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S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
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C O N S I D E R A T I O N S
O n t h e L a t e
B I L L

F o r P a y i n g t h e
N a t i o n a l D E B T, &c.
By M^r. William Bruce.

D U B L I N:

N^o. 78/4
P r i n t e d i n t h e Y e a r M D C C L I V.

APPENDIX
TO THE
REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONERS
OF THE
LAND OFFICE
IN
RESPONSE
TO A
RESOLUTION
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
PASSED
IN
MAY 1846
CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE
LANDS
BELONGING
TO THE
CROWN

For Paying the

NATIONAL DEBT.

DUBLIN: 1846.
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Supplement.

REMARKS

ON A

PAMPHLET, &c.

AFTER the various Arguments, Facts, Precedents, and Acts of Parliament, which have been laid before the Public in the Course of these Remarks, may it not be fairly presumed, that the Mind of every intelligent and impartial Reader, must, by this Time, be fully prepared to assent to the Truth of the following Propositions?

First, So inherent and inviolable are the original Rights of Men, that whatever Powers shall, in reality, be found requisite for establishing a valid Security to the Community for the peaceable Enjoyment of all such Rights, these, the People, or the Representatives of the People, are, at all Times, intitled to vindicate and reclaim, upon the very same Principles on which they were originally intitled to claim and demand them, on the first Institution of their Form of Government; and that no Length of Time, no Variation of Form, no Customs ancient or modern, no Prerogative, nor no Act of Parliament, can ever be pleaded in Bar of this Right.

Secondly, That the Claim of the House of Commons of *Ireland*, to point out to the Crown

such Applications of the public Money raised off the Community, in Virtue of parliamentary Authority, as they judge most conducive to the Ease of the People, and the Service of Government, is not only intitled to the full Benefit of the above Observation, but likewise clearly supported by unvaried Custom, Precedents and Acts of Parliament, for a long Series of Years; consequently, that so far as any late Measures have had a Tendency to deprive or abridge the House of Commons of the full Exercise of this Claim, so far they must be confessed injurious in their Nature to the undoubted parliamentary Rights of this Kingdom; and therefore of Necessity ought to be withstood, in the very Manner in which they were withstood this last Session of Parliament; otherwise the House of Commons must unavoidably become chargeable with the Guilt of having given up or betrayed their Country's constitutional parliamentary Rights.

And now, if the above Propositions have, in Truth, an unquestionable Foundation in Reason, Justice, and Matter of Fact, can it be any Wonder that a Majority should be found, of the Representatives of the People, and Guardians of the Rights, Properties, and Privileges belonging to this Country, resolute in the Vindication of so essential a Right? Gentlemen by this Time heartily tired of Shifts and Expedients, and not a little apprehensive that something unfriendly was meant to this Kingdom, not merely from the Repetition of those ill-boading Words of *previous Consent*, but from several other Incidents, still much more alarming: On the contrary, are not all Circumstances of Wonder swallowed up in this, how such a Number of the Sons of this Country should not only be willing to part with, but some of them vehement and zealous that the House of Commons should

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should make it their own Act and Deed, courteously to make a surrender of this their parental goodly Inheritance? It is true, there are but too many Men to be found in all Countries, some of them born to ample Possessions, and others with the groveling Capacities of acquiring and accumulating large Heaps of Wealth, who never once taste of the heavenly Gift, or feel one single animating Perception of the real Dignity of human Nature, consequently utterly incapable of forming any just Apprehensions of the essential Rights of Men, and conceiving a Zeal for them, from their coming into this World till they return to their Dust; but this will not fully account for the present Appearance.

In this Manner, however, the real Facts stood in the Beginning of this Session; a large Redundancy continuing still in the Treasury, and part of the national Debt remaining still undischarged, his Grace, in his Speech, made the very same Mention of his Majesty's Consent he had made the Session before; and the House of Commons, in regard to this Article, expressed themselves in the Manner they had done in their former Address: They afterwards proceeded to bring in the Money-Bill, and likewise the Heads of the Bill for the Discharge of this Debt.

It was proposed to the Committee of Supply, to prefix to the Heads of this Bill, the very same Preamble which was last Session, by the Alteration made in *England*, prefixed to the former; but this was, by the Chairman, and two more of the Members of the Committee, so resolutely withstood, that this Scheme was dropt; and the Heads of the Bill were brought into the House with several Recitals, but without any complimentary Preamble; and in this Form, contrary to general Expectation, were passed without any Opposition: Here it is plain, that notwithstanding all the Pains

Pains that had been taken, and all the Means which had been made use of, they durst not yet venture the Issue of this Matter on a Debate in the House : No one can pronounce with Certainty what would have been the Consequence of sending over the Bill, after the Preamble to the Bill had been debated here, and ordered to be left out : But, in all Likelihood, it must either have come back in the Form in which it went over, or, at least, be accompanied with some other Reasons, than barely an Intimation, in general, that his Majesty's Prerogative made it necessary that such a Preamble should be prefixed.

Be this as it will, no Objection was made by the Secretary, or by any other of the Servants of the Crown, nor by any other Member of the House, against passing the Heads of this Bill, without any Acknowledgement of *previous Consent*, indeed, without any complimentary Acknowledgment whatsoever ; nor doth it appear, that any Objection was made to this Form in his Majesty's Privy-Council of this Kingdom ; strange, if any Bill should be transmitted with their Approbation, and yet appear to them injurious to his Majesty's Prerogative ! The Fact, however, is certain, that the Bill was sent into *England* without any Preamble, and was transmitted back hither with the Preamble of the former Session prefixed, accompanied with a Letter, intimating, as has already been mentioned, that his Majesty's Prerogative required such an Alteration : How it could be conceived that his Majesty's Servants in this Kingdom, who had never betrayed either Ignorance or Inattention in regard to his Majesty's Prerogative, and who could not but be best acquainted with the Nature and Extent of this Country's constitutional parliamentary Rights, and, in consequence of this Knowledge, had, in a Variety of Instances, already

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already testified a very strong Sense that these Rights would be injured by any such parliamentary Acknowledgment; how it could be imagined, that these, his Majesty's Servants, could be so instantly illuminated by so general an Intimation, as to cause them, all at once, to renounce their former Principles, and confess the Necessity of a *previous Consent*, is what must wholly be left to Men, thoroughly practised in political Trambles, to comprehend and explain.

The Event, God be thanked, has sufficiently evinced, that nothing could make these honest and able Men, swerve from their own Sense of their Duty; and that, according to their Apprehension, nothing could more effectually recommend their Services to the Acceptance of so righteous and beneficent a Prince, than their continuing, through good Report, and bad Report, invariably faithful to the Trusts which had been reposed in them by so loyal, so unsuspecting, and so affectionate a People; upon these Principles, and upon these Principles only, they rejected the Bill; and, in consequence, relieved the Apprehensions of Multitudes of his Majesty's faithful and zealous Subjects of this Kingdom from infinite Distress.

Having thus made it manifest, that not one Step has been taken in regard to this Bill, but what the House of Commons were laid under an unavoidable Necessity of taking, if they meant to preserve to the present Generation, and to Posterity, the ancient, hereditary, and constitutional, parliamentary Rights of this Country:

It only remains, now that the Right itself is established, to shew the inestimable Value and Importance of this Right; this will naturally be made evident, by spending a few Pages in examining the Tendency of the Doctrine which our Author has found himself under a Necessity to advance,

advance, in order to justify the Measures which have been taken to deprive us of this Right.

Were it not that the Policy of it had like to have proved our Ruin, it would be pleasant to trace down, from the first Introduction, the various Senses which have been put, or attempted to be put, on the uncouth Language of *previous Consent*. The first Time it was made use of, no small Pains were taken to have it understood, not as intended to express any determinate Meaning distinct from the subsequent Word *Recommend*, but only as a strong Manner of his Majesty's testifying his intire Approbation of such an Application of the public Money, acquainting his Subjects, beforehand, that whenever a Bill for so excellent a Purpose came before him, it should most assuredly and readily receive his royal Assent; and the Manner of paying off the former Gale of the national Debt, having left this Country without any Suspicion, this Representation for some time had its Effect: Indeed, when the Money-Bill was soon after altered in *England*, in order to introduce this very same Phrase, it became unavoidable to suspect that something more was couched under it, than what the simple Folks of this Country had formerly been wished to believe; but even then it was insisted, that there was not the least Foundation for any Alarm; that the Words had been inserted, not on Account of any particular significant Meaning contained in the Phrase, but on Account of the Respect that always is due to the Speech from the Throne, which necessarily required, that the Preamble of the Bill should exactly correspond to the Words of the Speech, and not, as it had been sent from hence, to the Words of the Address.

In this equivocal State did this Matter rest, till this last Session of Parliament; but when the very same Language was again repeated and strictly adhered

adhered to, on the Opening of this Session, it was impossible any longer not to be convinced that something unfriendly to the Rights of this Country must be ultimately intended by it; for, as it was afterwards argued, with equal Propriety and Modesty, by a young Gentleman in the House, either these Words must be affirmed to be harmless, or otherwise they must be admitted to contain something which no Body cares to explain, and which consequently must be unfavourable to the Right of this House; if they are merely harmless, why so much Pains taken to obtrude them upon us? If they are hurtful to our Rights, is it possible that any Man can assign a good Reason, why they are so zealously contended for, within the Walls of this House?

But though all were agreed, that something unhospitable must of Necessity be meant, it was not yet cleared up what this precise Meaning was: In this Matter we were soon farther instructed, by the Letter which accompanied the altered Bill from *England*; there we are told, that the taking Notice of his Majesty's *previous Consent*, in a Case of this Nature and Importance, is absolutely necessary for the Support of his Prerogative and Dignity. This lets us much farther into the determinate Meaning than ever we had got before.

An apprehended Opposition between his Majesty's Prerogative and the Claim of the House of Commons is here clearly pointed out: But even this is very far from coming up to the full extent and Operation of the Doctrine intended to be established by our Author, and his Patrons, in regard to previous Consent: In the Letter, we have mention only of his Majesty's Prerogative, not of any ancient and permanent Right. Prerogative is no more than an indefinite Power, which the Crown is at Liberty to take up and exert, as

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Letter of
English
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often as it is necessary for, or conducive to the general Safety of the Community, and consistent with the legal and constitutional Rights of the several respective Members; and must always be laid down, as soon as it appears to interfere with the general Good, or the constitutional legitimate Rights of any of the Subjects:

an offer
relations
A full Explanation of the whole Mystery and Force of this Doctrine was reserved for him, and properly reserved for him, as, in all Appearance, no Persons could be so well qualified to explain it as some of his Patrons. The Doctrine then, as he has laid it down in his Considerations, is no other than this.

doctrine
That the Parliament of *Ireland* should be obliged to acknowledge, that the Crown is possessed of an antient permanent Right to the Application of all public Money brought into the Treasury: That the King is the sole Judge of the proper Occasion, the proper Time, and the proper Sum, in all Instances of such Application: That no other Power in the Constitution can have the least Pretence, or Shadow of Right to point out, or in any Manner to intimate, their Wishes in regard to any Application of this Sort, without first having obtained his Majesty's Leave to propose such Application.

and
That the King, it is true, *ought* to apply all this Money for the Ease of his People, and the public Service of the Nation; but that there is no Power upon Earth that has a Right to call for an Account, whether this Money has been in Fact applied agreeably to this constitutional Trust or not.

gain
That the Parliament, it is likewise true, has a Right to punish those who shall wickedly advise such Acts as would be a Breach of this public Trust; but that they can have no Power of coming at the Knowledge, whether any Persons
had

had given such wicked Advice, or not, unless the Persons who were guilty of the Breach of Trust, in consequence of this Advice, shall graciously condescend to suffer the necessary Evidence to be laid before them.

That there is a Right in the Commons to grant as much Money out of the Pockets of the People as they can, by any Influence, be prevail'd on to grant; but that the People can never have any other Means of knowing, except by their feeling the sensible Effects, whether this Money comes afterwards to be applied to their Ease, or to their Oppression; to the Service of the Public, or to the total Destruction of its most inestimable Liberties.

That this is the real Doctrine of our Author, stript indeed of some of his equivocal and smooth sounding Words, but void, at the same Time, of all unfair Exaggeration, every Reader may satisfy himself, by a careful Review of the whole of his Pamphlet, and particularly by looking into the Pages specified below *: And that this Doctrine is destructive of all legal Government, far beyond every thing that was taught by Judges or Doctors, under *Charles I.* cannot be denied, when this new Engine of Tyranny, the main Springs of which, all ready made by our Author, and easy to be put together, if ever these Lands shall be cursed with a Tyrant, are for a Moment examined; for what will be wanting, but to procure a House of Commons, by making them Sharers in the Spoil, to strip their Constituents of their Property, under the Sanction of the Constitution, and, at the same Time, render the People acquiescent under the Sense of their Misery, by making them believe that nothing has happened to them but what was according to Law.

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Suppose,

* Page 5, 18, 33, 40, 41, 42, 47.

Again

Destructive
of all legal
Government

how

Suppose, but for a Moment, that a Prince, of the Spirit of *Charles II.* should, at some future distant Time, succeed to the Government of these Kingdoms, utterly inattentive to the Good or Ill of his Subjects, careful for nothing but to keep his Whores in good Humour, his Ministers from teasing him, and to have Money at his Command; suppose such a Prince to receive ample Supplies, in the Manner that Supplies are granted at present, for answering the recurring Demands of the civil and military Establishment, and every other of the usual Purposes of Government; suppose him once more, instead of applying the Produce of these Supplies towards answering these useful and necessary Purposes, to call for the largest Share of this Money, in order to answer some more favourite Purposes of his own, and to leave the several Orders of Men, depending upon Government, to shift for themselves till the next Session of Parliament; promising them, in the mean Time, that all should be made up to them, when the Parliament met.

In what a wretched Situation must this poor Parliament instantly find itself, on its first sitting down? The Treasury quite empty, and all Orders of Men, in the Service of Government, civil, military, and contingent, furious, like hungry Lyons let loose to seek for Food; invironed in this Manner, what Remedy, think you, has our Author's Wisdom devised? Why, truly, 'to WITH-HOLD future Grants, in Proportion to Mis-applications!'

Can a Man mean honestly who writes in this Manner? Principles of Justice and Honour the Prince we are speaking of is supposed to have none; our Author has told us, that the Constitution has left him without any Restraint besides, in regard to his Manner of applying the Money, granted as Supplies for the Purposes of Government;

ment; these Purposes of Government must, of Necessity, be carried on, though the Prince should be ever so unfaithful to his constitutional Trust, and yet our Author makes no Difficulty of assuring the Public, that ‘ they are not without a Remedy in Case of Abuse; the true parliamentary Checque, saith he, will always remain, *to withhold future Grants:*’ What think you, courteous Reader, would not a Resolution or a Vote of this sort, carried from the House to the Deputies of ten or twelve thousand armed Men ready to perish for Want, and to mutiny for Pay, be an extremely happy Expedient to satisfy their Hunger and turn away their Wrath? Or is it not an Insult on every Man’s Understanding to talk of such Remedies? But without putting Cases of distant Contingencies, is it not evident, that had the Doctrine of this Pamphlet, so zealously propagated and dispersed, received the Sanction of the House of Commons, by their passing this Bill, it would next Session of Parliament be a reasonable Answer, if the Accounts should be asked for, Gentlemen, his Majesty has nothing to desire of you but the usual Supplies, what Occasion, therefore, to look into the Accounts? And yet who doth not see, that as the actual taking away the present Redundancy remaining in the Treasury would ruin the Kingdom, so the very Apprehensions that it was liable to be taken away, would effectually put a Stop to the Circulation of, at least, one half of the Commerce carried on in this Country: Indeed, whoever has any Idea of the Operation of Pannics, must readily agree that this, in all Probability, would, at this very Hour, have proved the sad and unpreventable Consequence, if this Bill had passed.

What dreadful and accumulated Mischief has this Nation most happily escaped, in an Extremity of Danger; the greater the Extremity,
the

the more precious, doubtless, ought our Deliverance to be held, and, likewise, the manly Resolution of our worthy Representatives, by whose composed Fortitude this Deliverance was accomplished; but how inexpressibly painful is it, to reflect on the amazing Causes which brought on this Extremity! That one or two Men conscious of being utterly destitute of such Qualifications, as are most essentially requisite for conciliating the permanent Confidence of any sober and liberal minded Community, should yet take it into their Hearts to aspire to the principal Direction over all the Interests, external and internal, relative to this Country, is an Event, which, in all Conscience, is, of itself, full enough of Wonder; but that Gentlemen of this Kingdom, some of them possessing these Qualifications themselves, and none of them at a Loss in regard to Numbers of their Countrymen well deserving this constitutional Trust, should have conspired to gratify this most groundless and immoral Ambition, and to gratify it by concurring in Measures, all of them unfriendly, and some of them, in their Tendency, utterly destructive of the principal Interests and Rights of this Nation, what can so singular an Appearance as this, so totally out of Nature, be otherwise resolved into, than downright Fascination?

*Whigs in
use only
themselves* What avails it for Men to call themselves Whigs, and, at the same Time, act a Part directly subversive of all Liberty?

Can there one Instance be assigned, since the Beginning of the World, of a Country retaining its Liberty, after the principal Direction of the Purse of the People was got into the Hands of those, who already had the supreme Direction of the Force of the Society?

Is it not demonstrable, from the Nature of the Thing, that it is impossible for human Wisdom
to

to devise any other valid Security for the Rights of the People, than by keeping in their Power that necessary Engine, without the Application of which the Force of the Society can neither be collected nor set into Motion. It is not talking, and drinking of Toasts, that constitutes a Whig. No Man is a Whig who doth not look upon the Preservation of the natural Rights of Men, his Neighbour's, as well as his own, to be the first and most essential Purpose of every legitimate Form of civil Government.

No Man is a Whig who does not think it his Duty, upon all suitable Occasions, to hazard his Life in support of a Government of Laws, in opposition to the insolent Domination and arbitrary Will of any Man, or Junto of Men, be he or they ever so much elated by their brief Authority.

No Man consequently can be a Whig, who is not zealous to preserve the principal Power over the Money of the People in the Hands of their Representatives; this being the only valid constitutional Means, by which a Government of Laws can be maintained. How many Men are there, who will be surprized to find themselves stripped of their favourite Apellation by such a Description? They would do well, however, for a Moment to reflect, that this may not be owing to any Mistake in the Description. Is it not, in Truth, a perfect Mockery, for any Man to pretend to the Character of a Whig, and yet to assert that the Crown is possessed of a constitutional Power to apply the Money of the People, either to the Good or Hurt of the People who gave it, as the Crown should see fit; which yet must be the Doctrine of our Author, when he affirms, that the House of Commons has no Right to call this Trustee Power, or the Officers acting under it, to an Account?

Must

Must not the Question be for ever recurring, what can be the Meaning of the unusual and amazing Measures of late taken up in regard to this Country; accompanied, and attempted to be supported by Doctrines of a Tendency so evidently pernicious? avowedly and zealously supported by the extraordinary Pains which have been taken in dispersing the Composition containing these Doctrines; containing them with this most insolent Commination, at the Close of the Pamphlet, ‘ That whoever shall go about to
 ‘ expose the real Tendency of those Measures,
 ‘ and of the Doctrines by which they are meant
 ‘ to be justified, must lay their Account’ (so our Author expressly gives Warning) ‘ to be made
 ‘ answerable for the Consequences of alienating the
 ‘ Minds of his Majesty’s Subjects in this Kingdom,
 ‘ from the Government, AND CONSEQUENTLY
 ‘ FROM THE PERSON OF HIS MAJESTY.’ Did our Author recollect that there ever had been such Men in this Country as the Earl of *Strafford*, and Sir *Constantine Phipps*, when he expressed himself thus? But whether he did or not, makes but very little Difference.

Various have been the Attempts to alienate the Affections of the Protestant Subjects of *Ireland* from his Majesty; and no Wonder that his Majesty’s Enemies should be incessantly at work in repeating such Attempts, as the hitherto indissoluble Union of that powerful Body of Subjects, must necessarily be beheld with Anguish of Heart, by all his treacherous Subjects at home, and by all the malevolent States and Princes abroad; beheld as one of the most impregnable Bulwarks of his Majesty’s Person, Government, and Family. Thanks be to God, they have all proved as foolish and vain as they were wicked; but if our Author and his Patrons can find out the Secret of making this worthy Body of
 Subjects,

Subjects, in opposition to their Senses, to assent to the Doctrine of this parting Admonition, the Work, it must be confessed, will be then well nigh accomplished, alike to the Wishes of the would-be Lords of this Country, and of his Majesty's Enemies.

If the honest Subjects of this Kingdom can be once made to believe, that the Indignation they may have, at any Time, felt, at the Thoughts of a Primate, and of a transient Minister's transient Secretary acquiring the principal Direction of the Interests of this Country, was chargeable with the Guilt of just so much Indignation conceived against the Person of his Majesty; if they can be made to believe this, at the very same Point of Time when their Hearts were rejoicing within them, from the Sense of living under the Government of a Prince, who they knew would never endure that his Protestant Subjects of *Ireland* should, at any Time, be brought under so odious a Domination; or,

If these honest Subjects can be once made to believe, that whatever Dissatisfaction they may be unavoidably led to conceive against particular Instances in an Administration, tending ever so obviously, in their Apprehension, to strip this Country of an essential Part of its Privileges and Rights; to divide the Strength of its Protestant Inhabitants, to dry up the Sources of our national Industry and Wealth, and to divest the Gentlemen of this Country of their usual and rightful Share in administering the internal Interests and Regimen of this Kingdom; if they can be made to believe, that all such Dissatisfaction, though conceived solely against certain Measures in the Minister or his Favourites, are yet capable of being construed into so many Instances of Disaffection conceived personally against his Majesty, and capable

of this Construction in the very Hour in which their Eye of filial Confidence is, with all Humility, turned towards his Majesty, as able and willing to deliver them from all such painful Apprehensions; if such Conceptions as these could once be made Part of the Creed of the Protestants of *Ireland*, as all of them are plainly imply'd in this last Article of the Doctrine of our Author, then indeed must those faithful Subjects of his Majesty be contented to bear the Imputation, in direct Opposition to their own most sensible Feelings, of Disaffection to his Majesty, or else to submit their Necks quietly to whatever Yoke a Minister, or a Confident of a Minister, shall think fit to clap round them.

Macchiavelians

But our modern *Macchiavelians* would seem to be but very ill instructed in the Craft of their Calling; for though the Trick, however stale, may still be a good one, when practised at Court by the Hand of an Artist, begetting Perswasion in the Breast of the Prince, that 'Opposition to his Minister is Disaffection to him;' yet this becomes all Nonsense and Absurdity, more monstrous than the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, when attempted to be insinuated into the Belief of the People.

It is known unto all Men, that the Protestants of *Ireland* were universally and most zealously attached to his Majesty's Person and Government, when this present Administration first had its Commencement, nor is there at this Hour the least Cause to doubt but that this Spirit and Temper will continue the same after this Administration shall come to its Period: It is impossible that any thing can alter the affectionate Loyalty of the good Subjects of *Ireland*, but some fatal Alteration in the Cause which originally begot, and has hitherto cherished and augmented that affectionate Loyalty.

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The present royal Family succeeded to the Crown, because it was so settled by the Laws of the Land; but the Reason why such Transports of Joy accompanied this Succession on its first taking place, was because a most thorough Confidence had already been created, that, under their righteous and benign Administration, *Great Britain and Ireland* would soon be made the Praise or the Envy of every other Nation upon Earth.

And to their immortal Honour be it pronounced, because it can be pronounced with Truth, that the Event has most compleatly corresponded with this most joyous Expectation: Never had the Dominions of *Britain and Ireland*, and perhaps never has any other Country upon Earth so long enjoyed, in such full Significancy and Extent, the inestimable Blessings of a righteous free and legal Government; enjoyed them, not only with the full Consent of the two truly Patriot Princes, who have hitherto ruled over us, but, in respect particularly to his present excellent Majesty, enjoyed them, and at this Hour enjoy them, in consequence of his heroically exposing his own precious Life, and likewise a Life still perhaps dearer to him than his own, in vindicating and securing to his People, and their Posterity, those inestimable Blessings.

The Fact, in reality, is no other than this, nor does the Writer know any Reason why it should not be spoken out, that the principal Cause of the peculiarly zealous Attachment and Affection of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of *Ireland* to the Person and Family of his present Majesty, was, and is, their having been invariably accustomed to contemplate his Majesty as at the Head of the noblest Body of Men upon Earth, all the truly liberal and magnanimous spirited Whigs of *Great Britain and Ireland*; himself a truly royal and unalterable Lover and Assertor of Liberty: No Body

*His Royal
family
by Law*

*His Majesty
people's*

*Country
Blessings
Government*

*His Majesty
Affection
Majesty*

*being at the
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will dispute but that the principal Characteristic of his Majesty, is likewise the essential Characteristic of a Whig, *non minus Libertatis alienæ, quam Dignitatis suæ memor*; it is thus the inimitable Roman Historian gives you, by one Stroke of his Pencil, a most lively Conception of the exalted Merit of an old favourite Emperor, in the first Age of that Commonwealth; and from that Age till now, every Man having that Spirit in him, and no Man wanting that Spirit, has been, or can be a Whig.

So long as so powerful a Cause as this shall remain, the Operation and Effects must likewise remain; and if, at any future Period, a Cause of this Nature should come fatally to alter, it is impossible but in Proportion the Effects must come likewise soon after to alter: Where Feelings are concerned, Words cannot long hide from Men the real Nature of Things; and therefore must it be alike for the Benefit of the Prince and of the People, that from Generation to Generation it should be for ever most clearly understood, that in spite of all Habits of Affection for Families, the liberal spirited Subject will always make the Distinction, where Nature and Sense have beforehand pointed out the Difference; and such will be the Language of every free-born Mind:

*Amicus Georgius tertius, quartus, aut quintus,
Sed magis amica Patria et Libertas Populi Britanici.*

‘ A Descendant of George the First and Second,
‘ for that very Reason, will always be dear;
‘ but the Liberty of my Country, and the Prosperity of Britain, must still be much dearer.’

¶ On the whole, when we behold an Author thus rising up, patronized by the Great, and struggling

struggling hard to fix an Imputation of Disaffection on some of the most dutiful Subjects that ever any Prince had, so zealously loyal, that the only Wish left for his Majesty to form, is, that all the rest of his Subjects were but as well affected as they; when we behold an Attempt, so groundless and odious, thus avowedly made, and accompanied with Circumstances of so extraordinary a Nature, is it possible not to suspect that some serious Mischiefs are impending, in which the King and these his truly right hearted Subjects may be equally involved.

It is not for an obscure and a nameless Writer to make any mention of Defiance; but it is readily left to the Heart of this Author, and to the Hearts of his Patrons, to bid Defiance to themselves, and to all the World besides, to assign any one single Circumstance, whereupon to ground this Imputation of Disaffection, except what shall be found fairly contained in the few following Articles; Articles which it is apprehended will be all readily confessed, and the only Articles, on the Side of the House of Commons and the People, which, from the Commencement of the present Administration till this very Hour, can, with the least Appearance of Truth and Justice, be brought to their Charge; and therefore, on these Articles the Merits of the Cause of this Country, in Opposition to all its Adversaries, are most readily rested.

First, It is most readily confessed, that the House of Commons and the Nation have, from the Beginning till now, testified a truly constitutional Reluctance against a permanent powerful Ecclesiastic, utterly unconnected perhaps, either in point of Interest or Family Alliance, with the Prosperity and Liberty of this Country, ever acquiring the

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the principal Direction of the civil Interests of this Kingdom; and also a like Disinclination, that a transient Secretary of a transient Lord Lieutenant should ever acquire the principal Influence and Leading in the House of Commons.

Secondly, It is also confessed, that the House of Commons and the Nation shewed a hearty Disinclination, that the Trade of this Country, in its most essential Article, the principal Source of our national Industry and Wealth, should be brought into such a State, as, however harmless in Intention, must in Fact have put it in the Power of its clandestine Enemies so fatally to hurt, as in time to destroy it.

Thirdly, It is confessed, that the House of Commons did testify their Disapprobation of a gross Mis-application of the public Money, committed by an Officer of the Crown, to the wasting of the public Money, and to the manifest Injury of his Majesty's Troops; and that they afterwards testified their Dissatisfaction with this Gentleman, one of their own Members, for being guilty of a Contempt of their Authority relative to a Reparation of this Injury, by expelling him the House.

Fourthly, it is confessed, that the House of Commons, did, this Session, resolutely and stedfastly refuse their Consent to divest themselves of what they were firmly convinced was their strictly constitutional and inherent Right, in regard to the Application of public Money, originally raised off the People, in Virtue of their Authority; a Right which could not be given up, without divesting this Country of every Security for a faithful Application of the public Money, but what, for the future, must altogether depend merely on the Knowledge and on the Will of the Prince.

And

And finally, it is confessed, that it has been Matter of universal Regret to his Majesty's faithful Protestant Subjects of this Kingdom, that Means could have been found out to give his Majesty unfavourable Impressions of some of his ablest Servants, and others most loyal Subjects in this Country; and that these Subjects continue still to be held in high and universal Esteem and Affection by their Protestant Brethren, proportioned to their known Merit and unalterable Fidelity to his Majesty's Person, Family, and Government; a Fidelity to which, perhaps, there is not a single Protestant Subject in this Kingdom, who has had any Opportunity of knowing them, that would not, from a Sense of Justice, think himself obliged, in the strongest Terms, to bear his unfeigned Testimony.

If these, or any of these, Articles be justly chargeable with the least disrespectful Circumstance towards his Majesty's Person and Government, then shall it freely be confessed, that a most faithful and affectionately loyal House of Commons, and the equally well-affected universal Body of the Protestant Subjects of this Kingdom, are, unknown to themselves, become disaffected, in some magical Manner, to his Majesty and his Government: But if, on the contrary, all and each of these Articles must, of necessity, be acknowledged perfectly innocent, praise-worthy, and constitutional, then would this Author and his Patrons do well to look nearer home; for, if the Writer doth not grossly deceive himself, it has, in the Course of these Papers, been most clearly, and in all Points, demonstrated, that the present distracted State of this Country has had its whole Origin and Progress from quite a different Quarter, than either the late worthy Majority of the universally loyal
House

House of Commons, or the general Body of his Majesty's most faithful and zealous Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*.

Had the Writer been aware that so compleat a Vindication of the Proceedings of the House of Commons, as has, within these few Days, been published, was so soon to come abroad, he would, probably, have saved his Readers the Trouble of the fourth Number of Remarks; though he is far from reflecting on his own Labour with regret, as so remarkable and general a Coincidence of Evidence, where there was no Communication, and especially in regard to so capital a Point, cannot but serve, in some measure, to give the fuller Satisfaction to the Public, that what has thus been laid before them must have its Foundation in TRUTH.

ERRATA in this NUMBER.

PAGE 11. Line 17. *for* this, *read* his. P. 16. L. 23.
for did or not, *read* did or did not.

F I N I S.

The Writer of the Letter, published in the Gazette of Feb. 16, 1754, having continued it in that Paper a considerable Time after an Answer had been given to it in a flying Half-Sheet, it is thought proper to reprint both the Letter and the Answer in the following Manner, to give the better Opportunity to the Public of judging how far this Letter tends to invalidate the Argument, drawn from the Instance of Sir Henry Tichburn, in the Third Number of the REMARKS.

To the PRINTERS of the DUBLIN GAZETTE.

SIRS,

THE Author of *Remarks on a Pamphlet, intitled Considerations on the late Bill for paying the National Debt, &c.* has, in his third Number, mentioned the Clause of the second Hearth-Money Act in favour of Sir Henry Tichbourne, in the Year 1666, as an Instance of an Appropriation of Money, which had been before granted to His then Majesty, *without the least Trace of any Parlianentary Acknowledgement of His Majesty's previous Consent*; but as he has thought proper to omit a material Proceeding, relative to this Affair, which will shew that this Bounty was humbly desired as a GIFT from His Majesty, and that the Heads of the Bill were not prepared by the House of Commons, it is but Justice to the Reader, to refer him to the Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. II. Pages 490 and 491, where he will find a Committee appointed “to wait on His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and humbly to desire from the House, that His Grace would be pleased, upon the Transmission of any Bill into ENGLAND, for the further settling of the Revenue of Hearth-Money, to insert a Clause, for paying out of the said Revenue unto the said Sir Henry Tichbourne, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds, *AS A GIFT FROM HIS MAJESTY* in Lieu of the said Wardship, and in Testimony of His Majesty's gracious Acceptance of the said Sir Henry Tichbourne's faithful and loyal Services.”

What Argument therefore can be drawn from this Precedent, in Support of a *Constitutional Title and Right in the House of Commons, to send over the late Heads of a Bill in the Manner they did*, is submitted to the Determination of every intelligent Reader, and is here inserted as a Specimen of the Remarker's Candour. I am, &c.

W. B.

An Answer to a LETTER, published in the Gazette of Feb. 16, 1754, relating to the Money-Bill.

WHEREAS a Letter has been published in the *Dublin Gazette* of this Day, impeaching the Candour of the Author of *Remarks, &c.* in his Manner of representing the Article relating to Sir Henery Tichburn, in the third Number of said Remarks; it may be of some Use to the Publick to lay before them, in a few

D

Words,

Words, the true State of this Matter: The Point to be proved by
 ' the Remarker was this; that the House of Commons, so far back
 ' as *Charles the Second*, claimed a Liberty in their own Right, of
 ' pointing out to his Majesty an Application of Money, antecedent-
 ' ly granted to his Majesty, &c. in Perpetuity;' and the Facts
 aduced by the Remarker in Proof of this Point were these two
 following.

' First, that the House of Commons, in the Year 1662, directed
 ' their Committee to prepare a Clause to be inserted in a Bill,
 ' which they had formerly ordered to be prepared by this Commit-
 ' tee,' which Clause was, ' for giving Satisfaction unto Sir *Henry*
 ' *Tichburn*, in Lieu of a Wardship granted unto him by his Majesty,
 ' in such Way and Manner as they shall think fit.' The next Fact
 was, that in an Act of Parliament passed in this Kingdom in the
 Year 1665, there are these express Words, ' that in Satisfaction
 ' of his Services and Losses, He, viz. Sir *Henry Tichburn* shall
 ' receive two thousand Pounds out of such of the Monies as *are*, or
 ' shall be, *levied* out of the Hearths, &c.'

Now let this Letter-writer *answer*, but pray let it not be in a
 News-paper, are not these two Facts in every Article and Circum-
 stance true? — And if true, do they not prove to a Demonstration,
 that the House of Commons claimed the Right of pointing
 out to his Majesty, and of pointing it out by Heads of a Bill,
 an *Application of Money antecedently granted to his Majesty in Per-*
petuity? Do they not likewise prove an actual *Appropriation* of this
 Money by *Parliament*, tho' it had been granted to his Majesty in
 very absolute Terms three Years before? And doth not the first
 Fact clearly shew, that the House of Commons were the *first Movers*
 in Regard to such Application, and that far from making any par-
 liamentary Acknowledgment of his Majesty's previous Consent,
 there is not the least Trace at that Time of his Majesty's ever
 having signified that he would consent; indeed, all Circumstances
 conspire to shew there never had been any such Intimation: And
 in Regard to the second Fact, is not the Act of Parliament utterly
 void of the smallest Traces of any such parliamentary Acknowledg-
 ment?

Here then we have every Circumstance requisite, so far as PRECE-
 DENT can be requisite, to justify the Manner of Proceeding of our
 House of Commons, in sending over the Heads of the late Bill; nay,
 much stronger Circumstances than the late Case required; our pre-
 sent House of Commons did no more than bring in Heads of a Bill,
 in Regard to the Application of redundant Money, formerly, indeed,
 granted to the King, but granted, only *in Aid of other Funds*, for
 answering the Exigencies of Government for two Years, which were
 just then expiring, and in those Heads took no Notice of his Majes-
 ty's previous Consent, which had been signified to them: The House
 of Commons in the Reign of *Charles the second* order a Clause to be
 inserted in Heads of a Bill for the Application of Money granted be-
 fore to the Crown *in Perpetuity*, *without having had any Intimation*
 of

of *previous Consent*, or any Imagination that such Intimation could in any Sort be requisite; looking on it as their undoubted Right to point out to his Majesty such Applications of Money, as they, the great Council of the Nation, thought useful, Money granted by themselves for the Uses of Government; all this must of Necessity stand acknowledged and confessed, for such stubborn Facts cannot be denied. Ay, says the Letter-writer, but still *‘ the Remarker has thought proper to omit a material Proceeding relating to this Affair; ’* might he not omit, without *thinking it proper* to omit? But is this *Proceeding* so material as to make void, or in any Manner invalidate the above Proofs? If not, the Remarker must consequently stand free of all Censure, but that of not multiplying Quotations beyond what were necessary. However, the Letter-writer shall have abundant Matter of Conviction, I will not say of *Satisfaction*, in Regard to his Quotation from the Journal.

In order to this, He is to be instructed, *‘ that at the Time we are speaking of, and long after, the Manner of Bills taking their Origin was very different from what it is now; few Heads of Bills arose from the Commons; some Bills were sent over from England; many were sent into the House from the Privy-Council; and we have several Instances of the House of Commons ordering their Votes to be carried to the chief Governor, to be put into the Form of a Bill, and then transmitted to England. ’*

And now we come to consider this important Quotation; *‘ a Committee is appointed to wait on the Lord Lieutenant to desire that a Clause might be inserted in any Bill, then to be transmitted to England, for the farther settling the Revenue of Hearth Money, a Clause for paying out of the said Revenue, to Sir Henry Tichburn, a Sum of Two Thousand Pounds as a Gift from HIS MAJESTY, in lieu of the said Wardship; and in Testimony of his gracious Acceptance of the said Sir Henry Tichburn’s faithful and loyal Services. ’*

Now doth this Letter-Writer imagine, the printing a few Words in capital Letters will be sufficient to beguile Men out of their Senses? Matters it a Rush to the present Question, whether the Application in itself was wise or otherways, whether it was meant for a Gift, or in Discharge of a Debt? Is it possible, that any Man could so far lose Sight of the Question, as not to see, that the whole Inquiry must of Necessity be resolved into these two Points, and into these only, whether we have not here a *parliamentary Application of Money granted to his Majesty* three Years before? And whether the House of Commons were not the *first and sole original Movers* of this Application? Besides, is it not ridiculous to attempt laying Strefs on Words of Complement and Form, in Matters of this Sort? is it not the usual Language in our Acts of Parliament, even in our Acts for granting Money to the King, to *pray* and sometimes to *beseech* that it may be enacted, &c. would He not be a special Pleader, who should argue from hence that it is a Matter of Grace and Bounty in the Crown to accept of these Grants? True, it is here called

called a GIFT, but it is such a Gift, as the Act says, in Honour and Justice, it became his Majesty to confer; it is a Gift, which in this very Application from the House of Commons, is called 'Paying, in Lieu of a Wardship:' a Wardship, for which, as they take Notice, a Fine had been given to his Majesty. — But call it what you will, it is plain even from this Quotation, on which so much Stress is wanted to be laid, that the whole of this matter was *first moved by the House of Commons*, without the least intimation from his Majesty, who yet was to confer this Gift. — In the former Session, the House order in Heads of a Bill, in which it is expressly directed that this shall be inserted as a Clause. In the next Session, they send this Clause to be inserted by the Lord Lieutenant in a Bill which was then to be transmitted into *England*, in regard to the Hearth Money, determined, that one way or other it should certainly make Part of the Hearth Money Bill. And it is remarkable, that the Words of the Resolution of the Commons, which was then carried to the Lord Lieutenant, are the very Words in which this Clause is expressed in the Act of Parliament, only with this Variation, that the fine Capital Words of a GIFT FROM HIS MAJESTY are modestly left out. — Is there the smallest Difference between the one and the other of those Methods, in regard to the Merits of the present Question? Have we, *in either*, the least Intimation of his Majesty's previous Consent? Have we not, *in both*, the most express Proof that the House of Commons claimed it as their undoubted Right to point out to his Majesty, by Bill or Heads of a Bill, such *application of Money* as they, his Majesty's great Council, judged it became his Majesty in Honour and Justice to make? And was not this *Right* most firmly recognized by *passing the Act*?

No wonder that such an Instance as the present should prove a little Galling, but Galling as it is, some very different Manner from what has yet been taken, must be devised by the Advocates for *previous Consent*, before they can get themselves rid of it.

And now, fair and impartial Reader judge for yourself, doth not this very Quotation, in so extraordinary a Manner laid before the Publick, instead of invalidating, serve directly to Establish every thing that the Remarker, in his third Number, had undertaken to prove?

One Favour is earnestly desired of the Writer of this Letter, that if he judges it proper to instruct the Public by any further Animadversions, he may chuse another Manner of sending them abroad.

The Remarker is well enough aware, that printing his Name, could add no Weight to his Cause; but if the Letter-writer will condescend to set him an Example, he will readily follow it, were it only to exhibit the Experiment how far the most insignificant Name, when aided by the Weight of Truth, will preponderate against any Name or any Authority without that Concomitant, how respectable soever.