the contrary, as little deſire, as I could expect, to participate the ſun-ſhine in which they baſked.

But, for the ſake of Ireland, I do moſt anxiouſly deſire, that if the period has arrived, it may long continue, when loyalty, property, rank, influence and reputation, founded on a thorough knowledge of the true circumſtances of their native country, ſhall not diſqualify the poſſeſſors from a full ſhare in the public councils; nor inexperience be held requiſite to conſtitute a ſtateſman. When no ſtrangers ſhall preſume to deſcribe a magic circle, and forbid the Iriſh ſpirit which they have

 rouſed,

* See Mr. Andrew Finlay's pamphlet.

rouſed, to come within it. In ſhort, when the rank and talent which this iſland (fruitful in ability,) can produce, ſhall not be excluded from the ſuperintendence of her concerns.

Having avowed this wiſh, I ſhall lay down the pen, which, though without neceſſity, yet not perhaps without advantage, I have for once, been tempted to reſume. *Renuit quod hic, jubet alter.* Though I am but a ſubject, my letters are all patent: thrown aſide by a Miniſter, or cancelled in the proper Court, they might be read by a loyal Publick, with attention and effect; and if my talents did not fail to ſecond my intentions, would create ſomething more valuable than an Office, or a Peer. They would create a vigorous and diſcerning ſpirit, of patriotic co-operation, to promote the legitimate principles of Union; and maintain the intereſts and honour of my Country. Such exertions would now, I am perſuaded, be effectual: but *qui prorogat horam*, neglects an opportunity, which may never be retrieved.

I have the honour to be,

With much reſpect, Dear Sir,

Your ſincere and faithful humble ſervant,

A YEOMAN.

Dublin, Jan. 28th, 1804.

Houses of the Oireachtas

P. S. If the Author of a ſhort Appendix to the preceding Letter—takes the trouble of recurring to my firſt page, he will there perceive an obſtacle to my engaging in any controverſy with him. Beſides, we do not ſpeak the ſame language: Billingſgate being a dialect, with which I am wholly unacquainted.

Neither am I tempted to the conteſt, by thoſe infirmities, of which (not without reaſon,) he complains. They are indeed apparent, in every ſentence of his libel; at once entitling him to compaſſion, and expoſing him to contempt.

But, proteſting againſt the conflict, I would yet correct certain inaccuracies, into which this writer has been betrayed, by the ravings of that fury, which my letter ſeems to have excited.

Firſt, his Story of the application of an Iriſh Member of Parliament, to be preſented to Mr. Pitt, if related of the Yeoman, or of Baron Smith, is, from the commencement to the end, a tiſſue of utter falſehood; unmixed with a ſingle ſhade, or particle of truth. Indeed, if ſuch traſh as his Appendix could reach the ears of Lord Caſtlereagh, or of Mr. Pitt, they would be aſtoniſhed at the audacity of that man, who preſumed to ſet his name to ſuch a ——— fabrication. *They* could go ſtill *farther*, in the correction of his miſtatement. But *I* will not: my object being to inflict juſtice on my train-bearer, not do honour to myſelf.

Secondly, I never, in my life, wrote any "laboured" or unlaboured "Eſſay," of which this fretful Storyteller was the ſubject; and Baron Smith is equally innocent of a miſdemeanor ſo degrading.

The propoſitions, that he "was an ugly "Man, and a bad Chriſtian," might be true: but it would be greatly beneath me, to undertake their demonſtration. How far his Appendix may have proved the latter, is for the reader to decide.

Thirdly, I did *not* charge him with having aſſiſted in writing Mr. Scully's preface; nor does his name, or deſcription, once occur throughout my letter. *Me*, *me*, *adſum*, &c. is his own raſh and ſelf detecting exclamation. I merely avowed my "conjecture" that thoſe ſcurrilous, or (ſcullyrous) prologomena—were "the joint production of a "Dennis, and a Tibbald;" adding that two of their nameſakes were commemorated in the Dunciad. There have been more than one Catholick Agent, of the name of Theobald. It was, for example, the name of the late celebrated Mr. Tone;* and other Tibbalds, beſides

* Quonam meo fato ſieri dicam, ut nemo reipublicæ hoſtis fuerit, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Mihi pœnarum illi plus quam optarem, dederunt. Te miror, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorreſcere. Atque hoc in aliis minùs mirabar: nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes à me, reipublicæ causâ, laceſſiti. Tu ultro maledictis me laceſſiſti. Quid putem? Contemptumne me? Non video nec in

beſides the Author of the Appendix, may have ſurvived him. But when, in his "much ado about nothing," Dogberry inſiſts on having it "remembered that he is an Aſs,"* "there is no more to be ſaid: the hearers muſt acquieſce.

Fourthly, before he condemned me for having tried to "ſtrip the gilding off a Knave,"† he ought to have reflected that like Pope, I perhaps may be "unpenſioned."

But it is rumoured, that if I be, my would-be antagoniſt is not ſo. If this report be true, and his tenure be during pleaſure, does he act prudently, in panegyrizing the Author of a Roman Catholic's Advice, or repreſenting as an honour, the ſuggeſting a line or ſentence of ſo miſchievous a publication? Is it right in him, to ſneer at that Imperial Meaſure, which has lately united the Britiſh Iſlands, and inſinuate that it was accompliſhed by corrupting the Members of the Iriſh Parliament? Is it not hazardous, for ſuch

in vita, nec in gratia, nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid deſpicere poſſit Antonius. (*a*)

* See Shakſpeare—Much ado about Nothing; where Dogberry appears to have been a ſort of *Conſervator* in Meſſina.

† Not off him; with whom, or his infirmities, I have not meddled; nor do I now aſſert that he is a knave; or an honeſt man. The knave to whom I advert, was that perſon unknown, who by miſinformation, betrayed the Catholick Adviſer into ſo many inaccurate ſtatements, in the preface to his ſecond edition.

(*a*) If *Antonius* might, by a Punſter, be tranſlated *Tone*, yet no ingenuity could torture it either to *Dennis*, or to *Tibbald*; the *John Doe* and *Richard Roe*, who raſhly undertook to proſecute the Yeoman; and who are accordingly *in mercy*, &c.

ſuch a man to libel the Judges of the land? muſt not our rulers feel, and will they not teach their dependants at the leaſt, that endeavours to ſlander and diſparage thoſe, who fill the judgment-ſeat, ſhould be more than diſcountenanced, by every prudent government? muſt they not be ſenſible of the neceſſity for prompt and vigorous exertions, to ſilence Impartial Obſervers, Catholick Adviſers, Appendix Writers, Detectors, and *hoc genus omne*? *

Indeed it is mere humanity, to caution one, who admitting that he has "not any public duties to diſcharge," yet feeds on the bounty of adminiſtration, againſt publiſhing "looſe hints" for diſparaging and undermining the eſtabliſhed Church,—diſcouraging loyal addreſſes from Roman Catholicks, in the hour of danger, †— commending

* In theſe ſeveral publications, Judge Fox, Baron Smith, and Judge Johnſon are libelled. Judge Oſborne had been ſlandered a little before; and Baron Smith a ſecond, (or rather *firſt*) time, *eight months before.*

† See a joint production, purporting to be the work of Meſſrs. Scully and M'Kenna; and which, without (I preſume) being intended to have, yet ſeems to have this miſchievous effect. It was publiſhed ſhortly after the inſurrection of the 23d of laſt July; and records the friendſhip and reciprocal admiration of its authors.

"Frater erat *Romæ*, Conſulti Rhetor; ut alter
"Alterius ſermone meros audiret honores:
"Gracchus ut hic illi foret, huic ut Mucius ille.

* * * * * *

"Diſcedo Alcæus puncto illius: ille meo quis?
"Quis, niſi Callimachus?" &c. (*a*)

However inapplicable it, as well as the original may be, I cannot

(*a*) Hor.

commending the disloyal doctrines which are contained in Pastoral Instructions, Advice to Roman Catholicks, &c.—depicting a system, which is upheld by his paymasters, the State, as a misarrangement, composed of "penalties "in law, and jealousies in practice, which are "impotent to secure, and only effectual to "irritate and divide,"—or insinuating a parallel between the anniversary honours, which are paid to the Revolution, by our great officers of State, and a commemoration, at Inverness, of the victory of Culloden. *

Ibit eo quo vis, zonam qui perdidit: and though, for the sake of the country, I may wish for the removal of such an impediment to the Appendixer's career, yet while the purse

I cannot refrain from giving the English Reader, Pope's happy imitation of the above passage.

"The Temple late two brother Serjeants saw,
"Who deemed each other Oracles of Law!
"With equal talents, these congenial souls,
"One lull'd th' Exchequer; and one stunn'd the Rolls:
"Each had a gravity, would make you split,
"And shook his head at Murray, as a wit:
"'Twas 'Sir, your law,' and 'Sir, your eloquence,'
"'Yours, Cowper's manner,'—and 'your's Talbot's sense.
"Thus we dispose of all poetic merit,
"Yours, Milton's genius, and mine Homer's spirit:
"Call *Tibbald* Shakspeare; and he'll swear the nine,
"Dear *Dennis*, never match'd one ode of thine.

* Let the Reader compare the note, in p. 11. of the Appendix, from the words "Look to Scotland," &c.—with the latter part (and indeed entire) of a letter signed "Conciliator," in Cobbett's paper of Feb. 11th. and guess the author of this latter, if he can.

purſe remains, and is repleniſhed by the State, there are limits. which it might not be diſcreet, or decent to tranſgreſs.

But I am myſelf tranſgreſſing; and bluſh for having waſted even thus much time, on the *pus atque venenum* of pages, innoxious to me, and diſgraceful only to their author. Indeed if thoſe pages, (in which alone I ſee him,) reflect truly the ſentiments and principles of their writer, the enmity of ſuch a perſon is highly honourable to the Yeoman.

Hactenus; et tacuit. It is probable the Reader will think I have been to blame, for honouring with any portion of my notice, what was beneath even the ſhort and tranſient attention, which it has ſtolen. At leaſt he will anticipate, and approve my determination, of encountering future ribaldry, with mere and total ſilence. The Yeoman, his honeſt pages will defend from ſlander; and the Loyaliſts of Ireland will even condeſcend to be *his* Protectors. Should Baron Smith be libelled, the laws are open to him for redreſs; if he can ſo far ſacrifice to public principle, his private feelings of contempt, as to be prevailed on to reſort to theſe. If the Termagant Adverſary ſhould chance to be under the check of government, and that without falling into actual libel, he ſhould glide *on the outſide edge* of ſcurrilous invective,—it is poſſible he might receive a hint from his State patrons, that reviling the magiſtracy,

magiſtracy,* formed no part of the conſideration, which it was expected that he ſhould render for his ſtipend.

Be this as it may, I, the Yeoman, ſhall not be deterred from repeating my apologies to Doctor Troy, for any thing bordering on perſonal aſperity, which in the freedom of diſcuſſion, (and aſſailed, as I had been) may have eſcaped me. Neither ſhall I retract my proteſt, againſt extending this apology to my arguments. Theſe may be ſtrong or weak; and which they are,—my Readers muſt pronounce. I for my part, and for the ſake of my country, moſt ſincerely wiſh they were refuted. But I fear they are unanſwerable; and am ſure they are unanſwered. Nor ſhould I make the former aſſertion, if I could not accompany it with an unaffected acknowledgement of the mediocrity of my talents; and a farther confeſſion of my inaptitude for religious controverſy. I engaged in it, becauſe I found certain Theological Dogmas fatally

N mingling

* I am aware that ſome miſerable, and *remote*, Dependants on the Government *would* put down the Judges. They are *known*: but *their penalties are not yet eſtreated*. Let them retire in time, beneath the ſhelter of that contempt, which is the only refuge conceded them by Nature. It is not for *them* to *repeal* that moſt *important* principle of *the Conſtitution*, which provides that the Judges ſhall be *reſpected and INDEPENDENT*. They will never *delude* the Government into countenancing ſuch *dangerous* and tyrannical innovations; nor the Country Gentlemen of Ireland (when they reflect,) into aiding a degradation of the Magiſtracy, near its ſource, by which, if effected, their own conſequence and liberties would be deſtroyed.

mingling with, and impairing, the doctrines and principles of conſtitutional allegiance. I therefore went out of my way, to reſiſt their promulgation; and I admit that any force of which my reaſoning may boaſt, is derived, not from the abilities which I poſſeſs, but from the cauſe which I eſpouſed. The doctrines, above alluded to, may have been inadvertently broached, by the Connaught Biſhops, or by Doctor Troy. But if the Grand Penſionary,* who has tacked an appendix to my letter, deliberately embraces ſuch opinions, † after the animadverſions which they have undergone—it remains for him to prove that they are innoxious, and that he is a good ſubject, (both which demonſtrations I do not ſay that he may not accompliſh;) or to renounce emoluments, which ſhould be beſtowed excluſively on Allegiance.

Feb. 15*th*, 1804.

* Not De Wit.
† See his Appendix.

FINIS.

Houses of the Oireachtas