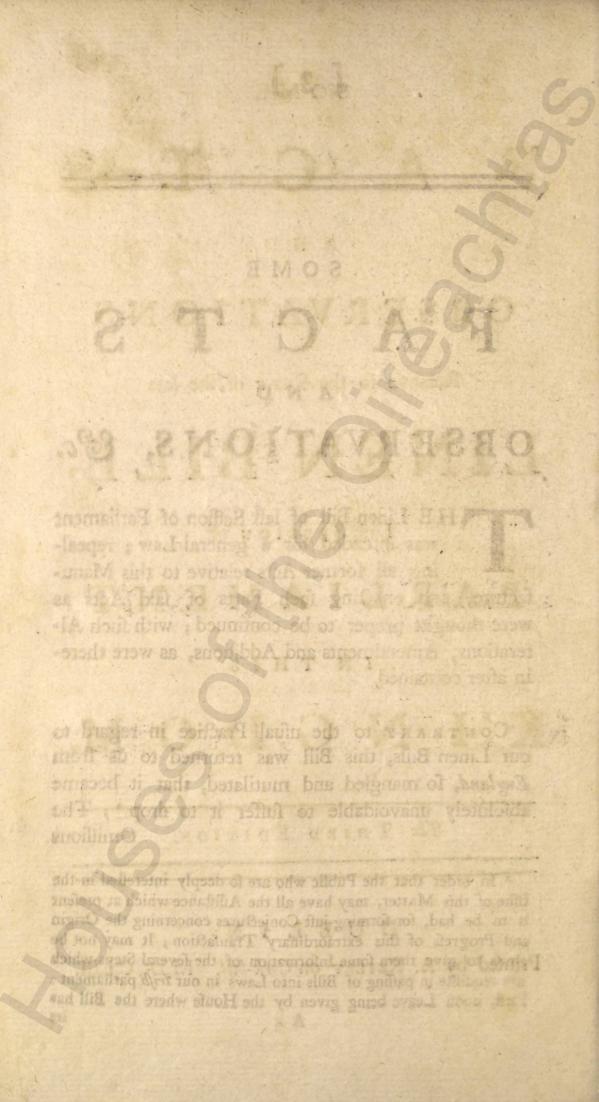
Contents -M! 1. Some Facts & Observations relative to the fate of the late dinen Bill last Session of the Parliament of heland _ Dublin 1753 M. 2. a Free & Candid higinry, addressed to the Representatives in Parliament of heland, in a detter to a Parcon of Distinction in the North from a Gentleman in Jawa - 2? Edition Dublin, 1753. M. 3. Considerations on the late Bill for Payment of the remainder ofthe National Debt, and particularly on the Clause inserted therein relative to this Majerty's Consent . 5th Idition Aublin 1754. appendix, comprising a Copyofthe Bill and of the thoyal Commission of assent page 51. 1. 4. Remarks on the pamphlet intitled Consideration, on the late Bill for paying the National Debt" nov 1.2.3.4. and Supplement - Dublin 1754. 11.5. The Proceedings of the House of Commons of heland in rejecting the altered Money Bill on 17 Dec? 1753 - Vindicated: with occasional Remarks on the two pamphlets intitled "Considerations on the late Bill the and " Observations relative to the late Bill for fraging Af the National Debt the. 3 d Ed. Dublin 1754. See advertisement, back of title.

Jol 26

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M. b. Answer to a pauphlet intitled " this Proces Atta House flormous in rejecting the altered money Bill, Vindicated te. to far at the same relates to the argument and the author of "Considerations on the late Bill Se. 2? Edition - Dublin 175. M. Y. Letter from Dionysius to the Renowned Triumvirate - Aublin, 1754 autrans. the remained of the Heatenical Ball on particularly or the flaces intersed thanses relative to the New party's Concert. 5 " metro Deplicin 1782 appendix, comprised of approxime the Build and and if . Planarshit on the farmphiles incited lawinds als on the late Bill for parting the have and here Mert 9. 2. H. and Supplanet Multin 1751 165. The Oracadrings fitter Housing Commences halened in hajaction the altered freezers 17 hear 1783 - Handerald : an A general Hermanizer in the woo from fill and " Considerations on the late Bill & " Ollower after of rate to the laster & for the A the Mattimal Rolater 3th and the so advertigencening bush of the

SOME 20 0 . AND OBSERVATIONS Relative to the FATE of the late LINEN BILL, Laft SESSION of PARLIAMENT INTHIS KINGDOM. The THIRD EDITION. DUBLIN: Printed by A. REILLY on Cork-bill. M, DCC, LIII.



SOME T

[3]

AND

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

HE Linen Bill of laft Seffion of Parliament was intended for a general Law; repealing all former Acts relative to this Manufacture, and enacting fuch Parts of faid Acts as were thought proper to be continued; with fuch Alterations, Amendments and Additions, as were therein after contained.

CONTRARY to the usual Practice in regard to our Linen Bills, this Bill was returned to us from *England*, fo mangled and mutilated, that it became abfolutely unavoidable to fuffer it to drop *; The Omiffions

* In order that the Public who are fo deeply interested in the Issue of this Matter, may have all the Affistance which at present is to be had, for forming just Conjectures concerning the Origin and Progress of this extraordinary Transaction; It may not be amiss to give them some Information of the several Steps which are requisite in passing of Bills into Laws in our Irish parliament: First, upon Leave being given by the House where the Bill has are requised by the House where the Bill has Omiffions are by far the moft material, though fome of the Alterations are likewife important; there is in one Place upwards of an intire Skin, about one twelfth Part

[4]

its Origin, whether of Lords or Commons, it is brought in under the Title of Heads of a Bill; and after being passed by the House it is directed to be carried to the Lord Lieutenant, by whofe Order it is next laid before our Privy Council, where it may be wholly suppressed; but when it is agreed to, either without any Variation or with fuch Alterations and Amendments as they shall judge proper, it is then put into the Form of an Act, and transmitted to England, accompanied with a Letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Secretary of State, fetting forth the Purport, and explaining the Reafons and Intentions of the Bill: the Bill is next laid before a Committee of the English Council, and by them referred to the King's Attorney and Solicitor General; who are to confider thereof, and to report how far it is, or with what Alterations, Ec. it may be made, proper for being paffed into a Law. Upon their Report the Bill is taken under the Confideration of the Council, and is either dropt, or ordered to be remitted under the Great Seal, without any, or with fuch Variations as they fhall fee fit.

Along with the Bill thus fent back into Ireland under the Great Seal, which is the Lord Lieutenant's Authority to pafs it into a Law, it is faid to be a conftant Practice to transmit from the Council Office in England to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary here, a Rescript minutely pointing out, even to an ' at or an and,' whatever Alterations, Obliterations or Additions which have been made on the other Side: From the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary's Office the Bill is returned to the Houfe in which it took its Rife; and if, upon comparing it with the Heads of the Bill as they were fent from thence, there are found any Variations, then these Variations are taken under Confideration, and if they appear of fuch a Nature as to defeat the original Purpofes of the Bill, or in any other Refpect to render it improper to be paffed into a Law, the House lets the Bill drop: When this is not the Cafe, the Bill is fent to the other Houfe of Parliament, with a Meffage defiring their Concurrence; and this Houfe is only at Liberty either to pass the Whole or reject the Whole, the Bill not admitting any Variation; (indeed it would be endlefs if it fhould) after having paffed the Council of England, and got the Great Seal annexed : this, as it is faid, is the ordinary Courfe.

bo Boi

Part of the Whole Bill, viz. from Line 12th in Skin 9th to Line 13th in Skin 10th altogether left out.

(5)

is of an until o Skills o THE Claufes, thus omitted, begin with reciting, . That by an English Act of Parliament of the 3d ' and 4th of Q. Ann, intitled an Act to permit the · Exportation of Irifb Linen Cloth to the Plantations · &c :, it was made lawful to export from Ireland di-" rectly to the British Plantations all Sorts of white and brown Linen Cloth of the Manufacture of · Ireland under the Reftrictions and Conditions in faid · Act mentioned, for the Term of eleven Years, which · Act was continued fo far as related to fuch Permif-. fion, by an Act in the first of K. George the First for one Year, and to the End of the next Seffion; and · that by another Act made in Great-Britain in the 3d · of K. George the First, intitled an Act for continuing · the Liberty of exporting Irilb Linen Cloth Duty · free to the British Plantations in America, the faid " recited Act of the 3d and 4th of Q. Ann, fo far · forth as the fame relates to the Exportation of Irifb. · Linen, should be continued in Full Force, So LONG as the Merchants and other Perfons of Great-Britain ' should be permitted to import into Ireland, free · from all Duties, fuch white and brown Linens as · should be made in Great-Britain. rinefe Variation

THE Bill goes on to recite, 'That by an Act paffed in this Kingdom in the 14th and 15th Years of K. Charles the 2d for fetling the Excife, and by another Act paffed the fame Seffion fetling the Subfidy of Poundage, and granting Tonage, all Britifb Linens imported into this Kingdom were fub-'jected

fuce a Nature as to d

jected to certain Duties referred to, or mentioned
in the faid Acts.' Then the Bill enacts ' That it
fhall and may be lawful for all Merchants and
other Perfons of Great-Britain to import into this
Kingdom all Sorts of white and of brown Britifb
Linens, that are or fhall be made and manufactured
in Great-Britain, free from all Duties whatfoever, So
LONG as it fhall be lawful to export from this Kingdom directly to the Britifb Plantations all Sorts of
white and brown Linens of the Manufacture of
this Kingdom, on fuch Terms, Conditions and Limitations as in the faid recited Act of the 3d and 4th
of Q. Ann are limited and appointed, and No

THE Bill goes on next to enact, " That all white, · painted and stained Callicoes, and all painted and · ftained Muflins, except fuch as are painted and fained in Great-Britain, shall at any time until the · 25th of December 1763, and to the End of the next enfuing Seffion, answer and pay the Duty of one · Shilling and Six-pence per Yard, and that all Sorts of Linen and Lawns which shall during this time · be imported into this Kingdom, except they be of the Growth and Manufacture of Great-Britain, or · be painted or flained in Great-Britain, shall answer and pay the Duty of Six-pence per Yard over and above all other Duties payable for the fame in Virotue of the two Acts in the Reign of Charles the 2d · above recited ; and that the above Duties, imposed · by this prefent Act, shall be applied to the Use of the · Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of this Kingdom, and to no other Use whatsoever.' his pane IT

a minely taken away.

IT further enacts, ' That no Drawback or Debenture shall be allowed for exporting any Callicoe, . Muflin, Holland, Lawn, foreign Sail Cloth, or · Linen whatfoever, excepting fuch as are of the Mae nufacture, or painted or stained in Great-Britain, e any former Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary " notwithstanding. And that all new Sails of foreign · Sail Cloth found on board any Ship or Boat, except · for the Use of faid Ship or Boat, shall be lyable to the fame Duty as if in PIECES, and if attempted to be · landed or put on board another Ship or Boat, without paying the Duty, shall be forfeited, & ... *

THOSE are the Claufes left out.

erred to, or mentioned

THE following are fome of the most material Alr flained Muflins. terations. ained in Great-Britan Inail

THE BIL

Тне Clause granting a Præmium of five Shillings a Hogshead on the Importation of Hemp-seed, or Flax-feed, as it went from hence, was in these Words, · That whoever shall import or cause to be imported · into this Kingdom good found Hemp-feed or Flaxe seed from any Port in Russia, Sweden, Denmark. * Poland, Prussia, Germany, or any Port in the Baltic-· Sea, or within the Sound, or from Hamburgh, or « Altena, or any of the English Plantations in America, within the Space of eleven Years from the 25th of redmessed et and that the above Dutter, imposed

* Notwithstanding these high Duties, which have the Appearance of Prohibitions, a Revenue is raifed therefrom to the Linen Board of near Six thousand Pounds a Year. Judge then what the Confequence must be to this Country when those Duties shall be intirely taken away.

December next, and to the End of the then next enfuing Seffion of Parliament shall receive, &c.' As it returned from England, the Clause runs thus, pretty much in the Words of our present Law, 'That whoever shall import or cause to be imported into this
Kingdorn good found Hemp-feed or Flax-feed of
the Growth of Russia, Germany, the Netberlands,
the East Country, or any of the English Plantations in America, within the Space of two Years shall
receive, &c. n. b.

THE Claufe allowing a Præmium of a Shilling the Bushel on Flax-feed of the Growth of this Kingdom South of Dundalk, when landed five or more Leagues North of Dundalk in this Kingdom, as it went from hence, was for seventeen Years, the Policy of which was obvious, to induce the Farmer to go into this Course of Husbandry, by securing him Encouragement for fo confiderable a length of Time, yet as the Bill came back, it was only for two. The Præmium likewife of a Shilling the Bushel on exporting of Flaxfeed of the Growth of this Kingdom from the Port of Dundalk or South of Dundalk to any Part beyond the Sea, when the Price of Flax-feed in this Kingdom shall be at five Shillings a Bushel or under, as the Bill went from hence feems to be left without any Limitation in Point of Time, as it comes back it is · for

n. b. The Manner and Words of our former Act which are by this alteration reftored, were varied in the late Bill on purpofe to remove all Ambiguity in regard to the Places from whence Flaxfeed intitled to the Præmium might be imported, and likewife to exclude the *Netherlands*, as a great deal of Flax-feed has of late Years been fent in from *Holland*: by changing eleven Years into two, we were likewife to be laid under a Neceffity of fending over a Linen Bill every Selfion of Parliament. for two years from the 25th of March, 1752, and
from the Expiration thereof to the End of the then
next enfuing Sellion of Parliament, AND NO
LONGER.'

I T will be but too obvious, on the flighteft Attention, that these Omissions and Alterations, all of them of an adverse Aspect, tended on the whole, not merely to mar the Growth, but, in truth, to sap the Foundations of our Linen Manufacture.

HAD the Bill, as it came back from *England*, paffed into a Law, this Kingdom muft in confequence of the Omiflion of the first Claufe abovementioned, have found it felf deprived, in Virtue of its own Act and Deed, of the highly important Priviledge of fending our Linens to *America*; The Laws made in the Reign of *Charles* the 2d, imposing a Duty on *British* Linens imported into this Country, muft in this Cafe come again into force, and the Officers of the Revenue become confequents by obliged to put them in Execution, and the moment this happened, *Ireland* muft have found it felf under all the Infamy of a *Felo de fe*, in respect to this vital Source of its Industry and Support.

HAPPILY the certain, and, as Matters were circumftanced, the only practicable Means of avoiding this Evil, remained in our own Hands: Our Houfe of Commons followed, where hard Neceffity pointed out the Way; and in order to avoid a much greater Mifchief than the Lofs of the Bill, they let the Bill drop: It is to be hoped, by the way, that we fhal be taught by this Inftance to keep our felves out of B Danger

war a Lineo, thill every Soffice of Barliament

Danger of falling into any fuch Snare for the future, · by difcontinuing a Practice lately taken up, which, however well it was intended, is capable of being perverted into an infidious Device of involving this Country in inextricable Difficulties. Privity and deter

Bur, dropping the Bill, is far from proving a Deliverance from the still greater Mischiefs with which this Country is threatned by the Omiffion of the Claufes which immediately followed; thefe Evils are just now impending, as the Laws imposing the Duties of eighteen pence a Yard on Callicoes and all foreign Muflins, and of fix pence a Yard on all foreign Linens; and likewife for allowing a Præmium on raifing Flax-feed in the South, &c. are all to expire at the End of next Seffion. action Senfe and common the service with

in To inseri

UNLESS therefore a more happy Genius shall for the future prefide, than what would feem to have had the Direction when fuch Havock was committed on our favourite Bill, we are to lay our Account, by the beginning of next Summer, to fee this Country over-laid with Indian Callicoes and Chinces, foreign Muflins and Lawns, fpotted and plain, and all kinds of foreign Linens; to the irreparable Injury of our own Manufacture, and likewife to the effectual Exclusion of the Manchester Cottons, and of all Kinds of Linens and Lawns of the Manufacture of Brithe fame common Senfe and common Honel nintvariably configre, to render it equally ablurd and

WHAT, and whole Policy it was which occafioned thefe aftonishing and unaccountable Changes, it most nearly concerns this Country to fearch out to the Bottom: 57 112 74 8 2

Bottom; in the mean time, a Reflection administring no small Consolation, spontaneously arises from the very Nature of those Changes, ' That it is hardly conceiveable, they could have been made, with the Privity and determinate Approbation of those who are principally intrusted with the Administration of the general and commanding Interefts of Britain; at least with the Privity of fuch as have these extensive Interefts principally at Heart.'

IT has long been efteemed a Circumstance of fingular Felicity in the Relation wherein this Country ftands to Britain, 'That in regard to every Inftance, on the one Hand, whereby the Welfare of Ireland can be promoted, confiftently with the Welfare and Profperity of Britain, it evidently becomes, in the Judgment of every Man of common Senfe and common Honefty, an Obligation of Intereft, as well as a Conduct in other Respects highly fuitable to all the more liberal Principles of the British Policy, for Britain, in all fuch Inftances, not merely to permit this Country to avail it felf of its utmost Skill and Industry, which its own National Wifdom instructed from the intimate Relation it flands in to the feveral Parts, must naturally be best qualified to direct, but likewife to extend to it all that Protection, Encouragement and Affiftance which the Nature of the Cafes may respectively Require : And, on the other Hand, the fame common Senfe and common Honefty invariably confpire, to render it equally abfurd and unjust, for Ireland to afpire to any Advantages, in, their Nature or Tendency likely to prove injurious to Britain; for the fame plain and obvious Reafons. which

which make it wicked in a few Individuals to feek their own private Intereft at the hazard of the public Safety, or the Expence of the public Good; and which make it ridiculous to expect, that the Public, having their Eyes open, and Power in their Hands, will fuffer them to Succeed.

SUCH then being the righteous and animating Principle of this happy Relation, diffufing Confidence Vigour and Harmony throughout the whole; and the respective Conduct of the two Countries having fo uniformly corresponded with it; How natural was it for the Gentlemen of this Kingdom, accuftomed to live without Sufpicion, eafily and implicitely to give Credit to the following Story, inftantly given out on the Return of this Bill, especially confidering the Authority from whence it was fuppofed to come? · That all those Omiffions happened merely by Acci-. dent, and were owing to the Heedleffnefs of a Clerk engroffing the Bill, who fuffered a Parcel of the · Sheets from which he was transcribing to flip under · the Table, and not attending to the Senfe or Con-· nexion, continued to write on."

I'N Confequence however of this honeft Credulity, the Attention of the Publick was most unluckily laid afleep, at a Seafon when every honeft Man, meaning well to his Country, and not under the Power of little factious Politics, had he been aware of the real Tranfaction, must peculiarly have withed it to have been kept broad awake.

TI

It may amaze you, my Country-men, but it muft no longer be concealed, even though fome of you may be led to judge with Severity of the Inventors of this Report, and likewife of fuch of the Propagators as were let into the Secret, and thereby became confcious how the Fact flood—the Story is altogether, and in every Article and Circumftance an 'IDLE TALE,' for, in the prefent Generation, fuch is the Purity of Intention of all Men in Power, or Retainers to Power, that we muft not fulpect it an 'INSIDIOUS DEVICE,' fitted to lead this Country to the brink of Ruin': All the Omiffions

· Some odd fatality, as it would feem, must have attended this Bill; the two Claufes mention'd above, confeffedly the Articles of greateft fignificancy relative to the general Intereft of this Manufacture, happen to be placed in immediate Succession? In Cafe therefore, the Perfon or Perfons concerned in mutilating this Bill, had any unfriendly Intentions towards this Country which yet they might with to conceal, how eagerly must this Circumstance have been laid hold of, by them? as, by one fingle Chafm they would thus conclude themfelves fecure of anfwering their Purpofe, and yet, in Virtue of fuch colouring as HAS been made use of, have the Chance of escaping the Sufpicion of its being done by Defign. From the feveral Alterations specified above, it feems in all Probability to have been taken for granted, that the temporary Laws were all to have determined with the End of laft Seffion ; and if this had been the Cafe, the Stroke was mafterly, and must have done Execution, let the Conduct of our Parliament on the Return of our Bill, have been what it would; if the Bill fhould be paft, the Blow must have taken Place in all its Extent; and were the Bill to have been let drop, ftill, in their fond Imaginations, the Injury muft prove fatal, as all the Duties on Callicoes and foreign Linens, must of Necessity, have been let drop along with it.

O Ireland, what a Snare (on this Supposition) halt thou escaped, it is to be hoped, for ever !

[14]

Omiffions as well as all the above Alterations, now evidently appear to have been caufed by Defign; and with fuch Defign, as, if not inftantly and zealoufly oppofed, and the mifchevious Tendency thereof, as well in Regard to the Interefts of *Britain*, as of this Country, feafonably laid open to thofe, on whofe Protection we can with Confidence rely, *Ireland* is at the Eve of being robbed of its Paladium, without the lofs of which, it may readily be feen to be impoffible, ever to fubdue the free-born Spirit of this Country, by reducing its Inhabitants to that wretched State of Poverty and Abjectnefs, requifite to fuit the Purpofes of Domination of a few ambitious Men.

AMONG the various Conjectures occasioned by this extraordinary Incident, it has been imagined that fome Measure of this Sort might have appeared to become requisite, from an apprehended Oppolition of Interest between North Britain and Ireland, in regard to this Manufacture : Happy will it be for this Country, if this shall turn out to have been in reality the Cause; for, by making it manifest that all Apprehensions of this Sort are utterly groundless, the adverse Spirit occasioned by these Apprehensions, must in Consequence become placid, and every thing be got rectified without any Difficulty.

But if fuch was in Truth the Source of this Policy, why, in the Name of Common Senfe, was it fo induftrioufly concealed? Concealed at a time, when it was fo highly reafonable and requifite, that all fuch Jealoufies should be instantly removed, and, when, by an impartial and patient Inquiry into the Nature Nature and Circumftances of this common Branch of our Trade, it is capable of fo eafy a Demonstration, to every attentive and candid spirited Mind, ' that, instead of any real Opposition betwixt Scotland and this Country, it is most evidently for the respective Interest of both, to contribute their mutual Affistance in promoting in each, the Culture of this Manufacture, to the utmost Extent which the Condition and Exigencies, and a fuitable Attention to the other beneficial Articles of Industry and Commerce, in the respective Countries, will permit.

A τ prefent it may fuffice to make this fingle Remark, 'That it must furely be too early to conceive any Jealousy of a thwarting of Interests between any Part of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, till by uniting their Efforts, the *British* Market shall come to be so plentifully supplied at Home, as not to shand in need of the Importation of any of those Articles of this Manufacture in which our common Industry is at present imployed, from any of the Countries abroad.'

But, let the Source of the Policy on the other Side of the Water have been what it will, it ftill remains extremely difficult to conceive, and yet may be of the laft Importance to inquire, How it fhould come to pass, that the Danger into which this Kingdom is evidently brought, in regard to this effential Article of its Industry and Support, was, with fo much Address, attempted to be concealed, at a Time, when there was fo happy an Opportunity for the public Wisdom of this Country interposing its Aid? In Confequence of which Interposition, every uneafy

(16)

uneafy Apprehenfion in regard to this Matter, mult long ere now have been effectually removed; not a Perfon of Difcernment and Candor either in the Administration or Legiflature of Britain, who would not have feen it made out to their intire Satisfaction, ⁶ That every Measure, pernicious to the Linen Ma-⁶ nufacture in *Ireland*, mult likewife prove hurtful to the ⁶ Trade and Interests of *Britain*; consequently mult ⁶ prove highly injurious to the general Welfare, and ⁶ peculiarly repugnant to the liberal and provident Po-⁶ licy of our Parent Country, remarkable for extend-⁶ ing its beneficent Influence for ftrengthening and ⁶ invigorating every Part, fo far as is found confistent ⁶ with the Good of the Whole :

How different from this is the prefent Condition of the Inhabitants of this Country? Difcerning but too clearly, that the most precious Article of our national Support is at this Day at Stake ; utterly ignorant, at the fame time, from what Caufes we are thus brought into Danger, and thereby left to act merely at Random, or, at best, under the Direction of precarious and fluctuating Conjecture, in looking out for a Remedy; fadly fenfible withal, that unlefs fome effectual Remedy shall be happily provided, before the End of next Sellion of Parliament, ' this Country, inftead of beholding our Linen Manufacture in a State of Health and Prosperity, fuitable to its prefent condition, and to the laudable Spirit of Induftry every Day increasing amongst us, must be condemned to fee, and utterly unable to prevent, the various Symptoms of a fatal Confumption gradually disclosing themselves, which after a few Years languilhing,

guilhing, must of Necessity issue in its total Diffolution.

THAT this Reprefentation is without Extravagance or Exaggeration, every one will eafily be convinced, only by reflecting on the unavoidable Confequences which must instantly ensue on that fingle Instance of Callicoes, &c. and foreign Linens becoming exempted from the Duties to which they have, to the ineftimable Emolument of this Manufacture, for a long Course of Years been fo wifely fubjected; and every one will fee, that, as our prefent Law stands, these Duties must of Course come to an End with the End- of the next Seffion : Such likewife is the Nature of the other Omiffions, and the feveral Alterations, as plainly to betray, but too apparent Symptoms of an unfriendly Intention towards this Manufacture ; and how far this Malevolence may get leave to exert itfelf, if not feafonably exposed, who is there in this Country, and at this Day, qualified to pronounce?

WHATEVER Caution therefore, or Delicacy may be by fome Folks judged neceffary upon fuch an Occafion, in putting their Thoughts into Language, the Nature of the Thing will hardly admit, but that every Man muft inwardly refolve this late extraordinary Proceeding into one, or other, of the two following Pofitions; either, 'That this Country has 'been thus brought into Danger, by a Trick; in 'order, that Deliverance may be afterwards conferred 'on us as a Favour;' or elfe, 'That there is in Fact 'a real and deliberate Defign, working fome where

or

or other, with fuch Efficacy, against us, that if
not speedily detected, and the malignant Tendency
seasonably exposed, must necessarily iffue in the
irreparable Injury of our Linen Manufacture.'

THE former of these Suppositions carries fomething in it so extremely unnatural, that from an ingenuous Mind, previously void of Suspicion, it would be incapable of meeting with one Moment's Reception; But, to the Jealous, Trifles light as Air, turn Confirmations strong, as Proofs from Holy Writ: Whether the Circumstance of fuffering a Falshood, to impose fo critically on the Minds of the Public, comes within this Description, will best be left to every Man's own Breast to determine.

STILL it must be acknowledged by every liberal Mind, that the latter is much the more natural Conjecture ; and as this would appear to be the only Alternative, let it be taken for granted, that this was in reality the Nature of the Fact, and that it shall turn out, in very Deed, to have been ' a fetled Purpole, in some Person or Persons, through whose Hands our Irifb Bills neceffarily pafs on the other Side of the Water, not merely to ftop the Growth, but to cut the very Sinews of our Linen Manufacture ; To what Caufe, Perfon, or Policy, can it be afcribed, upon this Supposition, that the Truth of this Transaction was industriously concealed from the Observation of the Public, whole effential Interefts were thus evidently ftruck at, with fuch very ftrong Symptoms of Malice Propense? concealed at greater Expence

pence than a Man of Honour would allow himfelf to be at, for the faving his Life?

IF it was underftood, or even fuspected, ' That stopping the Progress of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland was come to be an Article of Policy, with the Administration in Britain ;' a Supposition made only in Order to take in every poffible Caufe ; but if it was apprehended that the Policy of this Measure had its Origin to deep, could there be any thing, if not more unfriendly in Intention, at leaft, more injurious in its Tendency and Effects, than to hide this Matter from a Country whofe all was at Stake? To hide it, at a Time when there was fo feafonable an Opportunity for the public Wifdom of this Country interposing its united Council and Influence, for warding off a Blow, which if not warded off, must prove fatal to us; and at the fame Time fo injurous to Britain, that it must quickly become obvious to every Man of Senfe, that no fuch Blow could ever have been meditated, but under the Power of fome fudden Prejudice, occafioned by artful Mifreprefentations and ... odious Colourings, which it was, therefore, peculiarly the Business of the National Council of thisKingdom to wipe off and fet Right.

SUPPOSING, then, that in Confequence of fome miftaken Apprehension, it was one way or other conceived to be an Article of neceffary Policy, to put a ftop to the Progress of increasing Industry, and the flowing of the living Fountain of falutary Wealth in this Country; was it not in its Nature a most favourable Circumstance, tho', in the Event, it has C_2 proved proved not merely infignificant, but hurtful; that the public Council of the Nation, the only proper Perfons to fearch out the latent Caufes of this impending Danger, and to devife an adequate Remedy, if in Fact, an adequate Remedy might ftill be devifed, was then fitting?

REPRESENTATIONS from Individuals, when the Danger came to be difcerned, might many of them be petulant, the hafty Expressions of tumultuary Minds, confcious of no ill Defert, and yet now fuddenly feeing themfelves and their Country on the Brink of the Precipice; and tho' fome of these Representations, in Point of Decency, and fuitable Respect, as well as of found Argument and liberal Policy, might prove altogether unexceptionable; yet all of them, from their Nature, must be necessfarily void of that Authority and Weight in Point of Testimony, not merely in regard to Facts, but to the national Spirit and Principles of this Country, which on the present Occasion, and in our present Circumstances, are so peculiarly requisite.

How different must the Case have been in a parliamentary Representation? There, after a patient and dispassion in the present supposition, it came to be different that this unlooked for Change, in regard to our Linen Manufacture, was in reality owing to some unfavourable and mistaken Apprehensions, ' either in respect to the poli-' tical Principles and Temper of this Country in ' general; or of its Industry in general; or else ' in regard to the Tendency and Effects of its In-' dustry ⁴ duftry in this particular Branch,' with what Affurance of carrying home to the fulleft Conviction to the Breaft of every honeft Perfon in *Britain*, would they have entered into a folemn Difquifition concerning each of thefe Points? How impregnably would they have laid their Foundation, by afferting, in Terms of the ftrongeft Significancy, Truths, to which the Heart of every fober Proteftant in *Ireland*, and of all who wifh well to the general Interefts of Liberty muft readily bear witnefs?

' That a Sense of the ineftimable Happiness refulting from the prefent Relation wherein Ireland stands to Britain is truly the national Sense; lively and prevalent, and fo universal, that feveral of the popish Inhabitants, tho', in other Respects, still under the Power of that unfociable and inflaving Superfition, may justly be reckon'd to live under its Influence :' ' That in confequence of this truly honourable Relation, it is a Duty well understood, and, upon all neceffary Occafions, ready to be practifed by all his Majefty's Subjects in Ireland, who with well to the Interests of a legal Government, and to the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family, to venture, and to facrifice their Fortunes and Lives in Defence of the Liberties and Profperity of Britain; well knowing that they can have no Security for their own Birth-right, which to them is more precious than Fortune or Life, but what must depend on the Security of the Birth-right of their elder Brethren :'

" THAT

⁶ THAT they are not only aware of the Force of the Inference naturally refulting from this Obligation, but are, in all fignificant Inftances, confcious of a Difpolition to fubmit to the Power of it; confcious of being ready, when at any Time there fhall unhappily fall out any real and important Oppolition of Intereft betwixt *Great-Britain* and this Country, voluntarily to acquiefce in the Sacrifice of their own, which must be honeftly acknowledged, the inferior Intereft, to that of their Mother-country; whole Profperity they are fenfible ought at all Times to have the Preference, as being ftill more intimately connected with, and from its Nature more effential to the Good of the Whole.'

[22]

THESE then being the well known, permanent Principles of all the fober, thinking, and well-affected Inhabitants of this Kingdom, with what irrefiftable Evidence would our Parliament have been able to vindicate the Caufe of their Country; and to demonftrate that all Prejudices endeavoured to be infinuated against us on Account of national Temper or Principles, are utterly groundlefs, and highly injurious to a brave, and honeft, and free People ; a People as fen ible, as common Senfe can make them, that they can no longer be free, in any valuable Signification of that animating Sound, than while, in Virtue of their prefent Connection, they continue to have the Interest, the Faith, and which is still more endearing, the parental and fraternal Affection of Britain and its Sons, for their precious Pledge and Security in the quiet Enjoyment of all the Bleffings of a legal Government, and

and of all the Advantages likewife of an induftrious People, fo far as fhall be judged confiftent with the Welfare of Britain, and fo long as they fhall continue to deferve this Affection, by being at all Times ready to enter into the Defence, and to confult the permanent Safety and Prosperity of their Mother Country, at any Expence of Hazard in respect to themselves.

HERE we should have had no frantic Sallies of Enthusiasm, nor any thing akin to the licentious and absurd Declamations of a few Individuals, actuated by private and ftrangely misplaced Ambition, but apparently Strangers to the fundamental Principles, and extensive Relations of the political Connexions of Mankind; Far from confidering Ireland as a new Atlantis, fituated in the midst of the Sea, or rather, in midft of the Clouds, utterly unrelated to, and abfolutely independant, in point of Subfiftence and Protection, on any other Country upon Earth, we should have heard the great Council of the Nation, with a composed Elevation of Sentiment, fuitable to the happy Circumstances in which we actually exist, explaining to the World, ' That inftead of claiming or wishing to be confidered as an intire Whole, or Community, by itfelf, this Country has long accounted it a Circumstance of inestimable Value, and the only rational Security for our Liberty and Happinefs," · That Ireland is not a WHOLE but a PART; an Honourable and Integral Member of the nobleft Political Community now fubfifting upon Earth; whereof Great Britain is most readily acknowledged to be still fo much the Greater and more Honourable Part, that

that whatever is found effential to the Safety and Interefts of this our Parent Country, ought, in all Juffice, to be confidered by all her Children as Effential to the Welfare and Interefts of the Whole.'

[24]

IN these most falutary Bands of Union, has God and Nature joined Britain and Ireland together, and infamous be the Men who shall ever attempt to put them asunder!

OUR Parliament having thus effectually wiped off the only Colour which could poffibly render this Country an Object of Difgust or Suspicion, in the Eye of any fair minded Briton, how eafy, under the fecond Article, would have been their Task, in demonstrating, ' That the increasing Industry of this Country in general, inftead of becoming at any Time an Occafion of Jealoufy, ought at all Times to be confider'd as a permanent Source of Wealth and Power to our Mother Country; at all Times, while the fame liberal and manly Spirit continues to be cherished in us, which fo glorioufly diftinguishes our elder Brethren from all the other Nations upon Earth; a Spirit only to be excited by, and always inseparable from the animating fense of living under a Government of Laws, and not left at the Mercy of any Man's, or Combination of Men's, phantaftical Ambition or arbitrary Will :

WHILE fuch a Spirit and Temper continue to prevail in this Country, nothing can be more evident than ' That in Confequence of the Connexion in Point of Trade and national Intercourfe wherein we ftand-

to Britain, and in Confequence of that conftant Refort to the SEAT OF EMPIRE, in Pursuit of Pleasure, or Bufinefs, or the Purpofes of Ambition, which must go on to increase as our Industry and Plenty increase, most of the Wealth of Ireland must of Course come annually to be emptied into the Lap of Britain ; and that in regard to the Refidue which shall continue at Home, the more it increases, and the more a National Spirit of Industry is encouraged and nursed up, the happier it must be for our Parent Country; in all Exigencies thus affured of a Refource in a Race of her Offspring, who, taught by Nature, Conftitution, and Experience, as well as by the glorious. Example of our Elder Brethren, worthily poffeffing a still nobler Inheritance, to fet a Value on the free Exercife of Religion, and the fecure. Enjoyment of the other effential Privileges and Rights of a legal Government, preferably to Life and all its other Poffeffions; and, well knowing, ' That these fingular Bleffings are no longer to be hoped for, than while our Mother Country continues powerful and free, must at all Times, and at all Hazards, be zealoufly ready to vindicate the Liberties and maintain the Dignity of Britain, on the fame Principles, and at the fame Expence, we would be ready to vindicate and to maintain our own.

INDEED a dreadful Reverse of all this would quickly come to take Place, should it ever come to pafs, which Heaven forbid ! that this Spirit and Temper shall happen to be subdued, or by frequent Depressions, their Vigour and elastic Spring should come to be lost; if ever it should happen, for Inftance, that the principal Direction as well as Controul troul in all the interesting internal Concernments of this Country, shall by one Means or other come to be ingroffed by a few, whofe principal perfonal Interefts may not only, in their Nature be feparable from, but in Fact, have in fimular Instances been known actually to operate in direct Opposition to the commanding Interefts of Britain and Ireland, ' to the Interefts of Religion, Liberty, and our happy Conftitution; or, if ever it should happen, ' That the National Guardians of our Rights, Properties, and Priviledges, by whole Authority all Taxes are impofed, for the Protection of the Public, and the feveral other collateral Exigences of Government, shall bafely relinquish their Self-evident Right, of inquiring how far fuch Taxes, after being raifed, have been applied to the Purpofes for which they were granted; or in Cafes, where, from the Increase of Industry, or which is much more likely to be the Caule, from an Increase of Luxury, large Redundancies shall happen to remain in the public Treasury after all the Exigencies of Government have been effectually supplied; if ever it should happen in Cases of this, or any fimular Nature, ' that these national Guardians, instead of confidering fuch Redundancies as fo much Money remaining in the Treasury, to the Credit of the Public, from whofe Pockets it was raifed, and themfelves as flanding in the Place of those Trustees, by whose Authority the Taxes yielding this Redundancy were originally imposed, shall treacherously, or tamely, fuffer fuch public Money to be disposed of, by Treasury Officers, without any Account ; Then, and not till Then, can the Increase of Industry and Wealth in this Country become with any Sort of Juffice, an Object

[26]

[27]

Ject of Jealoufy to the Nation of Britain; Then, indeed, as every honeft Inhabitant of this Kingdorn must find himfelf forced to acknowledge, Ireland must inftantly cease to be, what it is at present, an integral and falutary Member of the free Empire of Britain, and instead thereof, must soon come to stand in the fame destructive Relation to England, which the Afiatic Provinces stood anciently in to Rome.

IT was not merely the Riches, even of those remote Provinces, but the fubdued and daftardly Spirit of the Afatic Inhabitants, not daring to claim a Property in those Riches, that hastened the Ruin of the Roman Commonwealth; it was the giving up of thefe, and the other Provinces, to the Plunder and Domination of a few Individuals, which enabled those infolent and ambitious Spirits, possessing great Power, and void of all Ties and Obligations of Intereft to exert this Power for the Happiness of the People subjected to their Government, first, to corrupt, and finally to fubdue the Virtue and Liberty of their native Country ;---- fhould therefore in any future Period, fo abject a Spirit become the odious Characteriftic of the Inhabitants of this Island, no right spirited Man, unfortunately happening to have his Refidence among them, but who must inwardly approve, and even applaud, every Instance of Policy, and Act of Power, which shall be found neceffary for stopping the Growth of that Wealth, which, if not fpeedily fuppreffed, is fo obvioufly lyable to be abused for the infamous Purpose, of corrupting the Morals, and oppreffing the Liberties of the Inhabitants of Britain.

SELF EVIDENT, therefore it is, that the Spirit of this Country must first be broken down, and the Yoke of perfonal Domination actually clapt round the Neck of its wretched Inhabitants, before it can cease to be the Wildom and the Interest of Britain, to cherish in general, the growing industry of Ireland; with what Advantage then must our Parliament, after a Representation on this Head, which could not fail of manifesting a sober Firmness of Mind, in vindicating the effential Rights of this Kingdom, at the fame time that it teftified the most respectful and affectionate Duty to our Mother Country, have proceeded to the laft Article remaining to be difcuffed ; namely, to inquire whether in the prefent Circumftances of Great-Britain and Ireland, any thwarting of Interests be in Fact conceivable, from the increasing Industry of this Country, in the particular Instance of our Linen Manufacture ? here they would have probably judged it needless to remark, how different the Policy which Britain hitherto has practifed in regard to this principal Article of our national Support ! the many fubstantial Proofs given from Time to Time by the British Legislature of a thorough Disposition to encourage in Ireland the Progress of this Manufacture, and the numerous Exhortations delivered from the Throne, to the People of this Country, to bend their Attention to its Cultivation, affuring them of all requifite Concurrence, and promifing them all neceffary Aid, are fresh in every one's Memory; What therefore might probably have been thought under this Head best deferving their Notice, would have been, first, to have expressed their utter Inability lity to apprehend how in any one Circumstance there can possibly happen at present the least interfering of Interests between *Britain* and *Ireland*, in regard to this Manufacture, when it is so universally known, that notwithstanding all the Industry they have hitherto been able to exert, Quantities of foreign Linen, wastly exceeding the Produce of both, are annually wanted, to answer the Consumption and Traffic of *Britain*.

IN the next Place, THEY would probably have thought it neceffary earneftly to reprefent how irreparable the Injury might prove, fhould any hafty Meafure be taken in fo interefting a Matter; pledging their Faith, ' That if upon a difpaffionate and patient Inquiry, any fuch Oppofition of Interefts, contrary to all Appearances, fhould come to be difclofed, this Kingdom would always be ready to come into every Abatement which the impartial Wifdom of our Mother country fhall fee it fit and juft to point out : Perfectly willing to be weighed, but ftrenuoufly infifting on being weighed in the public Ballance of political Juftice, where the equitable Hand of the Genius of *Britain* has hold of the Scales.

Is it conceivable that fuch a national Reprefentation feafonably made, would not long fince have been effectual for procuring us Affurances on which we could with Confidence rely, ' that not any of the Mifchiefs threatened by the Havock in our late Linen Bill fhould be permitted to take place ?'

Bur how important foever the Advantages would have been of fuch a Reprefentation, that Opportunity was unhappily loft; and loft folely in confequence of the Story which was raifed to impose on the natural Credulity of an unfuspecting People; a People difposed to give Credit to any Report, sooner than to fuspect, ' That any Defign could be any where carrying on, to deftroy the Linen Manufacture, that most effential Article of our National Support, and to ftifle the Industry while yet in its Infancy of the Inhabitants of this Country :' Had it not been for this amiable Excels of Candour, and Confidence of Temper, the Invention fent abroad was in its Nature too Grofs to have obtained any Belief; but fo powerful has been in Fact this Lullabay Tale, that possibly at this very Hour not less than nineteen in twenty continue still fast asleep, having their Reflection locked up, while their Imaginations are amufed with delufory Dreams.

It is, however, high time to awake: Though the beft Opportunity was thus unhappily loft, all is not loft; ftill there is Place for the critical Interpolition of the Men of Dignity and Weight, and fober Senfe of this Country, who have the infeparable Interests of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* affectionately at Heart; and who, having the Merits of fo Catholic a Cause, fo irrestiftably on their Side, now that they have a candid State of the Case distinctly before them, cannot well fail to fucceed.

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IRELAND

1 R E LAND is fo Confcious of upright Intention, that far from declining or withing to avoid, it is pleafed, with every Opportunity of having its Fidelity and dutiful Attachment to its Parent Country fearched to the Bottom.

AND most happily for us, indeed fingularly happy even for the Enemies of Britain, that such is Britain's innate Greatness of Spirit, as never to suffer her to take any Measures which she is not at all Times willing to avow and prepared to justify—not primarly by Force, but previously, 'By an open Appeal to the Principles of Righteousness and liberal Policy, in the Face of the World : A Spirit abhorrent of every thing oppressive, false, or infidious.

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WHAT, therefore, at prefent, and indeed upon all Occafions feems principally to be guarded against, on the fide of this Country, is, ' to prevent its being clandeftinely injured by the Fraud or Fineffes of Petit Maitres in Politics, who forming their Conception of the Spirit and Understanding of the Inhabitants of this Country, from fuch kind of Materials as London Coffee House Wit, or from the perusal of fuch Books of Instruction as that facetious Collection, called, Joe Miller's Jests, may regard it as an Enterprize to which their Pfeudo Machiavelian Genius has rendered them equal, ' of robbing this Country of the most authentic Vouchers of its Priviledges and Rights, and legal Conftitution ; 6 of undermining its Strength; and finally ' of reducing it to the abject

abject State of an eaftern Province, where the arbitrary Edict of a Tetrach or a Patriarch ftands in Place of the Law, or which is ftill more ignominious, can be forced on the Country under the Guife of a Law, while the wretched Inhabitants dare not in any one Inftance attempt to refift, nay poffibly may find it unfafe fo much as to complain.

BLESSED be God, the Circumstances of the Inhabitants of this Country are fuch, and fuch the happy Nature of its Connexion with Britain, as not to ftand in Dread of any fuch Wretchednefs : Ireland must always continue too respectable an Object, in the effimation of Britain, ever to be given up in any of its important Interefts and Priviledges, to the sport and resentment of any Particulars, let their external Denomination be ever fo dignified; and fo long as Britain shall continue to inherit that Magnanimity and Justice, which are the effential Attributes of the Spirit of Liberty, nothing more can be requifite for the fafety of Ireland when at any Time in danger of fuffering an Injury by the Effect of her Power, than feafonably, and with filial Confidence, to point out to her this Injury :

BE this therefore your immediate Bufinefs, as Neceffity has made it your indifpenfible Duty, ye real Patriots, and faithful Guardians to this Country ! Animated with the Senfe of your pleading the Caufe, a most righteous Caufe, of a most loyal and pains-taking People; and of pleading it at a Bar, where Justice and Mercy inspiring the Breast of

[33]

of the common Father of his Country, must pronounce the Decree.

-AND may the Bleffing of hundreds of thoufands of his Majefty's faithful and industrious Subjects, refcued from the awful Danger of being ftript of their immediate Subfiftance, come upon HIM as the Author, on his faithful Counfellors as the Advifers, and on you as the Advocates of fo great a Deliverance! Amen and Amen.

FROM a setled Conviction of the Justness and Truth of the Sentiments and Facts expressed in this Paper, and under a painful Sense of the Mischiefs which might accrue to this Country, should its present most critical Situation, in regard to the Safety of its Linen Manufacture be any longer concealed; the Writer finds himself obliged, in this artless Manner, to make it known to the Public; unable in any other way, to make himself sure, that those who may be most zealously disposed, and likewise best qualified for averting the Danger, Shall be Seasonably apprised of its real Nature and Circumstances : Conscious of this State of Mind, it matters not much to an obscure Individual, whether the Measure He has taken shall be imputed by others, to an Officiousness of Temper and Vanity of Mind, or whether it shall be admitted even as a poffible Supposition, that the Whole may have proceeded from an bonest Solicitude, well or ill grounded, for the Safety of this Country.

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