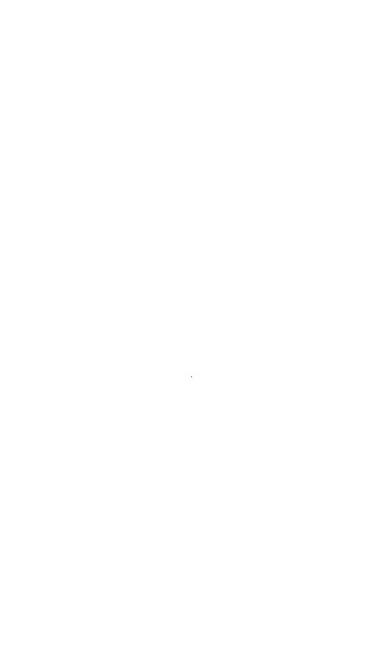


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A

LETTER

To the Right Honourable the

Lord ——;

Occasion'd by a Pamphlet just publish'd,

ENTITLED,

Thoughts on the Affairs of Ireland.

[Price Six-pence.]

LETTER

To the Right Honourable the

Lord *******

Occasion'd by a Pamphlet, just publish'd,

ENTITLED,

Thoughts on the Affairs of Ireland,

With an Account of the Expulsion of

A----r J----s N----ll, Efq;
Late Surveyor and Engineer-General,

From the Hon. the H—se of C-mm-ns in that Kingdom.

Tros Rutulusve fuat nullo discrimine habebo. VIR.

By M. B. DRAPIER.



L O N D O N:

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A

LETTER

To the Right Honourable the

Lord ——, &c.

My Lord,

Have read over the Pamphlet your Lordship put into my Hands, entitled, Thoughts on the Affairs of Ireland, and as you do me the Honour to defire my Opinion of it, shall give it your Lordship impartially.

I apprehend the Foundation of your Request was owing to my residing in that

B King-

Kingdom for some Time, which might enable me to form a clearer Judgment of the Disputes prevailing in the Irish P--t, 'than others who have never crofs'd the Sea thither: And, indeed, the Knowledge I have of many of the Members of the H-of C-ns, and the frequent Opportunities I had of being present at their Debates, have entirely convinc'd me of the direct Falshood of the principal Position contain'd in this Writing, namely, That the Irish are setting up for an Independency of England, which the Author would infinuate to be the fole Basis of all the Dissentions known on the other Side of the Water, and talk'd on fo much of this; and, with great Gravity, proposes to discuss the Question of Independency, by asking four more; or, to use his own Words, to state some Questions, and give the Arguments on both Sides, in order to determine impartially this Matter, and wishes bis Capacity was equal to bis Impartiality. As to the latter, I believe the has fucceeded, and has got his Wish; for, to me, his Capacity and Impartiality feem to be pretty near equal, and upon a Par.

But before we come to these ingenious Questions, the Author begins with giving us an History of Ireland, and of the Temper of the Natives, under the several Princes from Henry II. to his present Majesty, which, from its frequent Allusions to Bottles and Corks, and to Corks and Bottles, may, with no Impropriety, be called a Bottle-History of that Kingdom, and the Author a Bottle-Historian, or a Bottle-Conjurer, if he should like that Title better. Whether or no he was led into this inimitable Vein of Humour, from the common Report that the Irish drink pretty freely, or that he began this elegant Piece of Reason at a Tavern, and over bis Bottle, I cannot fay; but this, I believe, many of his Readers will be inclined to think, he had a Bottle in his Head at the writing it; for my part I am of a contrary Opinion I must own, for we say of a Man in Liquor, that he is a drunken bonest Fellow, and speaks the Truth, an Obfervation, I am afraid, will not be often made in the Perusal of this History': That the Antients thought in this Respect with us, appears from the following Lines in Horace.

Reges dicuntur multis urgere Culullis, Et torquere mero, quem perspexisse laborant.

I have another Objection, indeed, which has fome Weight with me, namely, that had the Author been drunk, he would have wrote better, for Wine frequently gives Life and Spirit to the Imagination, neither of which appear too prodigally dispers'd throughout this Work; and, I know not whether it might not be faid, with fome Degree of Truth, that almost as many good Things have occasionally flow'd from the Bottle, as the Pen: But, that the Author had a Bottle in view, is evident from the first of his History of Ireland, for he tells us, King Henry H. was obliged to go over to pull out the Corks, to prevent breaking the Bottles. In the Time of Henry VII. the Champaigne began to froth again, and some Bottles were broke. In the Time of Henry VIII. Gerard, Earl of Kildare, bottled up the Champaigne, but that resolute Monarch drew the Corks, and faved the breaking of the Bottles. Then the Wine was pretty quiet till the Time of Queen Elizabeth, but her Grace, who used now and then to swear and kick

kick a little (Delicacies which, by the bye, I never heard her celebrated for) broke a Number of Bottles, and drew the Corks of more, and they hardly froth'd again till King Charles I's. Time. Then comes Cromwell, an ill-bred rough Fellow, who went over to Ireland, and kick'd about, and broke above half the Bottles in the Kingdom; to this the facetious Author adds a very merry Remark, that he supposed he had Jack-boots on, for he don't find that the Glass cut his Shins: If the Reader don't laugh at this Piece of Humour, I'll promise him he'll not laugh at any other while the Book is in his Hands, but if he is not of a very Saturnine Disposition, he can't help laughing at fo good a Thing; I am fure I did, and thought of the Author at the same Time. We come now to the Glorious and Immortal King William, who notwithstanding the dreadful Havock our Author tells us he made with the Bottles in Ireland, and banish'd 30, or 40,000 of 'em together to France, yet I have fome Reason to believe has more Bottles open'd, if not drank, to his Memory in Dublin, than he ever transported to Paris. This Monarch, fays our Author, was obliged to go over himfelf; be not only broke Bottles, and uncork'd the

the Wine, but fent 30, or 40,000 Bottles to France; this, he adds, was a wife Measure, fince it prevented the flying of Corks, and breaking a Number of Bottles. As our Author tells us, this was a wife Thing, to be fure it was fo, not but I am apt to think, if King William had never done a wiser, he would not have been held in fuch Veneration in that Kingdom, for I am certain, if I had been an Irishman, and I dare fay, some few of the Gentlemen of that Country will be of my Opinion, I should have thought it very bard, if his Majesty would not have permitted us the Trial at least of finding out some Methods to prevent the flying of Corks, and breaking of Bottles, without fending the Wine to France; nor was England, which lies in the Way thither, much obliged to his Memory in not landing a few Bottles bere; for I will venture to fay, there were many Honest Fellows in London alive in those Days, who would have uncork'd his Liquor for him, as fast as he fent it in, and with as much Dexterity as any Frenchman of 'em all. But fo much for History, fays our Author, and indeed I think we have had enough of it. Now, fays he, for the present State.

"It is Sixty Years that Ireland hath been " quiet. The Vines planted by King William " produced an excellent Cordial Juice; but " of late, the new Wines puff, and fume, and " fly; then, he imagines the Protestants see " not the Consequences of what is now be-"ginning to be done, and therefore is per-" fuaded, that the present Ferment will all " fublide, upon their calmly confidering, that " it is against the Interest of every English-" man in Ireland, (by which he means Irish " of English Ancestors) to attempt INDEPEN-"DENCY. Again, Dean Swift was the first " fince the Revolution that fet up the Notion of " the Independency of Ireland, and raised " ill Blood, by perfuading the Multitude, that " Ireland had a different Interest from " England, and ought to be INDEPENDENT, "took up the Opportunity of Wood's Half-" pence, (a strong Instance in his Favour) "and blew up a general Flame, and tho" "the Blaze was foon over, yet there still " remains Fire under the Ashes; all this, " and many other Things, he charges to the " Account of Dean Swift, and his Patron "Lord Bolingbroke; what Views, they had, fays he, let every Irish as well as English " Protestant

"Protestant judge;" which is kind enough in our Author, and has some Degree of Modesty in it too, in permitting the People of Ireland to be Judges of their own Affairs, and which must be look'd upon as an Indulgence from one, who seems to know them so much better then any of 'em, so we wen't quarrel upon this Head, but e'en leave that Matter, as he desires, to them.

"Sometimes, continues he, this latent " Fire breaks out in Politics, about Places, " or Members; then the discontented Party " immediately takes up the Claim of INDE-"PENDENCY. Thus all the Uproars in "Westminster for Seven Years together were " fupported by the charming Word, INDE-"PENDENCY. If a Surveyor-General is " accused by some, and defended by others, " fay, that it is for the INDEPENDENCY of " the Kingdom to turn him out. If any one " has a Mind to leffen the Prerogative of the " Crown of Great-Britain in Ireland, all " good Patriots must affist, for this is for "INDEPENDENCY;" and then follow his decifive Questions.

Ift, Is it Just for the prefent Irish to desire to be INDEPENDENT of BRITAIN?

2dly, Would it be Advantagious to Ireland to be Independent of Britain?

3dly, Could Britain be a great and flourishing Nation, if Ireland was an INDE-PENDENT Nation?

4thly, Would the great Powers on the Continent suffer Ireland, if undefended by England, to subfift as an INDEPENDENT and Protestant Nation?

To all which formidable Enquiries, I readily Answer, No, and that there is not a Man of Sense or Power, on the other side the Water, that will not join with me in that Answer; nay more, that there is not an Irishman, of any Figure or Understanding, that will not, for one Reason or Argument the Author brings to prove his Questions, surnish him with ten, and he must not take it ill, if I say, more Weighty, more to the Point, and more convincing than any he has urged. The Irish in general, and I am sure

all that I have ever known, my LORD, and I had the Honour of being acquainted with many of the first Rank and Quality in that Kingdom, have far different Notions of their Connection with England, than this wild Author would infinuate; they are fensible to the last of the Protection they owe to England; they are conscious 'tis the Strength of England must confirm them in the quiet Possession of their Properties; they want not to be told, that 'tis the British Fleet alone that can preserve them from Foreign Insults, and from French Invafions; they know that Ireland could never defend itself, but must fink into a Province to some Arbitrary and powerful Prince upon the Continent; and are well informed, that in all Distresses, and on all Emergencies, they must look up to the Crown of England for Relief and Support, and to that alone; and that 'tis his M-j-fty, for whom they have the most ardent and unalterable Affection, and the British P---t, that must secure to them the uninterrupted Enjoyment of their Estates and Fortunes, the Safety of their Lives, the Exercise of their Rights and Privileges, the Continuance of their Free-

dom, the Maintenance of an Establish'd Protestant Church, in a Word, the Religion, the Laws, the Liberties of the Kingdom. That this is the true Spirit which prefides and directs in all their Councils and Debates, must appear to every impartial and unprejudiced Englishman, who shall read, and consider their Addresses in P---t from Time to Time deliver'd to the Lord L---t to be transmitted hither, in which the strongest and most nervous Assurances of their constant and invariable Affection and Loyalty to his M-j-sty, and deep Sense of the Advantages they receive from the protecting Power of England, are fet forth in Language Sincerity of Heart could alone inspire, and only Souls warm'd with Gratitude could distate. Even in the present Disputes, these Broils for Independency, (as our Author would have them stiled) who is there, can read the very last Speech made by that great Man, the Glory and Honour of his Country, the present Sp---k--r, when he presented the Bills to the Duke of D-rs-t for the Royal Affent, who is there so lost to Truth, so prejudiced against Conviction, that will say, his Sentiments were the Sentiments of a Fastion

Faction against England? that they breath'd out the Fire of INDEPENDENCY, and tended to kindle Flames that might burn and blaze as far as this our Island; but, on the contrary, full of an acknowleg'd Sense for Blessings receiv'd from England, for Atts of R-y-l Goodness conferr'd by a Gracious S-v-r-gn, the Adoration of his Subjects, and all Submission and Deference to the Gr-nd C-nc-l of the British Nation in P-rl-m-nt affembled; so that I profess myself a Stranger to the Motive, or to what could possibly be the Inducement to this Writer, thus to tax a Nation with Principles they abbor, for he must in his own Mind be convinc'd of the contrary of what he writes, unless it be to ingratiate himself with those, to whom all Acts of Public Spirit are offensive, whose Interest it may be to cast black Shades on the bright Sunskine of Virtue, and whose Power must fly to Fiction and Misrepresentation of FaEls for its Support and Continuance.

But as the necessary Dependence of Ireland upon England is a Truth so universally allow'd amongst the Irish, and so generally known amongst our Countrymen, I shall take

no farther Notice of the Contents of this impartial Work, but leave all the fine Reafonings of the Author upon his four Questions to the Admiration of his Friends and bimfelf; or, to use his own Words, with what Views he wrote, let every Irish as well as English Protestant judge; for supposing only, what is the Fact, that the Irish are not fetting up for an Independency of England, the whole Structure is demolifh'd, his Building is a Castle in the Air of his own raifing, and exists no where but in his own Brain, and his learned Arguments only tend to convince the Irish of a Truth they knew before, and could perhaps better illustrate than the Author; I shall take it then for granted, and proceed no farther; but as the Author may not perhaps fee this Matter fo clearly, unless he has a Bottle before him, I will indulge him for once with his favourite Simile, and perhaps an Argument drawn from a Bottle will have some Effect.

We will suppose then a Child of fix Years old, dining alone at a Table, with a Bottle of Claret before him; we all know if he drinks the Bottle 'twill make him drunk, and, if he breaks it, the Wine will stain the Cloth:

Cloth; but, if this Bottle of Claret should prove to be a Bottle of Water, we are very fensible it will do neither, the Water will not get into his Head, nor will it change the Colour of the Cloth: In like manner, all the Conclusions, however just, and true, and demonstrable they may be, which are drawn from a Supposition of an Attempt for In-DEPENDENCY in Ireland, must fall to the Ground, if no such Attempt is really making, and the Folly of the Irish, the Injustice of the Irish, and the Ingratitude of the Irish, chargeable to them upon that Account, are Terms equally as applicable to the banish'd Members of the French P-t at Soissons, as the sitting Members of the Irish at Dublin.

But your Lordship will perhaps now ask me, what the Divisions in the H——se of C-mm-ns in Ireland are really owing to, and expect that in Return for destroying one Fabrick, I should erect another. As briefly and as truly as I can, I will satisfy your Lordship in that Point, and endeavour to explain to your better Judgment the late Transaction of that Hon. H-se, in regard to Mr. N-v-li's Assair, late Surveyor and Engineer.

Engineer-General, and which was and is the Occasion of the present Disputes in that Kingdom; and this I am the more inclined to do, as I believe it is an Affair little understood in England, whether any Pains have been taken to perplex the Minds of Enquirers, and to lead them to see it in a wrong Light, I will not pretend to say.

The E--l of *H-rr-ngt-n*, who preceded his Gr—e the D--ke of D--r/--t in the G--v--nm---t of Ireland, before he left that Kingdom, recommended to the P--rli--nt to grant a Sum of Money for the Repair of the Barracks, for the better Reception of his M-j-sty's Troops, his Exc-ll-ncy having been inform'd they were most of them in a ruinous Condition. The C--mm--ns immediately voted a Sum not exceeding 25,000 l. (I think that was the Sum, my Lord, for I have not the Votes at present before me) for the Repair of the Barracks; and the conducting of that Affair, and the Management of that Money, was, by a Vote of the H---se, entrusted to the Care of A---r J---s N----ll, Esq; as an Officer of the Cr-wn, being at that time Surveyor and Engineer-General,

His G--ce the D-ke of D--rf--t succeeded the E--l of H-rr--gt-n in the Adm----n before the next Seffion of P--rl--m---t, at the Meeting of which, amongst other Things, his Gr--e in his Speech recommended to the C-mm-ns to enquire into the Affair of the Barracks, and the Repairs done to them. The C-mm-ns accordingly, after an Address of Thanks to the L-rd L---t-n--nt, and the Dispatch of the K-ng's Bufiness, which was forwarded with all Expedition, and passed without Debate, proceeded to refolve themselves into a Committee of the whole H---fe, to enquire into the State of the Barracks, and bow the Money voted by P-rl--m---t had been applied and expended.

Upon this Examination, which lasted some Weeks, it appeared plainly to the II—se, "That the Publick Money had not only been misapplied, and no just Account given of the Disbursement of it, but that the Barracks themselves, as well those that had been rebuilt, as those that had been repaired, were, at the very time of this Enquiry, in a bad Condition, and by

"no means fit for the Reception of the "King's Troops." To be more fully convinced of the Truth of this, the H—fe ordered the Commanding Officers of every Regiment on the Establishment, to send up a Return to the H---se of the Condition of the respective Barracks they were quarter'd in, most of which, if not all, made most beavy Complaints, and in their several Returns, which, if I mistake not, were upon Oath, alledged, "That the Walls and Covering of their fe-" veral Barracks were not sufficient to pro-"tect their Men or themselves from the In-" clemencies of the Weather, and that few " or none would keep out the Rain entire-"ly." Several of the Barrack-Masters were examined on this Occasion, who confirmed the Report of the Officers: One of them I remember, (for I was present) with some Drollery, compared his particular Barrack, which had been repair'd, "To an old Wb--e, " who was painted on the Outside, and look'd " shewy, but was rotten within." And fpeaking again of it afterwards, faid, "The "Repairs were so flight, that a Force suf-"ficient to pull an old Woman's Tooth out " of her Head would pull his Barrack down " about bis Ears." In short, my Lord, it was

was evident, beyond Contradiction, that not a Barrack was properly repair'd, or but very few, if any; that the Money voted was fufficient to repair them all; that part of the Money was not accounted for, but visibly applied to other Uses, and embezzled; so, that when S-r R-cb-rd C-x had, with great Clearness, and with greater Eloquence than was to be expected from so dry a Subject, as Brick, and Mortar, Masons and Carpenters, recapitulated the whole of the Evidence as given before the Committee, Day by Day during this Enquiry, and at the Close of his Speech reccommended to them to come to some Resolutions that might deter Officers of every kind, from embezzling the Publick Money bereafter; the Committee immediately came to 16, which were pass'd Nem. Con. and being reported by the Chairman the next Day, were as unanimoufly confirm'd by the H---se.

In one of these Resolutions "the Surveyor" and Engineer-General was voted, to have "embezzled the Publick Money on such an "Article." In another, that on such an Occasion "he had defrauded the Nation of "the

"the Publick Money;" in another, "that " he had acted without Care, Judgment, or "OEconomy;" in another, "that the Bar-"racks were unfit for the Reception, and " dangerous to the Health of his Majesty's "Troops."

After these, and others, in all amounting to 16 Resolutions, had been unanimously agreed to, Sir A---r G---e and Col. R-cb-rdB---le, moved the H--se again, and added two or three new Refolutions, by one of which, as the Money granted for this Service had been already voted fufficient, by way of Punishment upon the Surveyor, it was refolved as follows, by the whole H--fe Nem. Con.

" March 6, 1752.

"That A=r J-s N----ll, Esq; Sur-" veyor and Engineer General, should at " his oven Expence, and without any further "Charge to the Publick, be obliged to " procure the feveral Persons with whom he " hath contracted for the building, rebuilding, " and repairing the Barracks, to make good the " Defects of the Works by them respectively " contracted " contracted for, and to stanch and finish the "same in the most effectual Manner, so as to "make the said Barracks sit and convenient" for the Reception of his M-j-sty's Troops."

The H—se then voted an Address to the L-rd L-ut-n-t, "that these Resolutions" might be transmitted to his Majesty;" and soon after broke up.

This, my Lord, is the true state of Mr. N-ll's Affair, as it stood at the Conclusion of the last Sessions of P-t; what has pass'd since, has been only in consequence of the above Resolution, and from the printed Votes of the H-se of C-ns, appears to be as follows:

" Nov. 2, 1753.

"The H---e was moved that the Reso"lution of the H---e of the sixth of March,
"1752, should be read; whereby it was
"resolved, that A---r J---s N---ll, Esq;
"Surveyor and Engineer-General, should,
"at his own Expence, and without any far"ther Charge to the Publick, be obliged to
"procure, &c. as above."

"Then it was resolved,

"That the H--se will, on this Day Fort"night, resolve itself into a Committee of
"the whole H---se, to enquire whether
"A---r J---s N---ll, Esq; late Engineer
"and Surveyor General bath, at his own
"Expence, without any farther Charge to
"the Publick, &c. &c."

" November 16.

"Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the "Committee to enquire, whether A---r" "f---s N---ll, Esq; has used any and what "Endeavours towards making good, &c."

Then the House resolved itself into the said Committee, and continued so to do several Days after, unto the 23d of November, 1753, on which Day Mr. J---n R--chf---t reported from the said Committee the sollowing Resolutions:

"That it appears to this Committee, that A---r J---s N----ll, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor General, bath not at his own Expence, and without any farther Charge to the Publick, procured, &c. &c. "pursuant

" pursuant to a Resolution of this H---se is last Session of P--rl-m--t."

"That it appears to this Committee, that A--r J--s N---ll, Esq; late Sur-yeyor and Engineer General, hath not used reasonable and proper Endeavours to-wards making good, &c. &c."

To which Refolutions the House agreed,

Then Colonel R-ch-d B--le, feconded by J-ln C-le, Efq; moved, "That the faid "A-r J-s N-ll, Efq; late Engineer and "Surveyor General, in not complying with "the Refolutions of this H-se hath acted in "manifest Contempt of the Authority theres" of."

This being the Foundation for the Expulsion, which followed, occasioned a Debate which lasted till Ten at Night, when the Question was carried by a Majority of eight Votes.

And thus, my Lord, you fee the Foundation too of this Charge of Independency, for this is the great Point, the carrying of which occasion'd fach great Rejoicings in Ireland,

Ireland, and so much Talk bere; and indeed if not to fuffer the Publick Money to be made away with unaccounted for, if to difgrace the Officer that was proved guilty of misapplying it, if the providing for his Mj-y's Troops, after their gallant Behaviour against the Enemy in the Field abroad, a Safe Retreat at Home, and Beds of Comfort for Limbs wearied out in their Country's Service; if constant Professions of their inviolable Attachment to their S-r-gn, and publick Assurances of their Deference to the British P-rl-m-t and C-c-l, be the Signs and Characteristics of an Attempt for INDEPENDENCY, I will then allow, the Irifh are at this Time manibus pedibusque pursuing every Measure that can free them from all Connections with England, that INDE-PENDENCY is the Voice of the People, the C-mm-ns and their Sp-k-r, the P-rsand their Ch-n-ll-r, and according to this Notion, of the L-d L-t himself at the Head of his C--- l. I have the Honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient Servant, London, Fan. 19, 1754.

M. B. DRAPIER.

(26)

POSTSCRIPT.

Your Lordship may perhaps imagine, from the above Proceedings of the H-se of C-mm-ns, that Mr. N--ll, who is stilled in the last Resolutions against him, late Surveyor and Engineer General, was turned out of his Employment, (as is hinted by the Writer of this Pamphlet, P. 6.) but that was not the Faet, my Lord, for he was allowed to sell out, after the P-rl-m-t broke up in 1752; for some Thousand Pounds.

F I N I S



