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THE  
YEOMAN'S  
SECOND  
LETTER  
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WILLIAM WICKHAM,

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

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

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

CICERO, Tuscul. I. 3.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WICKHAM,

Esq. Esq. Esq.

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DEAR SIR,

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

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

A 2

On

\* Preface, p. 41.

On the pages of

“ this past, vamp’d, future, old, revived, new piece,”\*

I shall take the liberty of offering some comments; beginning with the preface; which I conjecture to be the joint production of a Dennis and a Tibbald; † if it be not the sole performance of the latter.

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

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

First,

\* Dunciad.

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

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

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

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

“ If we are to estimate the merit of a work,  
 “ by its tendency to promote the end for which  
 “ it was designed, and if the object of Mr.  
 “ Scully was to animate the loyalty of his  
 “ fellow subjects, I doubt whether I have ever  
 “ met a worse production, than that which he  
 “ has lately offered to the publick. Indeed,  
 “ if his wish had been to damp that ardour,  
 “ which he pretended to excite, then his pages  
 “ might be well calculated to attain their pur-  
 “ pose : and by becoming mischievous, would  
 “ cease to be contemptible. *To deny them*  
 “ *this latter praise, would be a degree of candour,*  
 “ *to which, if we are to search his paragraphs*  
 “ *for his principles, a censorious Critic might*  
 “ *alledge that he had no title.* But I am con-  
 “ tent to *wave all enquiry as to motive ;* and  
 “ adopting the *Hypothesis,* that this Pamphlet  
 “ was well intended, I shall examine whether  
 “ those intentions have been carried happily  
 “ into

\* Though Mr. Scully proclaims himself to be “ a true born Irishman,” (a) I presume he will not contend, that an *addition* of notes is a *mutilation* of the text. Yet I have heard of gaining a loss ; which is a species of acquisition peculiar to our country.

“ into effect. In the meantime, let it not be  
 “ supposed that I detract from the character,  
 “ public or private, of Mr. Scully. I have  
 “ never heard any thing that could warrant a  
 “ suspicion of his loyalty : \* nor, *unless his*  
 “ *own writings should be thought to tend this*  
 “ *way*, have I ever read any thing that could  
 “ lead justifiably to its impeachment. What  
 “ he has himself avowed, I cannot slander him  
 “ by repeating; and I shall, *for argument*,  
 “ ascribe to him the most laudable designs.  
 “ One of a writer’s first tasks is the selection of  
 “ his topicks : and in making a judicious  
 “ choice, much ability may be shewn. But  
 “ this selection *may* be so extravagantly impru-  
 “ dent, as not only to be unaccountable on the  
 “ score of want of skill ; but *to induce a doubt,*  
 “ *whether the author’s professed object was what*  
 “ *he really had in view.*” And again, “ if to  
 “ extenuate the guilt of Rebellion, and speak  
 “ of Rebels with ostentatious respect, be to  
 “ discourage treason, then this pamphlet must  
 “ banish disaffection from the country.” †

Having

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

† In pages 52, 53, (and passim) of the Yeoman, *similar*  
 testimonies in favor of the motives of Mr. Scully, may be  
 found. In page 13 indeed, a single passage of the Advice is  
 praised. But the author there declares that he must “ sepa-  
 rate it from the pollutions in which it was immersed, lest  
 “ their

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

Author

"their impure contact should defile his approbation." The Yeoman proceeds civilly to describe the passage which he so commends, as "according better with Mr. Scully's respectable character, than with his objectionable tract." How this courtesy has been returned, it is for the publick to decide.

\* Preface, p. 3.

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

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

Having attributed to the Yeoman, misrepresentations, of which not a single instance can be adduced; and imputed objects to him, which are about as rational in the conception, as they are gentlemanly in the statement;\*

the

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

he Catholic Adviser proceeds to designate, in a mode that precludes all uncertainty and doubt, one of the Judges of the land,\* as the author of the letter; and object of his unqualified contumely, and vituperation.

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

An anonymous writer cannot correct a wrong conjecture as to who he is, without more or less assisting the publick to form a  
B
right

\* Evidently Baron Smith; as will shortly appear.

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

right one ; and thus raising a portion of the veil which he has taken. But to prevent all cavil, I am disposed to cut the knot, which (whilst I preserve my incognito,) it is difficult to untie. In my former letter, towards facilitating discussion, I assumed the views of Mr. Scully to be laudable ; or at least innoxious. It is not a more extravagant hypothesis, to suppose that the person who now addresses you is Baron Smith. I am therefore tempted, for the sake of argument, to do so ; and, (with the view above explained,) to proceed on this supposition.\*

If the doctrines of my former tract be repugnant to the Constitution, and that Baron Smith be the author of them, he should submit patiently to the censures, however coarse, which he has provoked. But if the letter be liable to no such objection, he is blameless at the least. Maxims which, on the bench, he would have been *bound* to recognise, he must surely be *at liberty* to reduce to writing in his closet : and might even be thought entitled to some praise, for opportunely disseminating remedial doctrines ; and gratuitously exposing an ambushade, which threatened the Constitution. If such were his merits, they have been but ill repaid, by calumnies amounting to

Scandalum

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

Scandalum Magnatum. Indeed, to wound the character of Baron Smith seems (but doubtless is not,) a grand object with the Adviser; while the defence of himself, \* against serious and supported charges, is postponed, as a subordinate and secondary consideration. With the former view, we find him stating †, that a certain Individual “abdicated an office  
 “of dignity, and scampered, *ex mero motu*, ‡  
 “to Paris. There he doffed THE ERMINE  
 “OF JUSTICE, for the ensanguined *habiliments*  
 “of a *Chef de Brigade*, § as a qualification  
 “for the Consular levee. Thus equipped, *he*  
 “casts rank and office at the feet of *Regicide*  
 “and *Usurpation*; in the face of Europe; to  
 “the amazement of his sober brethren, and  
 “the amusement of the newspapers. Re-  
 “turning, *he declaims upon the charms of the*  
 “*Revolutionized Departments*; and the splen-  
 “dour of *sacrilegious pillage*: and finally, after  
 “this probation, *denounces* this advice, under  
 “the assumed appellation of a Yeoman. Such  
 “a traveller has *doubtless*, a strong antipathy  
 “to Jacobinism!” ||

B 2

To

\* Or rather, of his work.

† Page 24.

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

§ Quere, what, precisely, this means?

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

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

The

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

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

To this same poetic faculty, we are indebted for the story § of the Yeoman’s publishing his own opinion of his Letter, in an English review;

\* See the passage in the text, P. 24, to which the note refers.

† P. 13.

‡ Whom the Catholic Adviser identifies with the Yeoman.

§ Preface P. 37.

review; therein announcing himself as a man of rank and talents;—reviling the members of Government, and the King's law officers, by name,—and flinging an imputation on the ancestry of Mr. Scully. This account, in all its branches, is utterly destitute of a particle of truth. I never wrote or published, or caused to be written or published, or knew of the writing or publication of,—any opinion of the letter in question, in any English review, or elsewhere.

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

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

Whether I am *acquainted* with the person so described, may be a question. But though there are others, whom I love much better, he is one, for whom I have no slight regard; and  
I hope

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

I hope for his own sake, as well as that of his society, that those insinuations against his temper and disposition, may be ill-founded. Whether they be, I do not feel myself competent to decide. If they should be false, a generous sentiment will probably induce those, who form the circle in which he lives, to vindicate their friend from such a slander. In the meantime, to disparage the private character of his adversary, though it may gratify the spite, will not strengthen the arguments of the Catholic Adviser; nor refute the objections which have been urged against him. Indeed, I should be even ashamed of having, however transiently, digressed, to a matter so irrelevant, and so uninteresting to the publick,—if it were not that the discussion, by exposing the animosity, may affect the credit, of my prejudiced opponent.

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

I in the first place miss an inscription,\* that adorned the former vestibule; but which has been judiciously omitted. The Adviser probably conceived, upon reflection,—that a motto,

\* From a Speech of Mr. Burke.

motto, which if it meant any thing, meant this, that Catholicks were persecuted, plundered, and enslaved, by Protestant Intolerants, Free-booters, and Oppressors,—was less calculated to promote charity, than to foment jealousies and discord;—and rather tended to produce, than to “repel, invasion and civil war.”

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

It was perfectly consistent with the spirit of such a *parole*, but not equally suitable to the professed object of the Adviser, to call upon the Catholicks to “awake instantly from their lethargy;” † and to allure their attention by an assurance, that his sentiments were untainted, “with the least mixture of solicitude for the interests of England.” ‡—But to the remonstrances of the Loyal, against these

\* From Archdeacon Paley.

† First Edition, p. 4.

‡ Ibid.

these latter expressions, he replies,\* that in so short an address, it was not necessary to profess any such solicitude; and that in applying to any body of men, the most persuasive topicks which we can resort to, are their own peculiar interests.—But first, the objection is not that he has casually omitted to *profess*, but that he has ventured explicitly to *disclaim*, a proper solicitude for the interests of Britain. Secondly, as to the efficacy and decorum of addresses, to the *peculiar* interests of a party, I conceive that these might be illustrated, by a familiar statement. Suppose, that towards encouraging a servant to defend his master's house, against a gang of robbers that was expected to break in,—I should, instead of warning him against the guilt of petit treason, or suggesting the duty of domestic allegiance,—declare to him that I felt no solicitude about the interests of his master; but was afraid that if the doors were forced, his own strong box and money would be taken,—I doubt whether my exhortation would be orthodox, or unobjectionable. At least, if the assailants were apprized of the arguments which I meant to use, they might obviate them by promises of indemnity or reward. For the surrender of his interests, a man may obtain what they are worth: but how can he be adequately paid for a violation of his duties? It is therefore on an inculcation of these latter that

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we

\* Second Edition. Preface, p. 8.

we should rely; and we bring our own loyalty under just suspicion, by preaching, not the obligation, but the prudence of allegiance. \*

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

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

Your pruning is in vain. Many copies of that former edition, which you endeavoured to suppress, remain; with all its original luxuriance of expression, to ascertain the extent and quality of your allegiance. Meantime the publick feels due respect for your honourable conduct, in putting forth your present

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

† Preface, p. 4.

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

(a) Preface, p. 8,

sent vamped and mended paragraphs, as if these had been the objects of my criticism in September.

Having deviated, in the above apostrophe, from that *distant* path, which, at the commencement of my present letter, I avowed a wish to keep, I return in haste from the perilous digression, to observe, that extraordinary as any co-incidence of opinion, between the Adviser and the Yeoman, may appear,—yet this latter, far from being desirous, that in the approaching struggle, the great body of the people should misconduct themselves,\* has on the contrary concluded, by exhorting Catholicks to arm in defence of our common country and Religion; and by venturing to promise them a sure, and cordial reward. † Mr. Tighe has done the Author the honour (of which he is sensible) of introducing the entire passage into his letter to Mr. Fox; which amongst other merits, possesses that of being the work of a gentleman.

Mr. Scully observes that the Yeoman, ‡ in his clamour about the phrase of “assassinations at Ballinamuck,” overlooks the fact, that no such expression appeared in the “Advice.” The Adviser is mistaken. It is he who has overlooked the fact, that no such expression was attributed to him by me; nor

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any

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

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

‡ Preface, p. 5.

any clamour raised on such an imputation. But nothing is farther from the intention of my opponent, than to "assimilate" the occurrences of Wexford and Ballinamuck; though he has applied the epithet of "a massacre," indiscriminately to both. "Massacre, Carnage, "Strages, Cædes,"\* with him mean putting Rebels and Deserters, on the field of battle, to the sword; or butchering the innocent and unresisting loyal, as the case may be. "Massacre does not attach a stronger character to the affair which occurred at Ballinamuck, than that which is applicable to the effusion of blood, in military execution. Milton applies the word generally to homicide.

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

Butchery is also another of the Catholic Adviser's synonyms: for in his first edition, he states the French to have seen "with unconcern, almost every man of their *poor* Irish allies *butchered* before their eyes;" and this, in his second edition, he translates, seeing "with unconcern, their Irish allies devoted to military execution." Of course he considers the former expressions as merely equivalent to the latter. Otherwise he would not meanly substitute those last cited, without noticing the change

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

change; and acquiescing in the ap<sup>pe</sup>oman's censure of those which he had discarded. If the epithets which he has chosen, apply properly to military, they will be perhaps equally applicable to the case of civil executions. Yet we should be startled by the novelty of such phraseology. "Yesterday, pursuant to the sentence of a court martial, a number of privates, who had deserted from the ——— regiment, were *butchered* at Blackheath. Tomorrow, several persons convicted at the late commission, will be *massacred* in Thomas Street; as the law directs. The commission is still sitting; and it is expected that a similar *carnage* will take place in a few days." We should consider these as curious paragraphs; if we were to meet them in one of those old "news-papers or magazines,"\* which the classical Mr. Scully recommends to my attention.

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

————— *to Violence*

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

PAR. L.

I believe

Preface, P. 6.

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

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

DRYDEN.

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

SHAKSPEARE.

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

But

\* Johnson defines Carnage to mean Havock.

† Preface, P. 15, and Advice, P. 25. Note.

But this is verbal criticism; and we should not hamper with it, our approbation of those “unequivocal expressions of loyalty,”\* with which the Advice to the Irish Catholics abounds. I answer, first, that whether the language be equivocal, is a question of construction; not to be decided by Mr. Scully; or by me, who differ with him; but by the publick. Secondly, that towards ascertaining whether the ideas be those of loyalty, we must, in a doubtful case, (which I conceive the present to be,) examine the signs of those ideas; viz. *Words*. But the Author vindicates the humane Lord Cornwallis, from the charge of cruelty at Ballinamuck.† And how? By admitting that he considered it as a carnage; (which was all that the Yeoman had asserted;) and alledging that his Lordship was not there upon the day. An allegation, which is immaterial,—unless we understand him who makes it, to condemn the transaction, as a massacre; and to insinuate that it was disapproved of, by the Nobleman in question.

But, though the expressions of loyalty were as strong as they are alledged to be, the world is so marvellously given to doubt and defamation, that still the views of the writer might not escape suspicion. What was the object, which the Author of the Life of Bonaparte professed to have in view? To join Mr. Scully,

\* Preface, P. 5.

† Ibid.

ly, in instructing his countrymen “to repel invasion.” And if the two productions be, in point of heaviness, the same,—the merit and patriotism of the former must be admitted to be greater, by nearly thirty degrees, than those of the *Catholick Adviser*: for the life of the first Consul sold for a penny; and the *Advice* costs two shillings—more than it is worth. Yet we know how ungratefully the *Biographer* has been used. The *Catholick Adviser* might (poor fellow! \*) experience similar ingratitude; or even worse, if he proceeded. The public might call him what he has termed the *Yeoman*, † a *Pseudo loyalist*; and treat him as if he were one. In this latter case, if his future pages were like his past, it would not be “fatal learning” that would “lead him to the block.” On the contrary, his present paragraphs so completely hide every particle of knowledge, that until furnished with clearer proofs of its existence, than they supply, ‡ I am strongly inclined to warn the gentle tribe of *Dunces*, against awaking from the salutary lethargy, which protects them.

“Ye blockheads, hear,—and sleep!”

But

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

† Preface, p. 8.

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

But the Catholic Counsellor is untruly charged "with having, throughout his address, styled Rebellion civil war." \* No. † The accusation is expressed in the following terms. "I advert to the transactions of the year 1798; which we conceived to amount to a Rebellion; but which this tract ‡ informs me, (*passim*,) were merely a civil war." §——If the reader wishes to have change for *passim*, I refer him to pages 9, 10, and 89, of the first; and to pages 5. and 57. of the second edition of the Advice: where he will find the passages altered, by the interpolation of the word "Rebellion."—It is, in this place, only necessary to add, that even where Mr. Scully adopts this latter term, he in the same breath attributes *guilt* to the loyal subject; and extenuates the criminality of the Traitor. || Inadvertently, no doubt. Indeed if the case were otherwise, we should, to a man whose sentiments appeared at best to hang balanced between disaffection and allegiance, be tempted to exclaim, in the language of our Poet,

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

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Before

\* Preface, p. 6.

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

‡ Viz. the Advice.

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

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

¶ SHAKSPEARE.

Before I enter on the discussion, at which, in my progress through the preface, I am arrived,—*viz.* of the terms in which the late King William is described,—let me give Mr. Scully the full benefit of his statement, \* that the word “Invader” was printed in Capitals, by a mere error of the press. I can, without any material sacrifice of ground, put the topick of magnitude entirely out of the case; and argue the question as if the letters of this word were of the ordinary stature; and as if the defamation of the Prince of Orange was *Roman Character*. Having thus withdrawn my special Demurrer, (to adopt his black letter allusions, †) I admit, that upon the substance of those expressions, which have exposed him to censure, he is as humorous as argumentative; and vice versâ. ‡ But in defiance of his reasoning and his wit, (and expressing myself in the false spirit of this latter,) I hope, by a few simple and intelligible propositions, to put not a comma, but a period, to the flimsy sophisms, and slippery tergiversation of his work.

In the first place, he enquires “of what import to the principles of Liberty it can  
“ be,

\* P. 7. of second edition.

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

‡ In p. 10, 11, 12. of Preface.

“ be, to dispute at this day, whether the  
 “ Irish subjects of James II. in 1689, confi-  
 “ dered, or ought to have considered, King  
 “ William in the light of a Dutchman, or In-  
 “ vader?” \*

This question rests upon a *suggestio falsi*; *viz.* that the assertion which attracted the censures of the Yeoman, was no more than this, that in 1689, the Irish considered William's landing as an invasion. For the purpose of insinuating this, he in the second edition interpolates certain words, which shall be given in a note below; and distinguished by Italicks. The paragraph, as it stood in the first edition, and provoked my reprehension, was as follows: “ Never was any place more  
 “ gallantly defended, than Limerick, by our  
 “ *loyal* Ancestors; who fought for their heredi-  
 “ tary King, against a Dutch Invader, and his  
 “ hired battalions. No succour came; and af-  
 “ ter enduring incredible hardships, the brave  
 “ Garrison were forced to give up, with break-  
 “ ing hearts, their last possession in their coun-  
 “ try; but not without having obtained, and  
 “ deservedly, glorious terms of capitulation.  
 “ The French fleet came, (as they have al-  
 “ ways to their *friends*,) when all was over;  
 “ and they were not wanted. Never after-  
 “ wards did they seriously attempt to restore  
 “ James to his Throne; or our exiles to their  
 “ country.” †

D 2

Now

\* Preface, p. 12.

† Advice, p. 12. first edition. In the second, the pas-  
 sage

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

But it is of moment to the cause of civil Liberty, and British Connexion, to refuse to the Adviser the privilege which he claims, of discussing, as a matter open to controversy and dispute, whether William ought to have been considered in such a light. To treat this matter as questionable, would shake to their foundations, both the Throne, and the Constitution. What becomes of his Majesty's title to the Crown, if the act which limited it to the issue of the Princess Sophia, never received the Royal Assent of that hereditary King, on whose side Mr. Scully's loyal Ancestors fought so bravely; but was merely ratified by the sanction of an Invader, and a Dutchman,— in short of the successful Usurper who deposed him? \* What becomes of the annexation of the Irish, to the Imperial Crown of England,

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

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

(a) A novel use of the word *what*.

land, if it be questionable whether in 1689,\* William ought not to have been considered *here* as an enemy, and a stranger? What, in a word, becomes of the established principles of civil Liberty, or of the Constitution, if the intimately blended title of their Assertor, William, be disputed?

I do not desire to impute to Mr. Scully, any disloyal opinions, which he may be disposed to disclaim. Nor if he formerly held such, and has relinquished them since last August, would I deprive him of the benefit of his recantation. I should merely assert, that in this latter case, it would be manly to avow the retractation; and confess the justice of that wholesome correction, by which he had profited; and which was inflicted while such objectionable sentiments were unretracted. It would be but candid to recollect, that the Yeoman's animadversions were pointed against his first edition; and published long before the appearance of the altered and amended second.

But though I will not ascribe to my opponent, any tenets, which feeling to be disgraceful, he may wish to disavow, I am free to examine the plain import and construction of those pages, which he has submitted to the judgment of his country. I am the more at liberty to do so, because the examination can operate no injury to him. The pages are there, to speak for themselves; and refute  
me,

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

me, if I misconstrue them. They are open to the publick; who may carefully peruse them; and correct, or utterly reject my interpretations, if erroneous. I hold then, that the paragraph last quoted in my text, does not so much appear to discuss, as an unsettled question, whether William ought to have been contemplated in a hostile point of view, as it seems broadly and explicitly to assert the fact, that he should have been considered as a foreign Invader; attacking, at the head of mercenary bands, the loyal and brave defenders of their hereditary King. It seems to describe these latter, in terms of the most affectionate interest; and of the most tender, and admiring commiseration. It appears to me to lament their defeat; and to dwell for comfort, on their glorious capitulation. It seems to imply a resentful jealousy of the French, for having been tardy in the succour which might have rendered James's cause victorious. In short, it applies to William the epithet of a Dutch Invader; and will the Author deny, that what he called him, he considered him to be?

I believe (and do not mean to assert the contrary,) that in this country, James met with brave and generous support; from persons acting under, what we are now bound by our allegiance, to consider as at best an error of the judgment; but whom I am willing to look upon as instigated by honourable sentiments; and by principles of loyalty which  
were

were meritorious, though misapplied. I am disposed to look upon such misguided persons, as entitled, when alive, to as great a portion of clemency, and their memory, when dead, to as much indulgence, as may have been then, or as may be now, consistent with an effectual resistance of their schemes; and support of our religion, our liberties, and constitution. But as a liege subject, I cannot admit theirs to have been the better cause; nor doubt that many of those, whom my adversary commends, fought not in the cause of monarchy against revolution; or of James against his successor; but (as they had done under Cromwell, and in 1641,) against the English government; and in the cause of separation. Still less can the obtuseness of my intellect discern, how he who holds the sentiments which I have extracted, can consistently, be attached to our establishment, in Church and State.

But Mr. Scully would, as an antidote "to the doctrines of Paine, renovate the pristine zeal of our countrymen for Royalty,"\* by extolling their ancient fidelity to James. He would, by the memory of this loyalty, (refracted to the House of Brunswick, from the family of Stuart,) encounter the Republican doctrines of the present day. He would furbish up the rusty Jacobitism of the seventeenth century, as an impenetrable hauberk of allegiance for  
the

\* Pref. P. 11.

the nineteenth; and give stability to the constitution, by removing its corner stone. When he informs us that the constitutional balance had been exactly settled, in the reign of the second Charles, \* he forgets that it was again, and seriously disturbed, by his successor; and only *practically* and *securely* re-adjusted, on his abdication:—and when, on the authority of that free discussion, which was permitted on the question of Union, he claims to controvert the legitimacy of the Revolution, he forgets that the latitude of enquiry which he cites, ceased as soon as the act of Union received the Royal Assent. The settlements which took place in 1688 and 1800, it is not now our business to canvass; but submit to: as, on the other hand, it is the bounden duty of our Governors, *to make the law of the land promote the happiness of the people.*

But though it is objected to Mr. Scully, that he has defamed the Revolution, he mistakes the charge which has been made against him with respect to Cromwell; whom he seems to parallel with King William, by styling him “*another great man.*” † He is not accused of having “*cast a slur on the memory of*” that usurper: but of having misrepresented the  
tenor

\* Pref. P. 10.

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

tenor of what occurred in Ireland in his time ; by observations calculated to invalidate many titles to property at this day. He answers the charge, by asserting that those titles now rest securely, on statute and prescription. But this merely disproves the efficacy, not the tendency of his statements : and the account which he gives of this statute, is not highly honourable to the legislature which passed it. “ Oliver Cromwell (of infamous memory,) “ having brought over an army of pillaging “ knaves to Ireland, they after the slaughter “ of one hundred thousand persons, obtained “ various estates amongst us ; whilst the Pro- “ testants *who had invited them* over,—and the “ Catholics *who*” (on the contrary) “ had “ *no crime* to answer for, were trodden under “ foot, &c.” \* To ratify these recent and nefarious partitions, “ a solemn act of Parlia- “ ment passed,” † on the restoration.

Now hear *my* narrative. First, the Irish *had* a crime to answer for ; viz. that of deserting Ormonde, and the Royal cause. ‡ Secondly, much of the land, which the followers of Cromwell thus obtained, had been justly forfeited, by rebellion committed against King Charles §. Thirdly, the act which was passed in his son’s reign, was therefore fairer in its  
E
origin,

\* Advice, first Edit. P. 43, 44.

† Pref. P. 14.

‡ Hume.

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

origin, than Mr. Scully represents : for it did not ratify the plunder of innocent proprietors ; (which had not occurred ; ) but merely remitting the rights of the Crown, (on which the usurper Cromwell had infringed,) confirmed *illegal* grants of *legal* confiscations. Fourthly, this correction of Mr. Scully's inaccuracies, by tracing those titles to a purer source, than he describes, is the less frivolous,—if it be true, that the metes and bounds of forfeited property are held scrupulously in remembrance ; the hereditary owners accurately designated ; and maps of these surveys periodically published.

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

Quid facies odio ?—sic ubi amore noces.

But the “ enormities which disgraced” the administration of the noble Lord, whom Mr. Scully thus reveres, are “ to be attributed to “ the temporary sway of certain Individuals, “ whom

\* Pref. P. 17.

† Advice : first Edition : Pages 55, and 68.

“whom he found it impossible to control.”\* Whom does the Catholic Adviser mean? assuredly not Lord Clare. For though he may have called this Nobleman “unpopular,” and “intemperate,” † yet he admits him to have been a just man; and one whose good qualities have never been disputed. He even pronounces him to have deserved (and of this assertion I confess the truth,) far abler praise, than was within the compass of my talents to bestow. Yet I am not ashamed of my scanty offering at the shrine of departed worth.

I gave to merit, all I had,—a tear;

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

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

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

“Neither could I have rejoiced, in seeing  
“my country delivered over, through the same  
“evil counsel,” (during the administration of

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Lord

\* Pref. P. 18.

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

‡ Advice: second Edition: p. 45.

Lord Camden,) “ to a few *intemperate persons,*  
 “ *who undertook to rule five millions of men,*  
 “ WITH A ROD OF IRON. *Those persons have,*  
 “ in my firm judgment, *nursed the feuds, and*  
 “ *swelled the distractions, that disgrace this Isle.*  
 “ But, as more than a year has passed away,  
 “ since the foremost of them has been arrested  
 “ by the hand of Providence, in his career in  
 “ this world,—and as the others, and those of  
 “ their school, are either unemployed, or un-  
 “ noticed by our present excellent Rulers, I  
 “ shall not now enlarge upon the incapacity, or  
 “ *demerits of the departed, or of the fallen.*”\*

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

Having examined his reprobation, let us now proceed to criticise his praise. The transition will not seem violent to those, (if any  
 such

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

such there be,) who consider this latter as a mask'd invective; which beneath an eulogy on A, conceals a slander upon B.

So far was the Yeoman from objecting to Mr. Scully's "feeble tribute to the merits"\* of Lord Hardwicke, that he avowed (and now repeats) his cordial assent to such encomiums. No man respects his Excellency more highly, than the Yeoman. But he disapproves of the topicks which the Panegyrist has selected; and of the suspicious *tournure* of his praise. He thinks it an insult to the understanding and principles of that nobleman, to suppose that he can be cajoled into an abatement of his vigilance,—a relaxation of his vigour,—or the placing of his confidence, where it is not deserved: †—to conceive that he can tolerate that audacious and offensive praise, which is grounded on the imputation of opinions which he rejects, and of conduct which he has not pursued: to hope that he will endure to be placed in contrast with those, whom he esteems; and to be commended, with a mere view to their disparagement. ‡ The Viceroy will be cautious in accepting praise  
from

\* Second Edition, p. 44. note.

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

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

from him, who has presumed to speak irreverently of the King.\*

Neither have I dissented from the praise which he has bestowed upon the English. I have only observed, that considering the mode of its introduction, it seemed to insinuate unjust censures of our countrymen. † If such *flagornerie* does not evince dislike, neither is it a proof of amity to British connexion. ‡ This is to be preserved, by cherishing the genuine principles of loyalty amongst us; and by the sound policy of their conduct, who administer the affairs of Ireland. It is not by fawning on our English fellow-subjects, who have spent little or no part of their lives in this country, and who consequently must be deficient in that experience, which would inform them of the true circumstances, sentiments, and situation of its inhabitants,—it is not by availing ourselves of this inexperience, and misleading them on those material points,—that we shall promote, or evince a wish to strengthen, the connexion. Therefore, though the culprit “pleads guilty to the  
“ charge, of respecting the character of his  
“ British

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

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

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

“British fellow-subjects,”\* I should be strongly disposed to acquit him of such a sentiment, if his writings were the only evidence before me. I have heard of a jury, whose previous experience of the veracity † of a certain criminal, induced them to acquit him of a charge, merely because he had confessed it.

I have now done with Mr. Scully’s censures, and his praise: which latter I may have enlarged upon, in some instances, not adverted to by my present letter. Whether rightly or wrongly, Time and Experience will, for the information of others and myself, decide. When that decision has been made, I shall, as the event may be, applaud my own discernment, (which, I hope and expect, will be the case;) or pore humbly on the lesson of human fallibility. In the mean time I wait, in patient expectation; and am not ashamed, if  
I have

\* Preface, p. 36.

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

(a) Page 15. of second edition.

I have sacrificed private feeling to the desire of rendering public justice; and if, while I sought to be unprejudiced, I have fallen into a liberal extreme, of prepossession in favour of those, who were entitled to no partial kindness at my hands.

Finally, (or almost finally as to him,) I congratulate the Adviser, on “the testimonies “which have been borne, by Protestants as “well as Catholicks,” (and which I admit to have been “flattering,”) “to the utility of his “Address.”\* But if he be right in his assertion, that the work “has been found generally to accord with the sentiments of that “class of persons, who were its objects,”—this is a fact, on which I cannot felicitate the Publick: nor can I indeed consider the *approvers* of such a tract, to be as “valuable,” (though they may be as “numerous”) a body, as he describes them.

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

I do

\* Pref. P. 41.

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

“ My Countrymen,”\*

“ I address you with a heart full of devotion to your welfare; and deeply interested in the destiny of that beloved country, where in former times our ancestors † have flourished. We know that toleration is odious to the intolerant; freedom to oppressors; property to robbers; and all degrees of prosperity to the envious. I perceive no reason, why men of different religious persuasions may not sit upon the same Bench; deliberate in the same Council. ‡ The following sentiments flow from an unbiassed survey of our interests; without the least mixture of solicitude for those of either England, or France; farther than as these countries affect our prosperity and independence. I am a true born Irishman; a Milesian; a Catholic: sharing in the same privations, restraints, and grievances, with my Catholic countrymen. I wish to demonstrate the calamities which

F

“ impend,

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

† See last note.

‡ Mottos.

“ impend, unless we shall instantly awake  
 “ from our lethargy. I feel pride in belonging  
 “ to a class of people, who suffered, with manly  
 “ fortitude, a century of unexampled injus-  
 “ tice; and finally redeemed themselves from  
 “ servitude, by their unbroken energies. The  
 “ French proclaim the menace of invading our  
 “ island. It is high time therefore, to bethink  
 “ ourselves, whether we shall act with them or  
 “ against them? We are to consider, whether  
 “ to receive those French visitors with open  
 “ arms; or whether we shall keep to ourselves  
 “ what we now have, be it ever so little; and  
 “ drive them back?

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

“ It is 112 years—since the capitulation of  
 “ Limerick, to William III. It was the last  
 “ place which surrendered to him; and never  
 “ was any more gallantly defended, than it  
 “ had been, by our loyal ancestors; who  
 “ fought for their hereditary King, against a  
 “ Dutch Invader, and his hired battalions.  
 “ France had amused the besieged with pro-  
 “ mises of succour: no succour came; and  
 “ the brave garrison, after enduring incredible  
 “ hardships, were forced to give up, with  
 “ breaking hearts, their last possession in their  
 “ country: but not without having obtained,  
 “ and deservedly, glorious terms of capita-  
 “ tion. The French came, (as they have al-  
 “ ways to their *friends*,) when all was over;

“ and

“ and they were not wanted. Never after-  
 “ wards did they seriously attempt to restore  
 “ James to his throne, or our exiles to their  
 “ country; although they had plenty of ship-  
 “ ping. In 1798, at Collooney, who were their  
 “ conquerors? They were Catholicks: brave  
 “ Irish boys; descended from the renowned  
 “ defenders of Limerick. The French, over-  
 “ taken by Irish troops, at Ballinamuck,—  
 “ finished their short race by an act, scarcely  
 “ to be equalled in cowardice and treachery,  
 “ towards 1500 of our hapless countrymen.  
 “ Those dishonoured fellows, instead of de-  
 “ manding terms for their allies, saw, with  
 “ unconcern, almost every man of those poor  
 “ Irish butchered before their eyes. I have  
 “ since been on the field of massacre; and was  
 “ shewn the large pits, into which heaps of  
 “ Irish carcases were thrown; without the or-  
 “ dinary rites of Christian interment. The  
 “ French never afterwards complained of this  
 “ massacre, as of a matter which concerned  
 “ their honour, or our esteem for them.

“ If we need not fear, what better reason is  
 “ there for us to love them? let us *coolly* con-  
 “ sider this matter; and see whether their  
 “ amity is to be confided in; or their alliance  
 “ esteemed. Their revolution is at an end.  
 “ They had gained, after the slaughter or exile  
 “ of two or three millions, the opportunity of  
 “ firmly fixing their liberties,—and of calmly  
 “ choosing their own form of Government;  
 “ whether a limited Monarchy, a qualified, or  
 “ a pure

“ a pure Republick. All their *friends* in other  
 “ countries looked for the event, with impa-  
 “ tient solicitude; and hoped \* that the  
 “ French would *now* produce some admirable  
 “ masterpiece of a free Constitution.† But no.  
 “ We have seen their base treachery at Balli-  
 “ namuck. We know that they have seduced  
 “ several Irishmen to their cause; some of whom  
 “ were *undoubtedly* men of great talents and  
 “ *integrity*. But we know that they have been  
 “ cruelly deceived, and disappointed. They  
 “ were promised ample and generous aid from  
 “ France: they believed in those promises.  
 “ Allured by the false lights of France, to  
 “ steer to such a coast in quest of Liberty,  
 “ their reception has been so cold and chilly,  
 “ that you would really pity their present feel-  
 “ ings. They are allowed no Pension. Thus  
 “ our *abused* Exiles drag on the burden of life,  
 “ in the land of *unfeeling* Strangers; *unjustly*  
 “ suspected of being robbers and assassins.  
 “ Now let us compare this character, with that  
 “ of the English Regulars and Militia, who  
 “ were in this country. Did they not gene-  
 “ rously and successfully interfere, ‡ in stem-  
 “ ming

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

† Now, that they had got rid of their two or three mil-  
 lions of impedimenta.

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

“ ming the animosities of the ruling party,—  
 “ in repressing the fury and bigotry of our  
 “ countrymen, and in protecting the weak  
 “ and unarmed natives? need I name our pre-  
 “ sent commander in chief Fox? \* I come now  
 “ to

\* Who will be asserted by Mr. Scully to be no *friend* to the *Yeoman*. Nor perhaps were all his general orders well calculated to refute this assertion; however groundless. Be this as it may, “ the regulars and militia did not at all times  
 “ successfully interfere in stemming the animosities of the  
 “ ruling party,—in repressing the bigotry and fury of our  
 “ countrymen, or in protecting the weak and unarmed na-  
 “ tives. Need I name” the 23d of last July? Amongst the unarmed and unprotected, who perished on that occasion, there was one, whose name was Wolfe, and whose title of honour was Kilwarden. But I freely admit that his death was not only the effect of accident, (a) but of surprise; and that for our safety on that alarming night, the Providence to which we are indebted, is Divine. Mr. Scully indeed, in both his editions, views the matter in a light extremely different; and this is to me *no* matter of surprise: No doubt, whenever his advice shall have been widely circulated, it will correct the error under which government seems to labour. Meantime, our parliament, our privy council,—and our courts of justice, appear to be under the influence of a strange delusion. To quell this insignificant dispute, the former have read the *riot* act, not once, but three times; and given it the pompous title of the Irish martial law bill: whilst in spite of the wholesome admonitions of the Adviser, now six months after the affray, this statute remains in force; and the habeas corpus act continues to be suspended. But when we shall have been converted to the tenets of Mr. Scully, our parliament will repeal their rigorous provisions; our council retract their hyperbolical proclamations; and our judges cease to inflict the penalties of high treason, on those who have in fact been only guilty of a misdemeanour. Probably what sticks with them may

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

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

“ Some

be a circumstance, which the adviser overlooked. (a) I mean that formidable depot, the existence and contents of which he has entirely forgotten ; in making his tot of the dangers of July. He has omitted the part of Hamlet, in his recital of the tragedy.

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

(a) Preface, p. 20

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* *i. e.* to the taste of Mr. Scully.

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

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

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

G

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ How small, of all that human hearts endure,

“ That part, which *Laws* or *Kings* can cause, or cure!

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

G 2

“ This

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ Good

\* Pref. pages, 4. 5. 6. 7.—19.

† *Viz.* P. 88, 89.

“ Good without noise,—without pretension great ;”  
and whose exemplary life supplied unanswerable proofs, how amiable a sincere, and zealous Catholick may be.

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

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

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

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

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

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

† “ *Minimé mirum est, communicatâ cum his Republicâ, fideles esse,—quî etiam expertes ejus, fidem suam semper præstiterunt.*”

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

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

\* See his Philippicks.

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

‡ For instance, Mr. Tone.

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

“ to this subject. The number of the Catho-  
 “ licks: their share of national property: the  
 “ political tendency of their religious system;  
 “ and their propensities to order, or commo-  
 “ tion,—as evinced by their past, and present  
 “ conduct.

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

\* Livy.

“ their claims : add that they are well affected’  
 “ and its aid is scarcely wanted : suppose them  
 “ to be disloyal, and their numbers make  
 “ against them. For though, as already men-  
 “ tioned, Government should aim, in the first  
 “ instance, at securing the attachment of all  
 “ bodies, by a liberal donation of advantages  
 “ to each, yet let any of those bodies be al-  
 “ ready hostile, and there will (under some  
 “ restrictions,) be every reason for proscribing  
 “ them. Their enmity was all we had origi-  
 “ nally to fear ; or by the concession of bene-  
 “ fits, were likely to prevent. Once they have  
 “ declared war, we are to consult our own se-  
 “ curity ; by shutting the gates of our consti-  
 “ tution. Political privileges are powerful  
 “ weapons ; and must not be put into the hands  
 “ of the suspected.”

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

“ Indeed the wisdom of the legislature me-  
 “ rits praise ; for having permitted them to  
 “ acquire permanent property, as a prelimi-  
 “ nary to political importance. We have al-  
 “ lowed them to settle and improve in the  
 outskirts

“ outskirts of our constitution ; until by safe  
 “ degrees they may become citizens with our-  
 “ selves. Mingled into the several orders of  
 “ the state, and enjoying dignities and pos-  
 “ sessions which that State protects, they will  
 “ have acquired interests which may connect,  
 “ and identify them with our establishment.”

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

H 2

“ merit

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

† Viz. 1792.

“ merit favour, yet the subordination of their  
 “ clergy to a foreign power—must be con-  
 “ fessed to diminish, and weaken, this ground  
 “ of claim.”

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

“ *licâ, fideles esse,—qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem*  
 “ *suam semper præstiterunt.*

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

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

\* Written in January, 1793.

† “ And therefore, if by admitting Leaseholders to vote,  
 “ we should lodge with the Roman Catholics, an over  
 “ proportion

“ limits to our concession of franchise to them,  
 “ I may disgust Protestants, by (even doubt-  
 “ ingly) suggesting any abridgement of *their*  
 “ privileges. But here is my motto :

“ Papist, or Protestant, or both between ;

“ Like good Erasmus, in a *golden mean* : \*

“ In moderation placing all my glory ;

“ While Tories call me Whig ; and Whigs a Tory.” †

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

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

“ The

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

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

\* Viz : of property.

† Pope.

‡ And uniformly, (I do not enquire whether rightly,) was the advocate of their pretensions, whenever these were brought forward, during seven years, and in two successive parliaments, of which he was a member. Thus implicit was his acquiescence in all the political opinions of Doctor Duigenan. *Avunculus excitat Hector.* See preface p. 29.

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

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

“ leffer danger. Thus here, superficial con-  
 “ cession may be fundamental confervation ;

“ *imaque tellus*

“ *Stet, quia summa fugit.*”

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

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

Such was the speech of Baron Smith in  
 1795. Whether the doctrines which it con-  
 tained, or rather perhaps the application of  
 those doctrines, should be considered as unex-  
 ceptionable, was then doubted by many of  
 our wisest and most upright statesmen ; and  
 the legislature decided against the conclusiveness  
 of such reasoning. And it must be con-

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

It

\* Feeling at the same time, as I do, the mischievous falsehood

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

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

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the

falsehood and absurdity, of describing as slaves, the Catholicks; who enjoy complete toleration; equal protection with ourselves; and no inconsiderable portion of political power.

\* As perhaps they do.

† Preface, page 41.

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

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

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

Instead of enquiring, whether it be consistent with the seeming tendency of Mr.

Scully's

sentiments which accorded with those of the class which he addressed. I have heard that this address was disapproved of.

\* Essay xi.

Scully's pages, that their author should hold such views to be fit matter for reproach, I shall consider how far they are imputable to the person to whom they are ascribed.

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

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

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

ever

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

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

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

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

*" rupto federe REGNI,  
" Certatum totis concussi viribus orbis,  
" In commune nefas."*

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

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

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

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

In

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

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

“ Caliban.—*Freedom! hey day! hey day! Freedom*

“ *Freedom! hey day! Freedom!*

“ Stephano.—*O brave Monster, lead the way.*

SHAKSPEARE.”

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

“ *O brave Monsters! lead the way.*”

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

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

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

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

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

“ of government, I have only to refer them  
 “ to the constitution of our country.” \* \* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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would

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

“To France, I wish freedom and happiness, most sincerely. The accumulations of her knowledge have contributed to my improvement. I connect her with much that is elegant in literature, and valuable in science. Happiness, I must suppose to be the object of her search: and through conquest or defeat, I wish her to attain it. Yet while I sympathise with the miseries, and wish the happiness of France, I look on her as the germ of a great example.’† Let us wait until that example shall have been matured. Let us *wait the great teacher, Time,*” for his decision: nor be hasty to import the reality of mischief; in order to construct what, after all, may be no benefit. The experimentalist in mechanics, ‡ who deserting precedent, speculates upon bold and hazardous improvement, loses nothing if he fails, but his time, his pains, and his materials. But it is the duty of him who would speculate in matters of government, to reflect that the misery

\* Page 42.

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

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

“ fery of his species may be the consequence  
 “ of his miscarriage.

“ Therefore,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ For

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

† The ancient despotism of the *Servus Servorum*.

‡ Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. c. 82.

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

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

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

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

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

\* Royal power.

† Privileges of the Peers.

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

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

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

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

L

From

\* Authority of the Commons.

† Right of petition, trial by jury.

‡ Essay xiii.

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

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

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

We

We have now got rid of his French principles, his church of Ireland prejudices, and his wish to take the reins of government into his own hands. It remains to discuss the justice of the assertion, that he is unfriendly to British connexion. Though indeed his conduct has been, in this respect, too uniform and explicit, to require many comments, in refutation of such a charge. We find him expressing the following sentiments, in 1795.\*

“ I wish these two countries to continue, ever,  
 “ one intimately well connected empire. I  
 “ wish their harmony, from prejudice, as  
 “ well as principle: from prejudice, the  
 “ growth of my partialities towards Eng-  
 “ land. A considerable portion of my life  
 “ was spent there; and the thought of Eng-  
 “ land connects itself with much, that is pleas-  
 “ ing to my mind. It was the place of my  
 “ education: † the scene of those early years,  
 “ and of those early habits, which the me-  
 “ mory recalls and cherishes, with most de-  
 “ light. I am proud to think it contains many  
 “ friends who regard me; and whose esteem  
 “ affords a reasonable ground for pride. ‡ I  
 “ am besides persuaded, that in their harmony,  
 “ consists the welfare of both islands. If any

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“ man

\* In his Speech on the R. Catholic Bill.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of

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

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

(*Quam temere in nosmet legem fancimus iniquam!*)

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

(a) Preface P. 28.

(b) Preface P 29,

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

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

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

*(c)* See their Speeches in Parliament on the question.

*(d)* Preface P. 29.

*(e)* Preface P. 27.

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

\* Thus inadvertently increasing the terrors, which they would appease.

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

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

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

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

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

M

roused,

\* See Mr. Andrew Finlay's pamphlet.

roufed, to come within it. In fhort, when the rank and talent which this ifland (fruitful in ability,) can produce, fhall not be excluded from the fuperintendance of her concerns.

Having avowed this wifh, I fhall lay down the pen, which, though without neceffity, yet not perhaps without advantage, I have for once, been tempted to refume. *Renuit quod hic, jubet alter.* Though I am but a fubject, my letters are all patent: thrown afide by a Minifter, or cancelled in the proper Court, they might be read by a loyal Publick, with attention and effect; and if my talents did not fail to fecond my intentions, would create fomething more valuable than an Office, or a Peer. They would create a vigorous and difcerning fpirit, of patriotic co-operation, to promote the legitimate principles of Union; and maintain the interefts and honour of my Country. Such exertions would now, I am perfuaded, be effectual: but *qui prorogat horam*, neglects an opportunity, which may never be retrieved.

I have the honour to be,

With much refpect, Dear Sir,

Your fincere and faithful humble fervant,

A YEOMAN.

*Dublin, Jan. 28th, 1804.*

*P. S.* I have lately seen a long epistle, subscribed a Roman Catholick, and addressed to the Yeoman; which (without any intention of offending the anonymous Author,) I beg to decline answering. The fact is, that, whether from my dulness or his obscurity, I do not well comprehend my correspondent's arguments or general meaning. I perceive indeed in his letter some acrimony and incivility towards me; but setting this down to the account of zeal for Doctor Troy, and of the writer's notion, that I am inimical to his religion,—I therefore excuse it.

Secondly, I do not wish to entangle myself again, in *political enquiries*; and least of all, in any discussions which resemble religious controversy. I am not qualified for such investigations; and am sorry for having been once betrayed into them. Indeed so far from wishing to prolong such warfare, I would rather here apologize to Doctor Troy, if in the freedom of discussion, any thing escaped me—bordering on asperity or personal disrespect. For my arguments,—be they strong or weak,—I make no apology; except by observing, that if it were not for a note to his Pastoral Instructions, which related to me, I should have refrained from those animadversions, at which his Advocate seems so angry.

F I N I S.

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