
T H E
H A B E R D A S H E R ' S
L E T T E R .

LETTER
HABERDASHER'S
THE

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

Tradefmen, Farmers,

And the rest of the GOOD PEOPLE of

I R E L A N D.

Very proper to be read in all Families,
at this Critical Juncture.

*God save the KING, and bless the Land,
In Plenty, Joy, and Peace,
And grant henceforth that foul Debates
Twixt NOBLEMEN may cease.*

Auncient and loyal Ballad of Chevy Chase.

By L. B. Haberdasher and Citizen of Dublin.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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Houses of the Oireachtas



A

LETTER

TO THE

Tradesmen, Farmers, &c.

Friends, Fellow-Citizens, and Countrymen,



HERE are TIMES, I have read in some of our *English* Writers, in which every Man is called forth to the *Public Service*; in which it is inconsistent, that any Person, who loves his *Country*, and wishes *her* Prosperity, shou'd look on with Indifference. When the *National Happiness* is at Stake, Self-

regard,

regard, as well as every Social Feeling, urges the *Honest Citizen* to take part, and, tho' with the smallest Hopes of Success, to adventure himself in behalf of the *Common Weal*.

THIS Principle it is, and this Principle alone, that moves me to address you. An obscure Man, versed merely in Mercantile Affairs, and boasting only a distant and very imperfect Knowledge of the *Operations of Government*, on many Accounts shou'd I have waved an Attempt of this Nature. But the Sincerity of my Heart encourages me. I love my *Country* : I am bound to *her* by many strong endearing Ties : My Happiness, and the Happiness of Mine, are intimately connected with *her* Well-being.—And yet at this Day, with deep Concern I say it, how precarious is that Well-being ? How many the Dangers, that threaten our Peace ? How difficult the Application of any Remedy, whilst Faction and Licentiousness, whilst Divisions and Animosities have Place amongst us ?——Let me conjure you therefore, read this Letter with Attention ; read it in your Families ; let your Journeymen and Apprentices read it. It contains nothing but the plain Words of a Man like Yourselves, of a Man, who deals not in specious Representations, and insidious Arguments, who has neither Court-favour to consult, nor Party-intanglements to follow.

WHAT an unhappy Spirit prevails throughout this whole Kingdom, I need not tell you; how much Anger is abroad; what dark Suspicions have possessed almost every Mind, the Minds even of some of the Honestest and Best. And really, under the Influence of the many Arts, that have been put in Practice, when Reports full of Terror are daily, nay hourly, propagated with repeated Industry, who can wonder that we have Fears? One while, *All the Money in the Kingdom is to be sent out of it.* Then, *our Trade is to be fettered by some new restraining Laws.* Again, *A Land-Tax is in Agitation.* Another Time, *The Public Council of the Nation never is to be convened more.* These, and many other Reports of the like Kind You have heard, and no doubt You have believed them. You have considered the Clamour raised against the *Present Administration*, as the *Voice of Liberty.* You have taken Pride in the *Opposition* made to the *Measures proposed*, as being the *Generous Effort of a Free People against the illegal Encroachments of enslaving Power.*——God forgive those, who have in this Manner endeavoured to work on the Affections of as Loyal a People, as ever existed, and have sent *Distracting Rumour* throughout the *Land!*

How severely You must, all of you, have suffered by this, I judge, from what my own Situation has been these five Months past; I

judge, from what is the Situation of all around me. Instead of that open *Chearfulness*, which generally lights up the Countenance of the Man of Industry, *Distrust* sits on every Brow. The *Circulation of Money* is at a Stand. *Trade* languishes. Our *Common People* are advancing in Turbulence and Idleness. Even the most diligent of our *Journeymen* are borne away by the *Phrenzy* of the *Times*, and forget that their Families want Bread, whilst they are rioting and shouting in our Streets. And tho' many of the more considerable of the Citizens of this *Metropolis* deplore the Infatuation, and begin to fear that *our worst Enemies are amongst ourselves*, yet even of these are there several, who are too timorous to avow themselves, and rather seek to avoid the opprobrious *Name*, now *generously* bestowed on all those, who wou'd maintain a due reverence for Government, that of *Sons of Servitude*, and *Betrayers of their Country*.

BUT, whatever the *Name*, with which I am to be honoured, determined I am to speak out, oft as the Occasion offers. I have been misled, as well as you. I now see the Delusion, and do most sincerely own, that all my Fears are at an End, provided we can be wise enough to be at Peace one with the other.——I come therefore to lay before you the *Reasons*, that have induced me to think as I now do. You shall have them, simple and artless as they are.

But

But regard them not, according to the homely Garb they wear: Regard them according to their own intrinsic Value. Examine them with Attention. Examine them calmly, and dispassionately. And suffer not yourselves to be hurried away, by the Example of a maddened Multitude, into *that*, which must have at least the *Appearance* of SEDITION.

DOUBTLESS, you have all carefully informed yourselves, to what CAUSE our present Fears owe their Beginning. However, as Some of You, after the many Mazes you have been led through, may have lost Sight of the main Question, give me leave to set before You what I take to be the plain State of the Case. And, in my humble Apprehension, the Fact stands thus.

THE Dangers, which threatened the *Nation* in the Year 1715, called on the Government to make Provision for our Security; and fifty thousand Pounds were borrowed, to put the Kingdom into a Condition of Defence. This Debt, by the Year 1729, grew to a very considerable Sum: and a large Arrear upon the Establishment being thereby occasioned, the Parliament thought it proper to provide a Fund, such as might pay the Interest of two hundred thousand Pounds, and produce a Surplus for the Discharge of the Principal. And, in the Year 1731, another large Arrear growing upon the Establishment, it was resolved to borrow
one

one hundred thousand Pounds more, and to add this to the former Debt. The Duties, established for the Produce of this Fund, are those known by the Name of the *Loan-Duties*.

———From the Year 1731, there was no remarkable Encrease of the Public Treasure untill the Years 1748 and 1749. About this time, many private Persons here having been enriched by the late War, and a Prospect of a flourishing Trade opening upon us, our Lands, for these and other obvious Reasons, rose in their Value; and High Living, always in this wretched Kingdom, the fatal Consequence of an Encrease of Wealth, began generally to prevail: So that, as 'tis confidently affirmed, where One Tun of *French* Claret had been imported in former Years, there were now more than Ten; together with many other Foreign Luxuries, of which, I must say, since I have known *Ireland*, I never have known aught but Mischief to come. Howbeit, this pouring in of Foreign Wares swelled the Public Revenue; and hence it was, that in the Year 1749, after answering the Charges of Government, there remained, as We are told, in the Treasury, the Sum of two hundred and twenty thousand two hundred and forty one Pounds, four Shillings and six Pence. The Debt of the Nation at that Day is said to have been three hundred and eighty thousand Pounds; for, besides other occasional Additions, there had been one considerable Addition of fifty thousand Pounds, to provide the

Protestants

Protestants with Arms in the Rebellion of 1745.—The State of the Treasury being therefore taken into Consideration, a Bill was brought into Parliament for the applying of one hundred twenty eight thousand five hundred Pounds out of the said Ballance, towards the Discharge of so much of the National Debt.—Take Notice, in *October* 1749, the Public Accounts were laid before the House of Commons; and, at *Lady-Day* preceding, there was in the Treasury a Surplus of more than two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds: In *October* therefore, there must have been a much larger Surplus; and yet only one hundred twenty eight thousand five hundred Pounds were applied towards the Debt of the Nation.

Who proposed this Payment, whether HIS MAJESTY *extraordinarily* by any of his Servants, or whether it was moved for in the *usual* manner of other Money Bills, is a Point of small Concernment. But, worthy it is of your Observation, that, in the Bill for this Purpose, this Application of Part of the Surplus is said to be, *agreeably to HIS MAJESTY's most gracious Intentions*. Now, from this a plain Man wou'd be apt to collect, that these same *Intentions* must have been considered as of some Weight, and that the Persons, who framed the Bill, must have had Intimation about *them* in some way or other: else, you know, how, or for what Reason, shou'd mention

tion be thus made of *them*? And yet, he, it seems, who wou'd infer this, wou'd be quite out in his reckoning. For your *fine-read Gentlemen* will tell you, that this *Expression*, whatever Meaning We may think it has, means in Truth just nothing: they, who inserted it, neither knew, nor was it their Business to know, what HIS MAJESTY *intended* about the Matter: but the Phrase sounded prettily, and so in it came by way of Ornament.——However, of this one Word more in its proper place.

IN the Year 1751, there remaining, as before, a very large Exceeding in the Treasury; the Duke of *Dorset*, then appointed our Chief Governour, had it in Commission from HIS MAJESTY to acquaint the Commons of *Ireland*, that HE *consented and did recommend it to them, to apply such a Part of this Money, as shou'd be thought consistent with the Publick Service, towards the farther Reduction of the National Debt*. Accordingly, in the first Speech his Grace delivered from the Throne, he acquainted them with this Instance of the KING's Fatherly Concern for our Ease and Happiness. And, whether in Consequence of this Declaration, or some other Consideration moving thereto, the Commons framed a Bill for the Payment of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds——the National Debt being at that time two hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred Pounds; and the Surplus in the Treasury,

ry, at *Lady-Day* preceding, being Two hundred forty eight thousand three hundred and sixty six Pounds, seventeen Shillings and four Pence. It appears, that in the framing of this Bill there was not any mention of the KING's *Consenting* to this Application; the Bill only said, that His MAJESTY had been *graciously pleased to recommend* it; and in this Form it was sent over to *Great-Britain*: but *there* was the Word *Consent* inserted, and with this Amendment it was returned to the Commons, and passed by them, without so much as one Voice against it.

IN the Year 1753, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant returned hither with the like gracious Directions from his Royal Master, that *He wou'd Consent, and did recommend* it to His Faithful Commons of *Ireland*, that so much of the Money in his Treasury, as *they shou'd think necessary*, shou'd be applied towards the Discharge of the *National Debt*, or of such a *Part* of it, as *they should think proper*. And with this he acquainted the Commons at the Opening of the Sessions; inviting them at the same time to devise the best Means of advancing the Domestic Happiness, by consulting the Support of the *Charter-Schools*, and the Improvement of the *Linen Manufacture*; and assuring them of his *Concurrence* in every thing, which they might think necessary for these *excellent Purposes*.—These affectionate Declarations

tions met not with the Reception, which might have been expected. Doubts and Suspicions had by this time been instilled into the Minds of many ; and every smoothest Word was thought to conceal some latent Destruction. So that, in the framing of the Bill, for paying off the whole Arrear of the National Debt, special Caution was had to avoid all Mention of the *Consent*, or even of the *Recommendation* of HIS MAJESTY ; and when these Words were inserted in *Great Britain*, in Affirmance, as they assure us, of what was there apprehended to be the *Inherent Right of the Crown*, the Bill so amended was thrown out by the Commons of *Ireland*.

To this Transaction which I have here represented to you, I think, with the utmost Fairness, do We owe all the Confusion, in which We are at this Day involved. Ruin, we are told, was determined against us. Our Governors are Insulted. Their Administration reviled. And We are encouraged to consider THEM as the special *Friends* and *Protectors* of the *Publick Liberty*, who have, by their Votes or Interest, rendered this formidable *Amendment* of none Effect.

Now, my honest Friends, I own to you, our Manner of Proceeding in this Affair appears to me very blameable on several Accounts, but chiefly on two Accounts, which I desire you to consider

consider maturely, as You regard this poor *Country* of ours, and love *her* Peace.

And, in the First place, I think our Manner of proceeding blameable, because I doubt much, whether this contested *Clause* has all the Mischief in it, which *some* People would persuade us. And secondly, admitting, that it is really of as mischievous and ill-boding an Aspect, as They wou'd have us believe, yet is the Method of Opposition, which we have chosen, indecent, and threatens the very worst of Consequences to our Liberties and Civil Enjoyments. The last of these shall be the Subject of the Letter, I am now writing to you; and not to leave you the least Colour of Excuse, I shall for the present admit, that the *Inserted Words* really were of such a dangerous Import, as to justify the Commons in rejecting them.—And, even in this Case, I tell you, we have not behaved, as became us.

FAR be it from me, to intend the least Intimation to the Dishonour of any of our Noble Representatives. Their Conduct, unquestionably, was grave and regular. And, whatever the Infatuation of the People may have been, they neither gave the *Encouragement*, nor the *Example*.

THO' indeed I cou'd wish, if such a mean Person, as an obscure Trader, may presume to speak his Wishes, when so many eminent Persons,

Persons, Wise, and Expert in the Laws, are in question ; I cou'd wish, that, upon throwing out this Bill, they had thought it proper to have address'd HIS MAJESTY, and to have set forth the Motives, that induced them to reject a Clause, which had come over to them with the Royal Sanction, and in the Support of which our Gracious SOVEREIGN may have thought himself particularly interested. It wou'd, I say, have been a very becoming Expression of Duty to a PRINCE, who has in so signal a Manner approved himself the Friend and Father of Us the People of *Ireland*, to have endeavour'd to prevent any Opinion to our Disadvantage, that might take place in *His Royal Mind* ; And to have assured *Him*, that it *was not from any Doubt of his Justice, and Paternal Love toward his Subjects of this Kingdom ; that his faithful Commons had refused the Inserted Clause ; but only from the Apprehension they had, that this Concession might convey a Power to the Crown, which, though safely to be intrusted to a Prince, such as we now are blessed with, might nevertheless become dangerous in the Hands of a weak and ill-advised King, and prove subversive of that very Constitution, the happy Establishment of which We owe to the Wisdom and Labours of Him and His Illustrious Father.*

I certainly am bold, thus to put Words of mine in the stead of *theirs*. But I fear not their Anger. I speak their Sentiments : And
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how poor soever my Expressions may be, in comparison of what wou'd have been the Language of this *most faithful and affectionately-loyal House of Commons*, yet to this Purpose surely would they have spoken, had not their Sessions had an End, sooner than was expected. I am justified in saying this by the Author of the best Pamphlet published on their Behalf, *The Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland—Vindicated, &c.* He tells us, Page 4, that “ Had the *Parliament* “ been permitted to meet after the ordinary “ Recess, the *Commons*, who have ever been “ true and faithful Subjects, to the *best* and “ *most beloved* King in the World, wou'd most “ surely have defended themselves before the “ Throne, in a Manner becoming their Dignity, and the Figure that *Illustrious* Body “ make in the State; and wou'd have justified “ their Actions, with the Spirit and Sense, they “ are (happily for those they represent) possessed of, in a most eminent Degree.”

BUT—with due Deference to this able Apologist ——— unhappy it was, that this was not done immediately, ere any sinister Impressions cou'd take place. And if an Address of the Spirit and Sense, which must have animated an Address framed by them, had been sent over, even before their Recess, and presented to HIS MAJESTY by *Members* of their own *August* Body, by Gentlemen, whose Abilities, whose

known Integrity, might have added Weight to the Representation, and cast a proper Light on their whole Procedure; must not *this* have had an excellent Effect, both with respect to the *King*, to whom, we may venture to pronounce, such a Tender of Duty wou'd have been most welcome, and with regard to the *People*, who being informed of the Opinion of their Representatives, and instructed by their Example, cou'd not so easily have listened to the Artifices of wicked and disloyal Incendiaries? ——— But, this they have not done; and *their own Reasons*, no doubt, they had for not doing it. And such *Reasons* also, I question not, as will abundantly justify them, *whenever they are pleased to make them public*. They were conscious to themselves of the *Purity* of their own Intentions; and had it not in their Thoughts, that the *People* cou'd take up Notions so opposite to the *Views* and *Sentiments* of a *Senate of Loyalty distinguished*.

ON the *People*, then, rest the Blame. And to the Body of the *People* therefore, to You, my *Fellow-Citizens* and *Countrymen*, the *Traders* and *Farmers of Ireland*, shall I now confine myself. You, who have thus grossly misapprehended the Motives of this Honourable House, and, by your indecent Warmth have greatly endangered the Peace and Happiness of this whole Nation.

AND

AND First, my Countrymen, consider, whether the *excessive Freedoms*, in which We have, many of us, indulged ourselves, with *relation to Government*, and the *poysonous Influence*, this has had on the Minds of the more ignorant of our Fellow-Subjects, be not an imprudent and hazardous *Abuse of Liberty*. When a Prince invades the Laws, and leaves to his Subjects no Choice, but that of Ruin or Resistance, Resistance will naturally be the Choice; he forces them on it; and the Consequences he alone is chargeable with. But what has this Case in common with the Government of a *Prince*, one of the most righteous, that ever ruled a People?—He has proposed a Clause to our *Commons of Ireland*, which, he thought, *his Prerogative and the Dignity of his Crown, and the Regularity to be preserved in the Proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland*, required. The *Commons* have taken this Clause into Consideration; they have disapproved of it; they have rejected it. Is our Constitution in Danger——Are our Rights infringed——because *a Proposal from the Crown* has been subjected to the Consideration of the *Commons*, who not only were permitted all Freedom of Debate, but also, by their rejecting the *Proposed Clause*, have proved, that this Freedom was fully enjoy'd by it?—And is this a Cause, why Doubts and dark Surmises should be raised in the Minds of every one of Us?

AND chiefly is this *Abuse of Liberty* become terrible, on account of the extraordinary *Acts*, avowedly made use of, to inflame the lower Multitude, and *such*, as never fail to produce the fatal Effect. Now, every Man of You, who has the least Share of Property, is immediately concerned in this. Neglect of Industry and Contempt of Government are Mischiefs, to which, for many Reasons at present not necessary to be told you, our Commonalty are of themselves but too prone. And if they are suffered, if they are encouraged to assemble in Tumult; if they are permitted to think, that they have the *Countenance* and *Directions* of GREAT PERSONAGES, who certainly must be ignorant of the seditious Purposes, for which their NAMES are employed; if this Populace have Bonfires lighted up for them, and Plenty of intoxicating Liquor furnished out to them; if they are instructed to look upon the *Administration* as oppressive, and their *Country* as in Danger; and are made to believe that *Riot* and *Outrage* are fit Means for the Defence of Liberty; I will not ask you, what an Insult is this to Government; but let me only ask you, how much Cause have We to fear for Ourselves?—Who can tell, in what Act of Violence this Tempest of Popular Fury, thus excited, and high raised, may spend itself? *Prepossession* reigns Monarch of the Million. And, when once angered and let loose, they are susceptible of the most

most dangerous Impressions, they may be impelled to any Ill.

JUDGE then, my Fellow-Citizens and Countrymen, what a deep Wound is offered to our domestic Peace, by such an Encouragement of this Class of Men. The Laws, the Magistracies, the Regal Power itself, were all established for Your Sakes, for Your Well-being, for the Conservation of Your Lives and Properties. And if You wantonly sport with these Pledges of your Security ; if You take away from the Veneration, in which they ought to be held by every Individual ; are You not levelling the Inclosures, by which Your own Enjoyments are fenced around, and laying them open to the Inroad of every Ravager?—They, whose Business it is to enact Laws, and to settle the *questionable* Boundaries of *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, may canvass these important Matters. It belongs to them. But an Appeal to the *People* only lieth—and even then a *dreadful* Appeal it is—when Attempt is made to establish *Lawless Power* on the Ruins of the Public Happiness. And if any one tells you, that such an Attempt has now been made, he is a designing traiterous Leader ; he means to despoil you of your Loyalty ; he means to pluck up by the Roots every thing that is most dear to you ; and to send Misrule and Confusion into the Midst of Us.

BUT, HIS MAJESTY, they will tell you, *has not Concern in the Issue of this Contention. He is honoured, as much as Prince ever was, by a dutiful and affectionate People. His Ministers alone, they, who have abused his Power, are those, who are the Objects of this National Indignation.* Beware of this Deceit, my Countrymen. Be assured, it is hardly possible that *the Sovereign* should have the Fealty to him preserved inviolate, and Insults be daily offered to the *Ministers* of his *Government*. And a stale Trick it is, the sorry Contrivance of Dabblers in Sedition, to pretend, that they only mean the *One*, when in truth the Blow is aimed at the *Other*. — In the present Case also, unluckily for Us, HIS MAJESTY is the Person concerned principally. It is his *Prerogative* is in Debate. And if ever Dispute affected the *Prince* directly, this must. A Dispute therefore it is, which for the Honour of Government, from a Sense of what we owe to the *best* of Kings, ought to have been managed with the utmost Decency and Moderation.

ADMIT however, that the *Person*, to whose *Administration* the Affairs of this Kingdom are now intrusted, interfered in Support of this Claim of *Prerogative*, and laboured to establish it; is he therefore to be criminal in our Eyes? — Where is the Violation of Law he has been guilty of? — *They*, who have erected themselves into *Asserters of your invaded Rights*, will tell

tell You indeed many a gladdening Tale, of *Wicked Ministers*, who, by the Virtue of Patriots of old, have received the Reward justly due to their Oppressions. They will tell You, that *Ministers* are accountable for the Power delegated to them; and that whenever they misapply this Power, and endeavour to destroy that Common-Weal, which they were bound to cultivate; it is from that Moment our Duty to oppose their perfidious Designs, and to bring to condign Punishment those Enemies of the Peace and Happiness of our Country. — This is all very fine, no doubt. — Pray, may I ask, what is the Purport of it? — Was not all this well known, long before we had this kind Information? And have not the Protestants of *Ireland*, in more than one Instance, given Proof that they can make their *Complaints* reach the Throne, when They, who are set over them, misapply their *Power* to tyrannical lawless Purposes?

BUT then, this Misapplication of Power must not be imaginary. It must not be from *Party-Views*—from *Selfish narrow Motives*—from a *Scheme of forcing the Sovereign to comply with the Dictates of a prevailing Faction*—that these *Complaints* must have their rise. They must arise, from a Sense of Duty to the Prince, from a Regard for the Public Prosperity, from a Zeal for the Preservation of that glorious Constitution, which our Fathers, at the Expence of their own Blood, have acquired to Us.

DRIVE not therefore blindly on, my Countrymen. Allow yourselves seriously to consider, who *this* MINISTER is, to whose Measures you are thus encouraged to form Opposition. Enquire, examine, what his Conduct has been in the Course of his Administration. Ask, what *He* has done. Instruct yourselves, what *He* has endeavoured to do. And if, after an impartial Perquisition, it appears to you, that his Ministry stands clear of all Imputations, but what Clamour void of Proof, or lurking whispering Envy, may spread abroad; if there is not aught done by him, which every faithful Servant of the Crown, circumstanced especially as He is, would not have done; nay farther, if, with respect to the *asserting of the Liberties of these Nations*, with respect to the *Happiness of this Kingdom in particular*, He has done as much, to the full as much, as the worthiest of our boasted Patriots may have atchieved; what shall We say to Ourselves, in our cooler Hours, for the unkind Suspicions which we have suffered to take root in our Breasts?—What shall We say to the injurious Charges, which an infatuated Multitude has been taught to utter against him?

I MEAN not his Panegyric. He wants not such Praise, as mine. But, for *Your own Sakes*, my Countrymen, for the sake of *Our Fellow Subjects of Ireland*, whom it is the highest Cruelty to prepossess with groundless Fears, for the sake of

our

our Country, which stands but too much in need of *Interposition* and *Patronage* in the Great Council of the *British* Nation; allow yourselves to make the Inquiry.——

IN his own Country, you will find, his Fealty to his Sovereign, his Zeal for the Laws, were never yet called in Question. Early, in the *Worst of Times*, he stood firm against the Attempts of *Arbitrary Power*: And was one of the First, who was honoured with the Smiles of his *Royal* Master, when the Happy Accession of the late King *George* assured the Liberties of these Realms.

IN this Kingdom, from the Year 1730, to the Year 1736, he was intrusted with the Administration; and, during his whole Government, a friendly affectionate Governor he was; guiltless, whatever the Voice of Faction may report, of every kind of Project, that might tend to abridge you of your Rights; and cherishing every Plan, which might contribute to your Prosperity. Through his Hands, the *Incorporated Society for Protestant Schools* received the first Marks of the *Royal* Favour. And under his Influence, was the Institution of the *Dublin Society*. Two Establishments, which, beyond any ever yet devised amongst us, have added to the Peace and Culture of this Land——Our *University* also he distinguished in a special Manner, by placing his Son there; a Public Service this, both

both as to the *Example*, and as to the *Confidence*, shewn by it.—Do any of these argue him, our Enemy?—And what has he done since, to cancel all the Debt of Gratitude we owe to him?

When he ceased to be our Governor, he ceased not to be our Friend. He recommended us to HIS MAJESTY, as a People, Loyal, and zealously Attached to his Government: A Recommendation, the happy Effects of which We have experienced in more than one Instance. And whenever our Concerns were in the Consideration of the *British* Parliament; always was he one of the Foremost and Best regarded, who stood up in our Behalf, and supported our Interests.

In the Year 1751, he again became our Governor; and with the same Affectionate Regard for our Prosperity he returned amongst Us. And the same Affectionate Regard, there are the strongest Reasons to believe, he still retains, would we suffer Ourselves to enjoy the Benefits of it. But, whilst mad Prepossession thus rages around, what shall avail all his Endeavours for our Good? Even his *Duteous Demeanor*, towards his *Royal* Master—is construed into a Crime. Nay, the very inserting of the tremendous Word *Consent*, which, 'tis well known, was the Work of HIS MAJESTY'S *Council* in *Great Britain*, is urged against him. There are those, who are
hardy

hardy enough to tell you, that this was a new *Instrument of Tyranny*, contrived by the *Lord Lieutenant*, or perhaps by his *Secretary*, by a *transient Minister's transient Secretary*, according to the elegant energetic Style of one of your Pamphleteers *. And had this *Consent* received the Ratification of our two Houses of Parliament; then, the *Plundering of our Wealth*, the *total Overtthrow of our Liberties*, the *final Destruction of our Trade*, were inevitably to follow. They were every one of them, Parts of the same Plan, which were all to be carried into Execution, in their due Order, soon as the First had taken Effect.

AND, can You then, my Countrymen, be led to believe, that this one single *Word* should have the Power, to bring on so many dire Consequences, and to shed all this baneful Influence over the whole National Happiness?—Or, admitting *this* to be possible——Can You be led to believe, that our *Gracious SOVEREIGN* would ever enjoin, and that a *Gentleman* of such Amiable Manners, as the GOVERNOR We now have, would ever submit to be the Executor of, a *Design*, so oppressive, so barbarous?——Both your *Allegiance* and *Common Sense* are full against the Belief of it. And wonderful as it is, that any should be found, who would adventure to avouch these improbable Tales : Yet more wonderful is it, that there should be so many, weak enough to believe them implicitly.

THUS

* See *Supplement to the Remarks*, &c. p. 17.

THUS traduced, opposed, insulted, how has this *Enemy of our Country*, this *Person*, set over us, to be the *Minister of Vengeance*, behaved himself?—Whilst all has been Violence and Inflammation on the side of those, who have stood against him; Lenity and Calmness have presided in his Councils. Under the severest Provocations from Popular Insolence, he has had the Temper, he has had the Humanity, to consider Us, as an ill-informed misguided People. Even but some few Days since, what a Proof of his Attention to our Welfare did this Kingdom receive—the *Public Credit* supported by his *interposing* Hand?—And, had he not thus seasonably *interposed*, who can say, how far the growing Confusion might have reached?—Is it to be conceived, that a *Man*, such as *this*, one of the best *Benefactors* this Country has had, and *whose* Name, when the Ferment of Parties shall have subsided, must obtain universal Reverence, shou'd, at this Day, by a licentious Multitude be numbered among *those*, from *whom* we have cause to fear our Ruin?

WE may nevertheless easily perceive, that the very Method, in which They, who have risen up against him, have carried on their opposition, by *Revilings* and the *lowest Scurrility*, fully acquits the Administration of this excellent *Nobleman*. It is the strongest Proof, of the *Fairness* and *Equality* of it. For, be assured, had
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our Constitution and Common Welfare been really in danger from *Him*, they, who have thus caught at every Opportunity of distressing *his* Government, wou'd have taken up another *manner* and other *instruments* of *Offence*. Their Cause wou'd then have been the Cause of Liberty and their Country; and Reason and Truth wou'd have been sufficient for its Support. But, instead of employing these *manly* Means, which indeed the Cause they had wou'd not admit of, they have had recourse to the *meanest*. They have sought to *prepossess* and *deceive*. They have dealt in *Calumny* and *foul Abuse*. *Personal Reflections*, *black Misrepresentations*, *Lies*—such as, at another time, must have died away the instant they had Birth, have been their *Weapons*. And *These* directed, not only against our Governor; but also against All Those in Connexion with him, against All Those, who have endeavoured to maintain Public Order and the Honour of Government.—Witness the many infamous Writings, which daily make their Appearance amongst us; and which, with an *industry* well worthy of such very spirited *Performances*, are dispersed throughout this whole Kingdom, for the *Improvement* of our Principles, and the *Advancement* of the National Peace.

PERHAPS you already censure me, for introducing the mention of *Writings*, such as *these*. And I acknowledge, had the *doughty Authors* of *them* meddled only in Politics, I shou'd have
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thought it *barbarous* to notice them. Advocates of this stamp cannot injure any Cause, but that they attempt to vindicate. And all their clumsy Wit, and every uncouth aukward Tale, their strained Invention daily brings forth, never shou'd have moved me, beyond a little innocent Mirth.

BUT, my Countrymen, their Attempt means the *Subversion of our Manners*, as well as the *Dis-honouring of Government*. The kind of Abuse they throw out is of that Nature, as must in every honest Breast, provoke the most serious Indignation. It is injurious, not only to those, at whom it is aimed — to them indeed it is least injurious, because it is not possible they shou'd be wounded by it—the Injury is to Us, to Our Families. It is a reproach to this whole Nation, and of the most pernicious Consequence to it, that the Ignorant and Corruptible, that our Journeymen, our Apprentices, our Children, shou'd be permitted to infect their minds with the filthy poysonous *Ribaldry*.—And that the PRESS, the *Liberty of which* We have all an interest in protecting, shou'd, by this licentious Encouragement of the grossest Immoralities, render its Privileges pestilential and accursed, is an Evil, which, my Countrymen, cannot enough be lamented, and which may have a fatal Tendency to the restraining of that very Liberty, which is thus abused.

NOR, let me tell You, is this the only Essential Privilege, which You are rendering precarious, by Your wanton Petulancy. Even the *Freedom of Parliament* You have daringly invaded ; the very *Corner-stone* of the *Establishment* You are endeavouring to remove.—What else mean the Affected Neglects, the Cruel Insults, which *They* are made to bear, who on the late occasion thought it their *Duty* to vote in *Maintenance* of the *Prerogative* ?—What else mean the Opprobrious Imputations, to which *They* find themselves exposed, of *Venality* and *Servile Adulation* ?

ONE Hundred and Seventeen, on the one Side ; and One Hundred and Twenty Three, on the other——Small, You see, was the Difference——But, small as it is, Truth and Justice, We all know, are *always* with the Greater Number.——This however being confessed, that the Majority were certainly in the right ; does it follow, that the Minority *knew* themselves to be in the wrong ?——And, if They did not, wou'd they not have been Traytors to their Trust, had they not voted, as they did ?——Men — most of them, of extensive Property—and whose Integrity, until this fatal Rage of Parties, was not even suspected.——Is it not more becoming to suppose, that they were convinced of the Truth of what they asserted ; and that their Suffrages were the result of Considerati-

Consideration and Inquiry? Is it not more consistent to say, that Persons, who have in this very Kingdom a Stake as considerable as Most in it, and who therefore must be, *immediately, severely,* affected by any National Calamity, cou'd not, for the *Smiles of a Court*, for the sake of *empty nominal* Honours, be willing to deprive themselves, and their Posterity for ever, of that *Protection of Laws*, We now enjoy, and to give up this whole Land to Rapine, Beggary, and Devastation? It is utterly impossible any Man in his Senses shou'd believe, that they wou'd lend their Assistance to a Scheme, which, they saw, pointed to this melancholy ruinous Prospect.

BUT, not to insist on a Justification, of which, to say the Truth, they stand not in need——with relation to Ourselves, consider well, what must be Our Condition, if we establish this dangerous Precedent.——If the Populace have a right to decide and censure, in this Case; why not, in every Case?——And if so, what must follow?——In Matters of Public Concern, I have heard, Reasons of Expediency often lie deep, and remote from common Observation; and much Accuracy and sober Judgment it requires, effectually to attain the Ends of Government. If therefore *Clamour* is to be substituted to cool Debate, If the Applause of the giddy People shall become the Test of the Wisdom and the Uprightness of our Legislators; and Reproach and Revilings are to pursue them, whenever they dare to deviate from the Injunctions of this lordly

ly Multitude ; are We not loosening the firm Anchoring of the Constitution, and plunging ourselves into the wildest Anarchy ?

Who are they, who have led on all this Commotion and Outrage, this Licentiousness and Invasion of Public Order ; or by WHAT ENGINES they have thus far succeeded ; it wou'd neither be Matter of Utility to You, my Countrymen, nor Matter of Delight to me, to make Inquiry. Poor indeed were the Entertainment, to tread in the miry ways of these Sons of Faction, to trace their subtil Windings, and pry into their gloomy Councils.

DIFFICULT, however, and Ungrateful as it might be, to say, WHO have been the Authors of all this Ill : yet easy and *proper* may it be, to tell You, WHO they cannot have been, And hold it for your Rule, my Countrymen, they cannot have been ANY, High in Station, and Great in Character. They cannot have been ANY, whose Rank, whose Worth shou'd command your Reverence. Designing Men may employ Respectable Names, to advance their wicked Purposes. And because an HOUSE of COMMONS, WISE and LOYAL, have thought it proper, not from any narrow *Party Views*, but from a Generous Zeal for what *they accounted* the *Good of their Country*, to refuse their Concurrence to a Measure proposed by the *Crown* ; therefore is this Seditious Reviling of the Administration *audaciously* set off with the specious Covering of

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their Authority. And They, are You told, have encouraged, and gladly avail themselves of, the Accession and Acclaim of a tumultuous Populace.

THE flimsy Artifice of some mean Incendiary ! —It were Insult, to suppose, that They shou'd ever lend their Influence to these Attempts. Their avowed Loyalty forbids the Suspicion. It is, I say, impossible, that Gentlemen— of their distinguished Figure in the State, Whose Hearts are *overflowing* with Affection to the *Best* of Kings, and Who, in the Places of the greatest Frequency and in their most Joyous Hours, if our *Public Papers* may be credited, are every Day pouring forth their *Vows* for his Conservation and Prosperity—shou'd harbour one Thought the least injurious to the Quiet of his People, and the Ease and Support of his Government. And well They know, without having recourse to what my spiritless Words can tell, that it is neither in Warmth of Expression, nor in High-sounding Declarations, to Denote the FAITHFUL SUBJECT : A far more significant Proof of our Fidelity is there to be had : It is, our *Maintaining* of the *Constitution* in its *full Vigor*—the *Honour* paid to *Legal Authority*—the *Improving* of the *Public Manners*—the *Advancing* of *Sobriety* and *Industrious Labour* among the *People*—that, shall Denote *this*. These are the only *Means*, that can effectually establish the KING's *Throne*, and secure our *Common Happiness*. And every thing, that contributes to impair These, must, naturally, tend to *Disloyalty*, *Confusion*, and *Violence*. IT

IT now therefore matters little to ask, Who first lighted the Fatal Firebrand. The Inquiry wou'd only give Continuance to Wrath and Hatred. But much it concerns Us to observe, Who shall henceforth dare to foment the destructive Flame. And WHOEVER does, mark him for YOUR ENEMY—the ENEMY OF HIS KING—the ENEMY OF HIS COUNTRY.

AND take Notice, my Fellow-Subjects, the Arguments I have here made use of to You will stand in all their Strength; whatever be the Issue of the depending Contest: Whether They, who have opposed the *courtly* Clause, shall still retain the *much respected* Names of PATRIOTS, AND DEFENDERS OF THE LIBERTIES OF THEIR COUNTRY—or Whether, as TIME, that Great Tryer of Human Things and Human Counsels, rolls on, it shall appear, that a *different* Determination wou'd have been more conducive to *Our Prosperity*—Whatever, I say, be the Issue, still—in either Case—it is not possible your present Behaviour shou'd admit of Justification.

INDEED, were a *different* View of Things, when We are become more Cool and Attentive, to offer itself to Us; and shou'd our *Admired* PATRIOTS, however *hard* they may *Struggle* before they lose that so *much respected* Name, yet shou'd they, after all their various Toils, find themselves divested of the *Glorious* Title; in that Case, infinitely more deplorable will be our Situation.

Situation. We shall not only have been guilty of a Conduct extremely *improper* : but also, even a Pretence for this *improper* Conduct will not then be found. And how possible This is, the least Knowledge of our own History may abundantly inform Us. MEN have stood forth, and MEASURES have been supported, which, in *their Day*, have borne away the Praise of *Patriotism* and *Public Spirit* : And nevertheless, how often, after the Revolution of some few Years, have these *very* MEN and these *very* MEASURES sunk under the Charge of *Interested Views*, or *Mistaken Policy* ?

AND, on this Occasion, who can say but the same may happen, when we shall have returned to our Calmer Selves ? *Exceptions* certainly remain to this Applauded Procedure, even after the laboured *Vindication*, We have been favoured with. And *Some* of them even I, an obscure short-sighted Man, cou'd point out to You. If I am mistaken—be it so—I am open to Conviction. But, Whether I am, or not, You shall be the Judges. I am putting *them* together with all the Expedition I am capable of ; and, soon as *they* are in a decent Form, You shall have *them*, with the same Honest Intentions, that You have this. For be assured, I truly am, both from Principle, and from Interest,

Your affectionate Well-wisher

And Loving Countryman, L. B.

From my House at the Sign of the *Harp* and

Crown, Dublin March 19th 1754.

F I N I S.