

PLAIN TRUTHS,

AND

Correct Statements of Facts;

IN REPLY TO

MR. GRATTAN'S ANSWER

TO THE

LORD CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH.

BY A LOOKER-ON.

"I AM NO ORATOR AS BRUTUS IS."

SHAKESPEARE.

DUBLIN,

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PLAIN FACTS, &c.

A PRODUCTION, professing to be an Answer to the Lord Chancellor's Speech upon the subject of an Union between the two countries, having been given to the public, it may not be useless to expose the want of candour, the false statements, the misrepresentations and misinterpretations of a performance, as disrespectful to the dignified character to whom it is addressed, as it is imbecile, and as intemperate, as it is unworthy of his notice.—There was a time (not long past) when the assertions and bold denials of this answerer, were treated by the citizens of Dublin, with neglect; or if any parts of them made an impression, the momentary effect was soon erased by the faithful and impressive comments of a Duigenan; but in the present fervour of Anti-Union warmth, and oblivion of past conduct and past censure, it now becomes unfortunately but too necessary to guard the ductile public mind against the effects of assertion without foundation, and charges without proof. I propose (though without authority for so doing) to comment upon this work, and to show that the leading arguments which it contains, have been already completely refuted, and that the extracts which it has given from the Chancellor's former and present speeches in the House of Lords, are not only misrepresented, but convey

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vey in the originals, a meaning the very opposite to that which the uncandid answerer has given them. The first part of the Chancellor's Speech delivered upon the subject of Union, contains a most faithful, brief but compendious epitome of the early and turbulent periods of our history, from the days of Henry II. to the reign of King James I. The author of the Answer, with the most marked disrespect, presumes to stile this able abridgement as "known before to many men, many women, many children, the compendium of the studies of our youth, reported for the amusement of our age, without any novelty but misrepresentation." It is notorious that the people of this country are generally shamefully ignorant of their own early history; but to avoid this unpleasant topic, I ask what instance of misrepresentation has the author of the answer produced? I cannot even in candour suppose for a moment that he felt no inclination to invalidate the Chancellor's historical statement, and therefore must naturally conclude, that he thought it the shortest and safest method to pass over with one sweeping clause of condemnation, a very important part of this speech, which he found it impossible to refute.—Such conduct in any other political writer would astonish, and be looked upon as unpardonable, but excites no surprize in the works of a man, who has so often resorted to assertion in cases where neither the fact nor history could bear him out. One is therefore the less amazed, when in the following sentence, he tells his readers, that the Chancellor's intention in making this recital was, to "make their history a calumny upon their ancestors." That dignified character, whose intentions are so misrepresented, throughout this part of his speech, comments in strong expressions of feeling, upon the sufferings of the native Irish in the early periods

periods of our history and laments the harsh and impolitic conduct of their early rulers the English.

For when he speaks of the statute of Kilkenny, enacted by the provincial assembly of the Pale, (Edward III.) to prevent marriage and gossipred with the Irish, (which statute Sir J. Davis has highly extolled) the Chancellor observes—(page 5) “that it is difficult to reconcile it to sound policy, and that it was calculated to perpetuate war between the inhabitants of the Pale, and those of the adjoining districts (the natives.)” And again, page 7—he laments “that our religious feuds began in the time of Henry VIII. have rendered this country a blank among the nations of Europe, and fears they will long retard her progress in the civilized world.” Is there a man living in Ireland at this instant that can deny (excepting for a party purpose) the truth of this remark? The Chancellor continues—“it seems difficult to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of Government, than to attempt to force (as was done in the reign of Elizabeth) new modes of religious faith and worship by severe penalties, upon a superstitious and unlettered people.” Do these historical facts, undoubted and undenied even by this answerer, falsify our history? The author of the Answer, though he cannot feel similar sentiments of compassion for the unfortunate situation of the native Irish, or though he may rejoice that the remembrance of this conduct, has possibly helped to keep alive in their minds the hatred to the English name, should at least blush at making so uncandid and unfounded an inference. By what perversion of language or subtlety of misrepresentation can the regret which the Chancellor expresses at the sufferings of the natives, and the censure which he passes upon the impolitic and narrow policy of the then deputy

and his small council, be construed into a general calumny * of the ancestors of the Irish people?

After the glaring want of candour, and the misrepresentation which I have already detected, my readers will not be surprised at the hasty manner in which the Answer passes over that part of the Chancellor's Speech in which he proves " that Ireland never had a representative assembly which could be called the Parliament of the country, until the reign of James I. but that all former assemblies were mere *provincial meetings* to regulate that small district of this country, then called the Pale."—The author of the Answer, unable to contradict this statement by history, finds it the shortest method to deny it altogether, and hurries over the subject in two short paragraphs. We feel that this was too tender ground for him to tread upon, and we have no doubt that he recollected, that he had once before attempted to make a stand upon it, in his *celebrated* Address to the Citizens of Dublin, until he was chased off the field by his invincible antagonist, Doctor Duigenan. The citizens of Dublin were wont to pay due deference to, and to feel the force of that accumulation of historical facts, which this gentleman produced to overthrow the answerer's former unfounded assertions. It may now (unfortunately) be expedient again to recall their attention to " his Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address, &c." and it may be worth their while again to put into one scale the evidence of history, and of known acts of ancient provincial assemblies, that they may weigh them against unfounded assertion and bold denial.

The author of the Answer in " his Address" to the Citizens of Dublin in 98, told them—
" that

* Page 1st of Mr. Grattan's Answer.

“ that the boroughs were creations by the house of Stuart for the purpose of modelling and subverting the parliamentary constitution of Ireland ” In answer to his “ *ravings* ” upon this subject, the learned Doctor produced the authority of Morri-son, Paccata Hibernia, Sir J. Davis, Hume, &c. I shall offer no apology to my readers for making some extracts from his work, entitled indeed with some propriety, “ An Answer ” to Mr. Grattan’s “ Address to the Citizens of Dublin. ” This subject is discussed from page 157 to page 168 of that unanswerable performance, and deserves at this time the perusal of every man who will not take assertion for fact, or misrepresentation for historical truth. Doctor Duigenan begins—“ Now, Sir, I shall proceed to expose the infamy and malice of your misrepresentations of the whole of the transaction of the creation of boroughs by King James I. and his motives for that creation.—Ireland was possessed for several years by the Kings of England, under the stile of Lords, and from the reign of Henry VIII. of Kings of Ireland; but whatever stile they used, they enjoyed not so much the reality as the name of dominion in it: for the heads of the Irish septs never obeyed them, but as they liked, and the body of the people were governed entirely by the Brehon law, and followed Irish customs. The English laws were observed no where but in the counties near Dublin. After the rebellion of O’Doherty, and those meditated by Tyrone and Tyrconnel were prevented, King James I. to settle the kingdom in tranquillity, and give all men a full assurance of the quiet enjoyment of their liberty and property, condemned the customs of tanestry and gavelking in the Court of King’s Bench, abolished the Brehon law, and extended to the aboriginal Irish all the benefits of the English law; increased the number of Judges, divided

divided the whole kingdom into counties, instituted circuits in Connaught and Ulster, and sent out Justices of Assize. Parliaments had been called from the reign of Edward II. from time to time in Ireland upon particular occasions, but they consisted of few members; the number of temporal Peers was but small till the reign of Henry VIII. and of these some were either generally in rebellion, or did not care to attend. Such Archbishops and Bishops as were resident in mere Irish counties, and did not acknowledge the King for their patron, were never summoned; and as for the House of Commons it sometimes was composed only of the deputies of the four shires of the Pale, (Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Lowth) and writs were never sent any where but into shire ground *inhabited by the English*, who continued in obedience to the state and subjection to the English laws; for the aboriginal Irish in those days *were never admitted*, as well because their countries lying out of the limits of counties could send no knights, and having neither cities nor boroughs in them, could send no burgessees to the Parliament, as because they were *deemed enemies and unfit to be trusted* in the great council of the realm; for before the 34th Henry VIII. when Meath was divided into two shires, there was only eleven counties in Ireland (See 33d Henry VIII. 2. chap.) besides the Liberty of Tipperary; and as the antient cities were but four, and the boroughs which sent burgessees but thirty, the entire body of the House of Commons could not consist of more than 100." Doctor Duigenan goes on to prove, that Queen Mary added two shires, the King and Queen's counties; and that Elizabeth in Sidney's and Perrot's time, erected counties in Connaught, but *that no knights were ever sent from them*; and proves from the Rolls-office, that the last Parliament in her

her time held in Ireland, consisted but of 122 members; and after an interval of twenty-seven years, James created 40 boroughs in the seventeen counties last appointed, and called a general representation, in which *all the inhabitants*, whether new settlers, those of old English extraction, and the old Irish natives met together, to *make laws for the whole kingdom*: and Doctor Duigenan refers for the proof of this statement to Carte's Ormond; the statute of the 28th Henry VI. wherein four counties only in Ireland, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, or Louth, are mentioned as possessing the benefit of the English laws; and also to 13 Henry VIII. chap. 3, which further confirms this statement. The 12th Eliz. chap. 3, enumerates nine shires only as obeying the English laws; and Sir John Davis observes of Munster, that the people were so degenerate as that no Justice of assize durst execute his commission among them. "It was not until the 13th James I. that any assembly which deserved the name of Parliament was ever held in this kingdom." All former assemblies were mere provincial meetings for the government of that small district called the Pale, in which the English laws were obeyed. If these undoubted historical facts required any further proofs, the speech which the Speaker, Sir John Davis, made to this Parliament, which met under the Lord Deputy Chichester in 1613, is a full confirmation of these facts.

This speech is to be found at the end of his History of Ireland, and his Tracts relating to Irish Affairs. Davis in it told that Parliament, "that before the declining of Edward II's reign, the meetings and consultations of the great Lords, with *some* of the Commons for appeasing of *diffentions among themselves*, though they were called Parliaments, yet being without orderly summons or formal

formal proceedings, are rather to be called parlies than Parliaments. Again: " For the space of 140 years after the first erecting of this high court in Ireland, it is apparent that never anye Parliament was called to reduce the Irishrye to obedience, or to perfect the conquest of the whole island, but onely to reform *the English colonyes* that were become degenerate, and to retayne the soveraigntye of the crown of England *over them on y*, and to no other end or purpose." Davis again observes, that in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. these assemblies were never called so thick before upon any occasion, and then asks, " to what end they did call manye, what matters did they handle in these common councils? Did they consult about the recoverye of the provinces lost, or the fynall subduynge of the Irish? We find no such matters propounded; but in the rolls of those times we find an extraordenarye number of private bills and petitions answered, conteyninge such meane and ordenarye matters, as but for want of busyness, were not fit to be handled in such a courte." And after going through the former reigns, he comes to the time of this Parliament of the 13th James I. in which he presided, and which he *was then addressing*. He tells them, " *this* Parliament is not called in such a tyme as when the *four shires of the Pale only* did send their barons, knights and burgessees to the Parliament, when *they alone* tooke upon them to make lawes to binde the whole kingdom, neglecting to call *the subjects, residing in other parts of the realme to them*, but it is called in a tyme when this greate and mightye kingdom being wholly reduced to shire ground, conteyneth thirty-three countyes at large, *when all Ulster and Connaught as well as Leinster and Munster have voyces in Parliament* by their knights and burgessees, when all the inhabitants of the kingdom,

kingdom, English by byrth, English by bloude, the new British colonye, and the old Irish natives doe, *all meet together* to make laws for themselves and their posterityes."

And in the same speech he again tells them,—
 " Certeynleye the number of these new boroughes compared with the countyes that never had any burgesse before this time, doth carry a lesse proportion than the ancient boroughs, compared with the number of the anciente countyes, for in these 12 or 13 old shires, there are thirtye cityes and boroughes at least, which send citizens and burgesse to parliament; whereas for seaventeene countyes at large, being more than half the shires of the kingdome, which had not one boroughe in them before this new erection, his Majesty hath now erected but fortye new boroughes or thereabouts, which in the judgement of all indifferent men, must needs seeme reasonable, just, and honourable." Such is the account from history of this first general Assembly or Parliament, and which the Speaker, Sir John Davis, gave to that assembly upon their meeting in the year 1613. And this is also the assembly, which the answerer in his Address to the Citizens of Dublin calls " a Borough Parliament," and, in his last publication, " one erected to counteract county representation, in order to pack a Parliament." We trust however that these extracts sufficiently prove to every reasoning man, that before the time of James I. representation was not general, and legislation of course could not be so, when from history we learn, that the edicts of all the provincial Assemblies that met before the Parliament of James I. were not obeyed out of the district called the Pale; a very inconsiderable part of this kingdom at that day.

Against the Chancellor's statement, supported by an accumulation of historical facts, the answerer op-

poses, we should say attempts to oppose "a speech," made in Parliament "the records of Parliament" which we have proved to be contradictory to his assertions; the *name* of "Lord Coke" without *quoting him*, which he could not do upon the present question; "the Statutes of Ireland," which we have shewn to be against his positions;—the "act of annexation," which he does not prove to bear upon the subject, which he could not do—the "Modus Tenendi Parliamentum," of which even a partial Irish historian, Dr. Leland, observes, "the authenticity of this Modus is indeed liable to many objections:" and finally, to finish this anticlimax of asseveration, his own *assertion* "that Ireland had a Parliament from the beginning, and that the Legislature was not of the Pale, but of the Nation."

I shall now pass over some assertions in this answer (which I propose to refute immediately;) and come to that part of the work immediately connected with the foregoing history of the Parliament which James established.—The Chancellor, in page 41, of his speech, makes use of these expressions: "before I dismiss this adjustment of 82, I shall take leave to advert to the description given by the gentleman, who is called the father of it (the answerer) of the sponsors of its finality; it is contained in his valedictory address to his constituents of the metropolis at the expiration of the last parliament." * "The greater part of the boroughs were creations by the House of Stuart, for subverting the constitution."—(History has told us that they were created to generalize the representation of the country, which was before only local), "they were gross and monstrous violations, and fatal usurpations in the constitution, by Kings whose family lost their kingdoms for crimes less deadly to freedom, &c." Again—

"*Yours*

* See Mr. G's Address.

“ You banish that family (the Stuarts,) for other acts, and you retain that act, (the borough parliament,) by which you have banished the Commons.” Again, “ This fabrick of boroughs, like a regal pandemonium, constitutes a regal House of Commons.” (See the whole extract from this address in page 52, Lord Chancellor’s Speech.) The answerer indeed now denies, that this was any more than a description of the Parliament of James in 1613—(answer page 7.) We call upon the citizens of Dublin, who remember that address, to recollect whether the impression upon their minds, was not, that it alluded to that parliament, from which the author of the answer then found it prudent to retire, and whether in their minds, its object was not (apparently at least) to degrade the present parliamentary constitution, which has continued since James’s time, (though the term of its duration has been altered.) We call upon them now to read that address, and beg of them to consider for what purposes such a description was given of a parliament which sat 187 years ago, (see answer, page 7,) unless it was meant to allude to the parliament which the answerer then left, as well as to every one which had sat prior to that time—for as we observed before, the constitution of them all, (that of the boasted one of 82 included,) was the same—namely, consisting of 64 county members, and what the author of the Answer in his Address of 98, “ calls the inundation of the borough system.”

I trust however, that I shall by quoting some of the passages of this *celebrated* Philippic, sufficiently prove, that the description given by the answerer of the “ Borough Parliament of James I.” was applied not partially, but in the *most general extent*—and that the favourite parliament of 82, comes in equally for its share of this *caricatura*. In page 25, of the edition of the author’s Address to the Citizens of Dub-

lin, printed by Millikin in 98, (We are thus minute, that our readers may refer to the whole work, text and context) he tells them, "under the reign of James, this borough system was bad, but in the next it was worse." For we are next told that the great, good, but unfortunate Strafford, attempted to "fleece and cheat" the people of Ireland, "and succeeded. Why? Because there was a third instrument, worse than himself, a borough parliament! This "borough parliament," after joining in the prosecution of that faithful subject, (for which by an innuendo it seems to be praised) "gave way (we are told in page 26) to the meanness of another borough parliament" under the reign of Charles II.—and, again, in the next page, he continues, "I pass over 130 years, a horrid vacuum in your history of borough parliaments, save only it has been filled with four horrid images in the four-fold proscription of the religion, (the Roman Catholic he meant), the trade, the judicative and legislative authority of the country, &c."—and "I come to the boundary of the gulph, when the constitution begins to live and stir in the octennial bill, accompanied however with and corrected by a court project of *new parliamentary influence and degradation*; this project may be called a court plan of reforming borough parliaments, (observe the sneer) but reforming them not in the principle of a *popular representation*, but of a more perfect and compleat exclusion and banishment of the commons:" and, a little farther, "you had but little to give up, and that you surrendered;" and next follows a list of the crimes of the "borough parliaments," until he brings us to 82, when "that borough parliament" obtained for Ireland a free trade, which he thus accounts for—
 "Why did that Parliament express itself in that manner, and demand its rights a short time after? because parliament was at that time in contact with

with the people"; (page 28)—yet it was still a borough parliament, and equally came in for its share of the description of the assembly in 1613. That this is the case, the next sentence puts beyond a matter of doubt—"that parliament (of 82) declared that nothing could save us but a free trade, but it declared more, it protested against the borough parliaments of a century," of which it was equally one; and next, after giving the arguments of *his* party for a reform, he continues "In opposition to this history (of borough parliaments) it was objected that the borough system had worked well at least since 1782"—his answer is, that "as far as the ploughman or weaver were concerned" it had worked well, but "that as far as that boast goes to political measures, we cannot so well express our detestation of them as by recital." See the curious catalogue of *enormities* in page 30, in which every law that has been passed for the purpose of counteracting rebellion, is arraigned and stigmatized, and the philippic concluded with these expressions, "they were the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and christian countries!!!" Do my readers think any more quotations necessary to prove that the answerer's description of borough parliaments was general and not partial?—Take this as the last—"it is now sixty years (page 38) since the adoption of the project to supply in corruption what the chief magistrate lost in prerogative."—Does any candid man any longer doubt, that in this sentence, as well as in the preceding ones which we have extracted, the parliament of 82, as well as its predecessors and successors, all come in equally for their share of that *celebrated* description, and of the answerer's reprobation and condemnation of "Borough Parliaments," Regal Pandemoniums," and "Deadly Court

Court Instruments," and that their object was to degrade in the minds of the people of this country, the constitution of every Parliament that ever has sat in Ireland.*

Against the unanswerable facts of history, which I have already given to my readers, and against the obvious interpretation of his own Address in 98, the answerer gives now his own positive assertions and denials, without condescending to enter into any proofs—He tells us "*it is not true* that the parliament of 82 was a packed parliament like that of 1613," which "packed parliament," history proves to us, was the first free and general assembly that ever sat in Ireland as a parliament. And, again—he declares, "*it is not true* that the representatives of the boroughs were *attorney's, clerks or servants* of the castle as in 1613," but never thinks it worth while to inform his readers where in history he found this description of the persons who composed that assembly in James the First's reign. And again—"It is *not true* that the boroughs of 82 resembled those created by James in 1613:" but as he, we suppose, found it impossible to state in what particulars they differed, or that any of the old ones had been disfranchised or new ones created since that time, he at once cuts short the argument by a flat denial—a mode of reasoning

* The author of the answer has a most incurable propensity to degrade Parliaments;—not content with his own horrible caricatures of those august assemblies, he attributes to the Lord Chancellor (in page 31 of his Answer) a description of Parliaments down to 82, made by the answerer's own disfiguring imagination, as consisting of plunderers, incendiaries, political adventurers, &c not a trace of which is to be found in the Earl of Clare's Speech, who throughout most cautiously draws a distinction between the great body of Parliament, and that small but mischievous underworking faction, which formerly too often counteracted, embarrassed, and retarded those assemblies in their measures for the welfare of the kingdom.

soning that may satisfy a mob, but never can produce conviction in the mind of a reflecting man, who can compare facts and form a judgement from them.

If any of my readers should be of opinion that I have devoted too large a share of my paper to extracts from history, &c. with a view of defending the Parliament of 1613, as well as later assemblies, from the obloquy which the answerer has thrown upon them in his celebrated Address; and also, for the purpose of showing that his denial of the truth of the Chancellor's statement is not borne up by facts, I beg leave to recall to their recollection, that the history of Parliaments occupies several pages of the Chancellor's Speech, and that the Answerer in his Work, instead of disproving it, has flatly and shortly contradicted it; and therefore, like the culprit at the bar (if we may use the simile, without intending an improper allusion) as he denies the charge, it becomes unavoidably necessary for the counsel to take up the time of the court in producing evidence, and examining witnesses.

Those who have read the Answer, must have perceived that it touches but slightly upon the question of Union, and that where it does, it throws no new lights upon the subject. The greater part of the work contains denials of statements and charges, a distortion of meaning, and accusations against the chancellor of falsehood, and invention—a weak, and perplexed defence—it is a vain attempt to arrogate a momentary importance by a contest with so dignified a personage—an abortive effort to traduce a character of the most unimpeached integrity and truth. But whilst envy and malice continue to usurp a dominion over the minds of mankind, how is it possible that greatness and talents can escape detraction, when even obscurity is no protection against slander. “Detraction (says Bishop Hoadley) is the perquisite of great offices.” “Censure (says Swift) is the tax a man

man pays to the public for being eminent." The same writer in another place observes, that the greatest and most shining characters are most exposed to slander and misrepresentation, as those are always the sweetest fruits, which the *Daws* have been pecking at.

I come now to that part of the Answer where the author accuses the Chancellor of "setting up the character, and putting down the *conduct* of the old Volunteers." If the Answerer will for once allow me to use his own expressions, this is both misrepresentation and misinterpretation. In the Speech, the Chancellor "desires to be understood as not conveying any thing like censure upon that body," and adds, these strong and partial expressions: "Their *conduct* will remain a problem in history; for without any shadow of military controul, to their immortal honour it is known, that from their first levy, till they disbanded themselves, no act of violence or outrage was charged against them; they did, on every occasion, where their services were required, exert themselves to effect to maintain the internal peace of the country." Do not these expressions, as far as words can convey a panegyrick, both set up their character, and praise their *conduct*? The man who attempts to deny it, except for the purposes of misrepresentation, is ignorant of the force of the language in which we daily converse. It was, perhaps, the next sentence, which (by drawing a marked line of distinction between the conduct of the volunteers, and the agitators of the country,) probed the old sore of faction, the smart of which was felt at the extremity of the whole agitating system. "I shall (says the Chancellor) never cease to think, that the appeals made to that army by the angry politicians of the day, were dangerous and ill-judged in the extreme."—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

It was the galling truth of this observation, that occasioned the feeble attempt to rouse the resentment of
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of the old Volunteers, and to confound their temperate and praise-worthy conduct with the violent demeanour of faction. With equal accuracy, and with as good a foundation, the Answerer asserts, that the Chancellor “objects on the question of the claim of right, to the declarations of the Volunteers”—and what proof does he give? None—because it was impossible for him to procure any, as not a vestige of such an objection is to be found in the Speech. The Author of the Answer next asks, “Does any man affirm that we could have established that claim without them, &c. if so, he is a mistater of the truth, a slave,” &c.—The Chancellor does not enter into the merits of this question in his Speech—he does not even glance at it; though from these passages and others, the Answerer wished to impress upon his Readers that he had. To what shifts is misrepresentation sometimes driven for the purposes of irritation!

The Answerer again observes, that the Speech “condemns the expedition with which the claim of Right was established—it calls for delay—to do what?—To debate whether the English Parliament had a right to make Laws for Ireland.” Here is another mistatement: The Speech gives a faithful history (the truth of which the Answerer does not deny) of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament upon that subject: it states the precipitancy with which it was concluded; (a fact notorious to all who remember the transactions of those times). It mentions that this hurry, so unbecoming in so momentous an affair, induced a Country Gentleman to move an Address, * “to take into consideration the discontents and jealousies which had arisen in the Kingdom, and to investigate the causes with all convenient dispatch;”

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* The Motion for this Address was made by Mr. W. Ponsonby.

patch ;” but that this motion, so temperate and prudent upon such an occasion, was overruled by the ardour of a popular Statesman, and the final adjustment, which was to bar for ever the revival of all constitutional questions between the two Nations, was settled in half an hour. The Chancellor gave the text, and left it for his Readers to comment upon it. There are some men whose ears are of such a peculiar construction, that the sound of truth is offensive and grating to them. The Chancellor reproaches the precipitancy of the transaction, and ridicules the idea that the happiness of future ages should rest upon the irrevocability of so hasty a proceeding.

With equal want of accuracy of expression, and with the most groundless assertion, the Author of the Answer calls the Correspondence which took place upon that occasion between the Members of the Cabinets of both Countries “the intrigue of the Viceroy against your favourite measures.” The whole Correspondence * affords a most convincing proof, that the Cabinets wished most heartily to accomplish (what was not accomplished) a final adjustment. This Viceroy, who is stated to have been “intriguing against our favourite measures,” in his letter of the 6th May to Lord Shelbourne, in the strongest manner recommends it to the British Cabinet to concede *all the points demanded* in the Irish Addresses ; and expresses the perfect confidence he then felt
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* See the whole Correspondence, page 33 to 42, inclusive—Ld. Chancellor’s Speech.

As to General Fitzpatrick’s ignorance of the dispatches of the Duke of Portland, which Mr. G. insists upon—it must be remembered, that though that Gentleman was *nominally* the Secretary of the Duke, the transactions of those days were settled by ——— and ———. According to public report, General F. was a man of pleasure rather than of business at that time.

(and he must then have had full and sufficient ground for that confidence, in which by subsequent intrigue he was afterwards disappointed) that the Irish Parliament was ready to co-operate with the British Senate and Cabinet "in settling the consideration to be given for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper for it to contribute towards the general support of the empire, in *pursuance of the declaration contained* in the concluding paragraph of their address, and that the regulation of trade would make a very necessary article of the treaty." Every part of this correspondence between the Lord Lieutenant and the English Cabinet of that day proves, that the proceedings in Ireland were considered as only introductory of a treaty, for establishing the connexion and consolidating the strength of the two countries upon a permanent basis: and that the concessions then made to us, were given, that Ireland might treat with England upon equal terms. But the very proceedings at that time of another of the parties concerned, namely the British Parliament, most clearly prove, that they also considered some further measures necessary to accomplish a settlement, which could be called a final adjustment between two nations: for as the Chancellor pointedly observes, the only act to be done on the part of the British Parliament, in compliance with our address, was a repeal of the 6 Geo. 1. (as all other grievances arose from Irish statutes) and the two houses would therefore have naturally stopped there, if they considered the repeal of that statute a sufficient act to constitute a final adjustment—but they went a great deal further, and presented an address to his Majesty, "praying him to take such measures as to his royal wisdom shall seem meet, and be most conducive to establish by *mutual consent* the connexion between the two countries, upon 'a solid and permanent basis';" thereby giving

giving a convincing proof, that to perfect such a work, some *further measures* were necessary, namely those specified in the concluding paragraph of the Irish address, viz. the proportion of contribution—the precise limits of the independence required—regulations as to imperial questions, &c. Here are the open proceedings of the two houses in England. Will the Answerer contend, that those august assemblies were also “intriguing against our favourite measures,” and accomplices in that system of knavery with which he so boldly accuses the Duke of Portland? he certainly may with equal foundation. The proceedings of the two houses of parliament in England, and the * whole correspondence of the ministers of that day, prove that certainly not the least conspicuous parties in that transaction, viz. the British Legislature, his Majesty and his Ministers, considered the transactions of that day as only *introductory* to a final settlement. Let us now see what are the proofs which the Answerer offers against those of the Chancellor, to convince his readers of the finality of *that* settlement—read the catalogue! “His Majesty’s recommendation to the parliament to take into consideration the discontents and jealousies prevailing in Ireland, in order to come to such a final settlement, as may give *mutual* satisfaction to both kingdom;” which recommendation undoubtedly proves his Majesty’s sincere wish, that a final settlement might be concluded, but gives no evidence of its *accomplishment*: next a declaration “that

* See also in the letter of the Marquis of Rockingham, (a man of the most honourable dealing through life, and of the most unspotted character—a good and great statesman, and not a paltry intriguer) these expressions. “The essential points on the part of Ireland now conceded, the only object left for both will be, how *finally* to arrange, settle and adjust all matters whereby the *union* of power, strength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage be best *permanently* fixed.”

"that no body of men has any right to make laws for Ireland, but the King, Lords, and Commons thereof," which declaration asserts the right of the Irish Parliament not to be bound by the acts of the British Legislature, in which the nation of Ireland was not represented; a right that no man now, much less the Chancellor, has attempted to deny.— Again, "The resolutions of the Irish House of Commons," made in the infancy of their independence, in the moment of sanguine hope, but short-sighted expectation. "That in consequence of the Repeal of George I. no constitutional question *will exist* between the two countries," of the disappointment of which hope the Regency question and Commercial Propositions furnish lamentable instances---"Another declaration" made by his Majesty "that the arrangement is established upon a basis which secures the tranquillity of Ireland, and unites the affections as well as the interests of both kingdoms." Our rebellions, our conventions, our political brotherhood, our hostility to the English name, the great body of our separatists, our attempts to sever the two kingdoms, by means of the assistance of a foreign enemy, have given his Majesty fatal proofs that his benevolent expectations have been miserably frustrated; and lastly, "an Address" from the Irish Houses of Parliament "recommending to its members to *convince* the people of their counties, that the two kingdoms are now one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interest; that every cause of jealousy is removed, &c. &c." On this well-intended recommendation, I shall only observe, that the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, are now the best judges how far their rhetoric has convinced the understandings of the people of Ireland!!

I cannot

I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without quoting an entire paragraph from the Chancellor's Speech—it is this—"But let me admit in contradiction to these damning proofs, that this was considered by both countries as a final adjustment—if practice and experience have proved, that it has sowed the seeds of ceaseless contention and periodical rebellion, is there a principle of sound policy or common sense to preclude the revision of it?"

The Answerer has given *his* records—I have given my comments upon them. He continues "here is the record, the Chancellor proposes to do away the force of record by intrigue."—Again, "Who would believe that the alledged author (of the Speech) should be ignorant of the parties to that treaty?" I have proved, that if there was intrigue, we must suppose contrary to decency and truth, that his Majesty, the two English Houses, and all his Ministers were concerned in that intrigue. And that neither the Chancellor or any other individual is ignorant that *they* were (as well as the Irish Houses) the parties concerned in that treaty.

I proceed to that part of the "Answer," where its author charges the Chancellor with misrepresenting Mr. Fox's sentiments. Mr. Fox who was a member of the English Cabinet in 1782 speaks for himself. The extract from his speech in 1785 is given verbatim in page 43 of the Chancellor's Speech. He, [Mr. Fox] there expressly declares, "that there were some regulations wanting between the two countries, which were to extend to *political questions only*, and not to commercial," and he fairly next states what they were, namely, "something to replace that power, which in their struggles for independence, the Irish had imprudently insisted upon being abolished

lished, and which he had given up, in compliance with the strong current of prejudice of that nation, though with a reluctance, which nothing but inevitable necessity could have overcome. The power which he wished to have seen replaced was that, which had been of late under discussion in the Parliament, and which had been variously termed, sometimes commercial, at other times external, and frequently imperial legislation." Here again we have the evidence of Mr. Fox, a member of the cabinet in 1782, and given in 1785, against the finality of that adjustment, as to constitutional questions, and the introduction of the "Propositions" in that year; are another proof how little final that adjustment was to commercial questions. The whole proceedings of 82, and the declarations of the principal parties concerned, prove beyond a doubt to a candid man, that the settlement, as it has been called, of 82, was final neither to constitution or commerce; and only final as to discontent and jealousy.

I must now carry my readers back to that part of the answerer's work, where he charges the Chancellor, with putting into his mouth a description of that adjustment which he never uttered. In replying to a work written (as the Answer is) without arrangement and with great perplexity, in which charges and defences are mingled and confused, I must claim the indulgence of my readers, and hope they will pardon me for sometimes taking them back to my former pages, as well as to those of the answerer. In the beginning of my work, I have given what appear to me to be satisfactory proofs, that the description which the Chancellor charges the author of the settlement of 1782 (as he has been called) with having given of the "sponsors of its finality," was not a partial one.

one and confined to the Parliament of 1613, but that the picture which the answerer then drew of Parliament, may be considered as a sort of family piece of those august assemblies, from the reign of James I. to the time when it was drawn. Those who saw it then, and now chuse to view it again, cannot consider it in any other light, than as a caricatura of all the Parliaments which have ever sat in Ireland.

I must now take my readers back to the third page of Mr. Grattan's Answer, wherein he again accuses that high character of uttering a falsehood, in "attributing to the answerer an assertion, which, as far as it relates to him, is without a *shadow* of colour or pretence, and he calls upon him publicly to support his assertions." The assertion made by the Chancellor, which has called forth these violent expressions, is to be found in the 31st page of the Earl of Clare's Speech. I shall copy it. "The history of this adjustment (of 82) lately given in the name of the gentleman who is stiled the father of it, is——

"That it emanated from the armed convention assembled at Dungannon, was approved at county meetings of the people, armed and unarmed, and was sanctioned and registered by the Irish Parliament."

In answer to this, Mr. G. declares, "No such thing, nor any thing like it, did its author say, nor *suggest*, nor *hint*; and this statement is not misrepresentation, nor misinterpretation, but *palpable invention*: did not the pamphlet assume the name of a judicial character, I would say downright fabrication."

Here are both the charge, as it is given in the Chancellor's Speech, and the *respectful* denial of it in the answerer's pamphlet.

Upon

Upon this head I beg leave to observe, that in every report of Mr Grattan's Speech, delivered on the first day of the present session, he is stated to have used nearly those words; and therefore the *history* has been given in his name; and what is not a little surprising, considering what resentment he now seems *first* to feel at having these expressions attributed to him, they stood *uncontradicted* before the public, until he chose to say in his Answer, that they were a direct fabrication of the Chancellor's. This circumstance alone might have given any man authority to attribute the expressions to him; but I will not attempt to build my proofs even upon such a foundation. I will not vaguely assert, but endeavour to prove satisfactorily to the public, that Mr. Grattan did utter and repeat this "history" verbatim in the House of Commons of Ireland, in the hearing of hundreds of persons; and that immediately upon his sitting down, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Corry, in reply, bestowed upon him the following very pointed animadversion:

"The next topic of the honourable gentleman's speech, is the description of the constitution, which he begins by emphatically asking, "What is the liberty of Ireland?" To this question he proceeds to give an answer in the full vigour of those principles, which he has often professed in this house, and disseminated in the nation; principles with which he has successfully operated to debauch the minds, and destroy the peace of this country; his answer was, "the liberties of Ireland are those, which were settled at the convention of Dungannon, afterwards ratified at the meetings of the people, armed and unarmed, in the different counties, and finally registered by the parliament." Does he not (said Mr. Corry)

E

blush

blush thus to assert the sovereignty of the people, and the subserviency of parliament? Does he not blush to state that the liberties of Ireland emanated from meetings at Dungannon, and in the counties in 82; duly authorized as it were in two stages of popular legislation, whilst the office which he assigns to the parliament is that of registering the encroachments of the people? Having thus settled the liberties of Ireland, as emanating from Dungannon, he next proceeds, &c. &c.” * See the Dublin Journal of the 18th January, in which Mr. Corry’s reply is given to Mr. Grattan’s speech; upon a part of which speech, at the bottom of the paper, the following note is subjoined. “We beg not to be understood as giving this part of Mr. Henry Grattan’s Speech upon our own authority, it is literally copied from newspapers which support that person and his politics; with what feeling it will be read by the loyal part of Ireland we can imagine, but it would ill become us to anticipate.”

Here is the record—its authenticity was not before impeached, and it stood undenied until the author in his pamphlet thought proper to call it a “fabrication of the Chancellor’s,” adding a positive declaration, “that he never did say, suggest, or *hint any thing, like it.*”

Quousquam nostra patientia abuteris?

I shall

* See also in the Anti-Union Evening Post, of Saturday, the 18th January, 3d page, in the middle of the second column of Mr. G.’s Speech, as given in that print, these expressions—“That constitution, which she herself, Ireland, feels, comprehends, venerates, and claims, such as she herself expressed both in her convention at Dungannon, and through all her counties, and cities, and through every description, and association of people—and *afterwards*, in full Parliament, *claimed, carried, registered, and recorded.*” Now, even supposing that truth lies between the statements of each paper, will either bear out the assertion that, “he did not say, suggest, think, or hint, &c.”

I shall next animadvert upon that part of the Answer, where the Author charges the Chancellor with implying the necessity of bribery and corruption, in order to govern the Irish Parliament, which charge he builds upon these expressions. "The only security for national concurrence, is a permanent and commanding influence of the English Executive, or rather English Cabinet, in the Councils of Ireland," and the Author of the Answer thus comments upon the expression: "By Councils of Ireland, it means, and professes to mean, nothing less than the Parliament; here is it seems the necessary substitute for the British Parliament; here is the half million, &c." The whole of this commentary is a very great misrepresentation of the Chancellor's meaning. The Author of the Answer detaches a sentence of the Speech without giving the text or context, and then distorts its meaning for his own purposes. Had he given the several paragraphs as they stand in pages 44, and 45 of the Chancellor's Speech, his readers would have seen, that so far from hinting at bribery or corruption, the Chancellor merely proves, "that from the nature of our present connexion with England, as all legislative authority in either country is denied to the other, it is necessary that in every branch of *imperial* policy, whether of trade or navigation, of peace or war, that there should be an implicit concurrence by Ireland, in every *imperial* act of the Crown, which has the sanction of the British Parliament, and upon every article of British legislation upon *imperial* subjects, or else there is an end of the connexion of the two countries;" and then he concludes, "I repeat it, the only security for *national* concurrence, is a permanent and commanding influence, &c." or in other words, the Ministry of England must insure the concurrence of the Irish Parliament, in all wars, treaties, &c. made by the English Parliament (however the former may

disapprove of them,) for the moment that the two legislatures are at issue upon such subjects, a war, or a separation of the two Kingdoms is inevitable. In a country split like Ireland into parties of such opposite views and designs, such a want of concurrence upon imperial questions, we know by experience, is not beyond the reach of possibility; and that the want of that concurrence, might probably lead to separation, I believe few men that have considered the subject can deny.

As to the insinuation of the half million (an expression made use of in Lord Townshend's administration, see appendix), I cannot conceive what sentence in this part of the speech could have even suggested the idea to the answerer, unless indeed it was the following: "every unprincipled and noisy adventurer, who can atchieve the means of putting himself forward, commences his political career on an avowed speculation of profit and loss, and if he fails to negotiate his political job, will endeavour to extort it by faction and sedition, and with unblushing effrontery to fasten his own corruption on the King's Minister." If this sentence alludes to any lavish expenditure of the public money (which I do not pretend to determine it does), the sum was not half a million, but £.50,000; how well it has been applied, I will not take upon me to say; the minds of a great many of the people of Ireland are perhaps now fully made up as to the merits of the object of its application.

I come next to that part of the Answer, where the writer quotes the Chancellor's speech in 1798, against his speech of 1800, which he does with his usual candour and fairness, in these words: "But I think I could quote another authority against this pamphlet; it is another pamphlet in the name of the same author in 1798, which charges the Opposition with a breach of faith in agitating certain political questions,

questions, after the kingdom had come to a final settlement with England, a settlement so compleat and satisfactory, as to render a renewal of political and constitutional controversies impossible." Here again is another instance of the Answerer's fair dealing, in detaching a sentence (which by the bye was not the Chancellor's, as we shall presently show), in order to misrepresent it. The speech to which Mr. G. alludes, is the Chancellor's answer to Ld. Moira's "motion for conciliation." The noble author in it gives that Nobleman a history of the different concessions that had been made from time to time to this country, to gratify popular demands; and shows him how ineffectual they had all been found by experience; and in this speech, actually anticipates some of his own arguments upon the subject of union, by proving how ineffectual the settlement of 82, and the subsequent transactions have been to satisfy the cravings of Irish demands: need I apologise to my readers for giving some extracts from it? "If ever (said the Chancellor then) there was a proceeding which might afford a rational hope of quieting the apprehensions and relieving the exigencies of a distracted country, it was this appeal to their own testimony for a knowledge of their complaints; to desire them to come forward, and to state the measure of their calamities, and the best expedient for the relief of them;" and after mentioning that this adjustment was framed by the Irish opposition cabinet, for the truth of which the Chancellor refers to the Journals, which will prove that the amendments agreed to, were voted by the opposition side of the house; and after stating what the grievances complained of were, and the Duke of Portland's answer that the British Cabinet had paid immediate attention to them, and that the King was ready to assent to any bills to give them

them full effect, and then giving the answer of both houses, (framed by the opposition) who declared "that they were perfectly sensible of the magnanimity of his Majesty, and the wisdom of Parliament in seconding those gracious intentions, &c." Then the Chancellor adds, "the Commons went a step beyond this house, and assured his Majesty * that from henceforth no constitutional question could by possibility arise to interrupt the harmony established between Great Britain and Ireland." The expressions made use of by the House of Commons, quoted by the Chancellor in his speech of 98, and now given by the Answerer as the Chancellor's. The Chancellor goes on to inform Lord Moira, "that the Commons voted 50,000*l.* to the gentleman *who had pledged* himself and pledged parliament to a final adjustment of constitutional grievances between the two countries;" and after mentioning the momentary popularity which he acquired by this conduct, he goes on to state that "unfortunately in a short interval all harmony was at an end; a gentleman of distinguished ability discovered that the simple repeal of a declaratory law, was not a renunciation of the principle that had been declared, &c." and continues to give Lord Moira a full history of the complaints which have followed complaints, and the grievances which have succeeded to grievances ever since that most incomplete adjustment of 82.

When Mr. G. accused the Chancellor of want of memory, he should have been certain that he could support the charge: before I have done, I shall give that gentleman another proof that the Chancellor is not deficient in that faculty of the human understanding, and that his memory is a much more ready one,
upon

* See pages 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, of the Lord Chancellor's speech in 98—I am particular in giving my readers a reference to pages, tho' the Answerer does not always condescend to be equally kind to his.

upon all occasions where he makes an assertion, or *applies an epithet*, than that of the gentleman who has come forward as his antagonist.

We follow the Answerer to the propositions: He in this part of his Work observes, "that the Chancellor proceeds to state, but not to state fairly the propositions." When the Answerer talks in such mild and civil terms of the Chancellor's mistakes, it is a proof that his statements cannot in any particular be very different from his own. My readers may compare the two statements, if they have any doubt upon the matter. I shall dismiss the subject by observing, that the propositions are a convincing proof, that the settlement of 82, was not final, as to commercial Questions, (if ever there was doubt upon this point,) and that the conduct of the British Parliament in altering them, so as to insure to England a security, that we should adopt the regulations of trade and navigation made by Great Britain, with her Colonies and Plantations, is a damning proof that, this Assembly did not consider the adjustment of 1782, as final to all constitutional questions; and that although the Irish Nation was then duped by the misrepresentations and intrigue of a faction, (for the history of which transaction, I refer my readers to the Chancellor's Speech, page 49:) Yet I may venture to assert, that the accomplices in that dupery have long since seen the folly of their proceedings.

I also follow the Answerer to the Regency, and here I am happy that I need not take up the time of my readers by long statements, or tedious argument: Most of us remember the transaction, and some of us regret our conduct upon the occasion—a short history of that calamitous event may suffice: Our most beloved sovereign was afflicted with the most terrible of mortal evils—it became necessary to supply the vacuum in the regal authority, by the appointment of a REGENT. The British Parliament
having

having perused the legal evidence, which was submitted for their consideration, after the most solemn investigation, and upon the most cautious deliberation, appointed the Prince of Wales regent with *limited Powers*. The Parliament of Ireland, precipitated by a party, without any other evidence but what the public newspapers afforded, within six days appointed the Prince of Wales Regent with unlimited Powers. It pleased the Almighty Disposer of events, to restore to our Monarch that reason, of which his malady had deprived him—and thus by the merciful interposition of his Providence, to prevent the exercise of this anomalous Power, and all the miseries and distractions which must have followed the exercise of it; and so sensible are the NEW friends of the “Answerer,” that by this conduct the Irish Parliament laid a broad precedent for the separation of the two countries, that one of them has lately proposed to parliament a bill (though a most inadequate one for the purpose) to prevent the revival of future difference of opinion and proceeding upon the occurrence of such another fatal calamity, the answerer may rave upon this subject as he pleases, he may with his usual justice accuse the Chancellor “of making a charge against the country, not for her conduct, but for her power.” My readers have only to turn to his Speech to be convinced, that her power was never questioned by him, though her conduct was sharply censured; nor is the Chancellor the only censurer of the proceedings of that day. Many, very many of those concerned in the transaction, now feel the sharp corrodings of regret. There is but one circumstance which can console the friends of British connexion in this country, for the evils of that hour, it is, that to them they are indebted for the exaltation of a champion for that connexion, and for the adviser of that measure, which will give Ireland her due weight and consequence among the nations of the earth.

I follow

I follow the answerer to that part of the work, wherein he mentions the Whig Club, which he is pleased to stile by insinuation, "the broad shield of a free people." Their political existence is now most happily extinct, and if the Chancellor has in any part of his Speech, passed a censure upon their conduct, there are few loyal men in Ireland, who do not join in it. I pass over also the Lord Mayor of that day and Mr. Tandy; * the first I respect as a valuable citizen, and shall therefore make no observations upon the part which he acted in the city-politics of that day; the latter is now in prison, and it would be unjustifiable to animadvert at this moment upon his former conduct. I shall, therefore, pass on to the comparison which the answerer draws between "the investigation of the situation of the poor of Ireland," which the Whig-Club ordered to be made during an impending invasion, and that part of Mr. Douglas's Speech in the English House of Commons, wherein he offers an *opinion*, that an Union would ameliorate the condition of the Irish people. The intention of the parties (to speak generally) was so different, and the † effects likely to be produced so opposite as to require no comment, and therefore, to avail ourselves of the answerer's expressions, "we have also done with such trifling."

However fatigued I may find myself, I must follow the Answerer to *his* plan of Reform and that of the United Irishmen. My readers will find them both, the one in the body of the Lord Chancellor's Speech,

* See pages 19 and 20 of the Answer, by Mr. Grattan.

† See Lord Chancellor's Speech, where the report of the investigation of the Whig Club is given in page 73.

page 70, and the other in the Appendix to it, and if they please, may compare them together ; and here for the first time I will not deny, that I perfectly agree with the answerer in his opinion, " that the effect of the former as well as of the latter)^a had been to prevent an Union : " most undoubtedly ; for either of them was sufficient to accomplish a separation, and for the truth of this assertion, I refer my readers to the very unexceptionable testimony of Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, M'Nevin, Sweetman, &c. given before the Bar of the House of Lords.

As to the charge which the Answerer immediately makes against the Chancellor, " of not giving either the *history* of that reform, or any other public measures," to the first I reply, that the Chancellor has in his Speech (to which I refer) given *both* plans of reform ; and fortunately for the country, their rejection by Parliament has prevented him from giving their *history* ; and as to the history of other transactions, I cannot but think the Chancellor has been tolerably explicit in the detail of them in his Speech.

I now accompany the Answerer to " the Catholic Question," and the first circumstance that strikes me, is a very glaring misinterpretation. The author of the Answer asserts * that the Chancellor is pleased to quote *him* as follows : " Let me advise you (the Catholics) by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war : your physical consequence consists in a state of separation from England, &c." and then the answerer declares with his usual civility, " that this is a palpable fabrication." Here we cannot but observe that a charge is fabricated, to furnish an occasion for a rude denial. Let any of our readers turn to page 68 of the Chancellor's

* Page 22.

Speech, and they will find that the Chancellor *does not quote this sentence as Mr. Grattan's*, but as the obvious comment which others have made upon his text. Lord Clare's words are, "What is the lesson of peace and good will inculcated by the successors of the gentleman who first invented this revolutionary weapon---Let me advise you not to postpone the consideration, &c." Will Mr. Grattan deny that he ever made use of these expressions? Surely he will not. They are to be found *verbatim* in a publication of 98, containing the Catholic Address to him, signed by Messrs. Broughall and Sweetman, with his answer annexed. The rest of the sentence is not attributed to him, but is given as the obvious comments made by his successors, who took up this question as a revolutionary weapon; and to prove that the Chancellor was justifiable in calling Catholic Emancipation "a revolutionary weapon," need I remind my readers of the evidence of Dr. Mc. Nevin, a Roman Catholic, who declared, that he and his party had no *other object* in making that measure a pretence for grievance, "for that he would have as soon thought of establishing the Mahometan as the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland."

But tho' the Chancellor in that sentence, (which Mr. G. calls a palpable fabrication) gives the comment which others have made upon his text, might he not have been warranted in going farther? for in the course of the present session of Parliament, Mr. Grattan did expressly state, "that whilst Ireland continued a distinct kingdom, the Catholics would remain as three to one, but after Union they would be as one to four---that Union would therefore destroy their physical consequence,
that

that if their political claims were yielded to by the Imperial Parliament, they would gain nothing, and that they might as well be units in the street, as units in Parliament." He now attempts to quibble on the word separation.--- One is inclined sometimes to imagine that he had not seen the Chancellor's Speech, but undertook to answer from recollection charges which he thought it possible might be brought against him.

As to the next charge against the Chancellor, which Mr. Grattan states from a news-paper, without referring his readers to the print or its date--- "that a certain party took up the Catholic question as a subject of discontent *after* the Place and Pension Bill had been conceded:" as no such charge that we recollect is to be found in the "Speech" we shall pass it over, and we are induced to do so, particularly as Mr. Grattan acknowledges in the same page, that he did take up the question in 9: the dispute turns upon a few months, and it is therefore of little consequence to ascertain the precise moment of the birth * of this monster; its ferocity and devastations can never be erased from our recollection. The principal fact which the Answerer denies, and which I shall attempt to disprove is, that charge "that he excited the Catholics." Before I enter upon this subject it may not be altogether unnecessary, in confirmation of the Chancellor's statement, that the Catholics were not supported by a certain party until after the time that their claims were taken up by the King's Ministers in 1793, to remind my readers,

* I would not be understood as applying this expression to the Catholic question of Emancipation in the abstract, but to that question as an engine in the hands of such designing men as Dr. McNevin, Sweetman, &c. &c.

that in the report of the resolutions of the Catholics in the *last month* of the year 1792, signed by Mr. Shiel, and countersigned by Mr. M'Cormick, a complaint is made, " that the Roman Catholics, constituting three-fourths of the people, had not influence to induce any one member of Parliament to patronize their petition : " but Mr. Grattan chuses in every instance to put himself forward as the prominent political character of Ireland. The Chancellor states, " that when the King's ministers supported the claims of the Catholics, their old persecutors became apostles of emancipation." Can Mr. Grattan deny, that his modern political associates, Mr. Ponsonby and his connections, uniformly opposed the first relaxation of the Popery laws, which merely extended to restore to the Catholics the rights of property ?

To return to the answerer's assertion, " that we did not excite the Catholics." Should I run any risk in passing over this charge, with calling upon any Catholic in the country, to lay his hand upon his heart, and to answer, whether, in his opinion, Mr. Grattan and his friends, did or did not excite their body ?

I shall however review Mr. Grattan's conduct, relative to that body of his Majesty's subjects. To trace the whole of his connection with the Roman Catholics *ab ovo*, from 1793 to the year 1798, would require more of our paper than we can devote to the subject. My readers may see this connection anatomized in Doctor Duigenan's " answer to Mr. Grattan's address ; " it is therefore only necessary to state a few facts : A convention was assembled in this city in the year 1792, by Mr. E. Byrne ; whether the answerer had any connection with this meeting I cannot determine, their complaint rather proves the reverse ; but when in consequence

of the precedent then set, another Catholic convention was convened at Athlone, and when government, taking the alarm, found it necessary to suppress such dangerous assemblies, Mr. Grattan gave a most violent opposition to the act of Parliament (the convention bill) devised for that purpose. I now pass over an interval of Catholic tranquillity, and come to the Lord Lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam. Just before his arrival a Catholic committee of nine persons met; a copy of a petition to parliament was drawn up, and sent round the counties. This petition was ready for the inspection of the viceroy, upon his arrival at the Castle. This nobleman has given it to the public under his hand, that so far from coming to this country with * a design to bring forward the Catholic claims, his instructions were of the very opposite nature.—Mr. Grattan became his *minister*, (as he himself assured us) and instantly the Roman Catholics, or rather their committee, who had before, by their resolution in print, declared, “that the whole of their late application neither did, nor does contain any thing more, either in substance or principle, than the following objects, viz. admission to the bar, capacity to serve as grand jurors, as county magistrates, and to vote for protestant representatives in parliament,” instantly came forward to demand total emancipation; is it natural to suppose that they would have taken such a step unadvised and unincited, at a moment when their avowed champion had *entered into office*? Is it not more natural to suppose, that they were excited by him? Lord Fitzwilliam, in consequence of his precipitate measures, was recalled, and Mr. Grattan “resigned his *ministerial* breath.” The address which

* His letter to Lord Carlisle.

which he then sent forth to that body, is not forgotten, though possibly the work is in the possession of few of my readers. Some extracts from it may not therefore be unacceptable.*

“Your emancipation will pass—rely upon it, it must pass, it may be death to one viceroy, &c.”—

“Let me advise you not to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war.”—“Let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.”—“I tremble at the return to power of *your* old task-masters; that combination which galled the country by its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice.”

“My country is committed in the struggle, and I beg to be *committed* with her.”†

If this is not excitation, the words of the language we speak have no meaning—It was understood as such by the lower orders, as well as others of that union. And as far as this intemperate and ill-timed address (to give it the mildest appellation, contributed to drive that infatuated body of men into outrage and rebellion; the author must be considered in some degree as responsible for the sufferings and calamities which their conduct brought upon them. They may be possibly considered as the authors of their own persecution; (if the punishment which the law inflicts upon crime, can be called persecution,) but if there had been no inciters, there certainly would have been no persecutors.

* My readers may also besides recollect how often Mr. Grattan has expatiated upon the “physical force of that body of men.”—An expression very full of meaning, and not perfectly unintelligible to the lower orders of that communion.

† Does this gentleman’s practice always agree with his preaching?

In turbulent politics, as well as in capital cases in law the instigators, aiders and abettors are as guilty as the actual instruments, though there may not be the same equality of punishment in both cases.

I pass on to that part of the answer where the author condemns some expressions which he attributes to the Chancellor, relative to the great Roman Catholic Body. As he has not referred us to any work, and as we cannot find them in the speech, we conclude that they are his own comments in his usual stile of candour upon the Chancellor's words. We find indeed in the speech, lamentations at the delusion of the people of the lower orders of that communion; high and deserved praises of some of the nobility and gentry of that body; regret at the degradation and misery of the inferior classes; a warning to the good and thinking Roman Catholics that they have been duped by plans, which though they would not have relieved their condition, would have led to Republicanism and Jacobinism. "An abstract state maxim without regard to the peculiar state of this country," "that a conscientious Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, from the nature of his religion, cannot be in every respect a well attached subject to a protestant state," inasmuch as a Roman Catholic Priest must look up to the Pope, and not to his temporal prince, as the head of his Church: and lastly, a declaration made in the spirit of unbounded toleration, "that in private life he never enquired into the religion of any man, if he be honest and a good christian, it matters not to me, that he may subscribe to articles of faith or rules of discipline, that my reason rejects."

Upon the subject of Union the answerer hardly touches, (except upon the adjustment of 1782) and where he does, he mistakes the Chancellor by making

making him declare "that this country is unable to pay her establishments." The Chancellor in his speech, after giving a statement of the increase of our war establishment, made necessary by the distractions of the country, and the vast debt which we have incurred in consequence of our "war of Faction, Whig war, and United Irishman's war," asserts, that at the rate we are going on, the country will not be able to bear such an expence for more than three years longer. He states, that our debt is near 25 millions, at this moment; that we have borrowed this year 8 millions, which multiplied by three with the interest and charges added to our present debt, will in three years accumulate to fifty millions;—and my readers will see, if they refer to the Chancellor's speech, that in stating the national debt he expressly distinguishes between the sums paid into the exchequer and the capital created, adding, "If the nation is obliged to borrow money upon usurious terms, the debt is not the sum paid into the exchequer, but the sum which she contracts to pay." Mr. Grattan's answer is, "He states that we borrow annually eight millions; he should have stated, that we borrow four millions." Let the government securities issued at the exchequer in the last year decide the question; the *capital* created in the last year was eight millions.

Mr. Grattan says, "Whatever capital we may create on each loan, he (the Chancellor) should state, how much less we should borrow on the adoption of an Union."

The Loan and Lottery of this year, on the mere prospect of an Union, ought to silence Mr. Grattan upon this subject. The Loan of last year was sold to Mr. White at seventy-two per cent.; in this year, in consequence of a competition in the money market

market by English bidders, he has been obliged to pay 90l. 5s. per cent. The Lottery of last year was sold at the rate of 5l. 2s. 6d. each Ticket; in this year it has been sold at 7l. 2s. 6d. On Loan and Lottery, therefore in this year, the Irish nation has gained nearly 400,000l. by the *mere prospect* of Union. Is Mr. Grattan answered when he called for proof, that we shall borrow less money, or create less capital after Union, that we are obliged to borrow as a distinct kingdom?

I may now even allow the answerer to assume for a fact (although parliament has not yet settled the proportion to be paid for each borough) that above a million will be necessary for their purchase; and I leave it to the greater part of my readers to consider, whether an Union is not likely to banish from our country dangerous Irish and English factions, the source of our calamities; and whether, when we become one people with the English, the government of either country will not be enabled to employ the army in whatever part of the empire it is most wanted, and thus to decrease the expence of our separate establishment? And as to the Chancellor's next assertion; (against which the answerer objects) that the constitution is incompetent to provide for the security of the country, I reply, that the events of past years have proved, that it is incompetent to provide for her happiness and tranquillity—and that the regency and the rebellion, the doctrines of resistance and separation, which we have lately heard and read—and the events of the present hour, sufficiently prove, that our present constitution is not competent to provide for the security of the connexion between England and Ireland, upon the permanency of which the happiness of this kingdom depends.

“ Well, we have done,” (to quote the answerer's

er's *classic* expression) with that part of the work which immediately relates to the Union, and come to his political portraits, which seem to have been introduced for the same purpose, that booksellers ornament with engravings their *new editions* of *old authors*, namely to promote their sale.—We venerate the characters of some of them, as much as the author professes to do, and the Chancellor has thrown no reflection on their memories. We cannot conceive, that a statement of the defects of our constitution, and of the ineffectual efforts made from time to time to conciliate Ireland, which have been rendered abortive by the intrigues of faction, can cast any reflection upon the memories of men, who were not factious, and who are not stated to have been so.—It is the answerer and not the Chancellor who would seem to involve those personages in any accusation which has been made: the virtues of many of them are engraven in the hearts of their countrymen; they did not require a panegyric from the pen of the answerer.

Let us pass over the encomiums which the answerer *now* lavishes upon parliaments, from the year fifty-three to eighty-two, where he stops suddenly. After the description which he formerly gave the citizens of Dublin, of those assemblies, this partial recantation of former opinions, must be highly gratifying to them. And we follow him to the page wherein he tells his readers, that he has three publications of the Chancellor lying open before him, and “that they all contain a system of political, moral, and intellectual levelling.” That “the pamphlets are running a crazy race through all ages,” and that they *contain* “a great thrift of argument, a turn to be offensive, fiery in the temper, and * famine in the phrase.” I have

have here only to observe, that this charge against the Chancellor for *levelling principles*, is perfectly new and quite original: and this accusation, is a strong proof, that the author of the answer has a large share of that talent, which all writers look upon as the first ingredient of genius—viz.—Invention.—And next, I cannot but express my surprise, that the answerer should have laboured with so much art and sophistry, to answer what he considered as such harmless and contemptible productions!

And yet, to degrade these productions, *such as they are*, he either misconceives or misrepresents their meaning, and supposes the Chancellor to have said (what he never uttered) “That to demand a free constitution, was to separate from Great Britain.” “That Ireland is a colony,” the Chancellor states Ireland to be a depending kingdom, “And that upon all imperial questions she must follow Great Britain or separate.” again, that “Ireland may prudently submit to legislation without representation.” “The Chancellor’s expressions state merely his private opinion,” that when he looked back to the events of the last twenty years, he should feel himself happy to commit his country to the sober discretion of the British legislature, though we had not a single member in it. Let but the people of England understand the solid interests of Ireland, and he had no fear that they would not attend to them.” The same statement has been expressed by some of the most violent Anti-Unionists in the House of Commons.

Another charge against the Chancellor is again

* Some of these phrases nevertheless seem to have *whetted*, in a very unaccountable manner, the answerer’s resentful *appetite*.

made by the answerer, that he had asserted " that Ireland had no parliamentary constitution till the time of James I." The Chancellor in his speech contends, that Ireland had not a parliamentary constitution which included general legislation till that period—and history warrants the assertion. Again, that he had declared, " that the remedy for our present *free* Constitution was to put into the place of the Irish Parliament, the commanding influence of the English Cabinet."—No such thing. But the Chancellor asserted, " that in imperial questions, the British Cabinet must insure a co-operation of the Irish Parliament."—And no man who understands the nature of our connexion can deny it. Again, " couple this with the declaration of the half million." No such declaration was ever made by the Chancellor, [see appendix.]—Again, " couple this with the declaration that for the last seven years a Noble Minister has recommended an Union." He avows it and may glory in it; it is a proof of his wisdom and his consistency—" Couple all this together, and the result of the pamphlet (Lord Clare's Speech) is an ample and complete justification of that opposition." [See answer, page 41] Let our readers call to mind the whole conduct of that opposition, which since 82 brought forward grievance after grievance, and the result will be, that their conduct has made an Union absolutely necessary for the security of the connexion of the two countries, and the salvation of the Empire.

I have followed the answerer closely through the pages of his intricate performance, and have now arrived at his recapitulation; but before I also recapitulate, I must animadvert upon a note subjoined to page 21 of his pamphlet; in which Mr. Grattan expresses very great resentment at Mr. Ar-

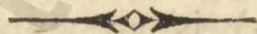
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thur

thur O'Connor's being stiled by the Chancellor the "unreserved friend of the Whig Confederacy."—This, Mr. Grattan calls "*our unreserved friend*;" although he denies any confederacy with the English Party. Mr. Grattan also denies that Mr. O'Connor had any communication of any kind with US, i. e. with Mr. Grattan and the other Members of the Whig Confederacy, save on the question of reform;—and calls for legal evidence, or any evidence that can satisfy a reasonable man, that Mr. O'Connor was the unreserved friend of the United Whig Confederacy.—Mr. Grattan shall have it.



Extract from the Trial for High Treason of James O'Coigly, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary, at Maidstone:



The Right Hon. H. Grattan, *Sworn.*

Examined by Mr. Gurney.

Question. You are acquainted with Mr. Arthur O'Connor? Answer. I am. Q. How long have you been acquainted with him? A. I have been personally acquainted with Mr. O'Connor since the year 1782; I knew him by character before, but I have been *well* acquainted with him since that time. Q. Has your acquaintance enabled you to form a judgment of his political opinions? A. I think it has. Q. Did you ever hear any opinion of his, which

which led you to suppose he could favour an invasion of his country by the French? A. No, rather the contrary. Q. What do you conceive to be Mr. O'Connor's private character? A. A very good one. Q. I understand he was formerly a Member of the Irish House of Commons? A. He was. Q. Were you a Member at the same time? A. At the same time. Q. Had you any opportunity of knowing whether Mr. O'Connor's character was reserved or unreserved? A. I think his *character was unreserved*. Q. And you have had an opportunity of forming a judgment of what his character really was? A. I think I have.

Now are we to believe what Mr. Grattan has written, or what he has sworn?*

That this is legal evidence no person can doubt; whether it is such as to satisfy any reasonable man, I shall not anticipate; but this I will boldly affirm, that it received full credit from the Jury upon Mr. O'Connor's trial; and that to their belief of it, that gentleman is now partly indebted that he has his head upon his shoulders.

I now recapitulate in reply to the answerers *twelve denials*.

From the whole tenor of Mr. Grattan's and his friends' conduct toward the Roman Catholics; his opposition to the convention bill; his address to them, &c. &c. we are inclined to think, that he is guilty of a great *mistake*, when he asserts that "*We did not excite the Catholics.*"

If Mr. Grattan and his friends did excite the great body of the Catholics, they must in a great measure,

* For the unreserved friendship of Mr. O'Connor with some other Members of the Whig Confederacy, see their evidence upon oath at the same time.

be considered as the authors of their sufferings, or if they please to call them—persecutions.

As to the denial that he and his friends took up the Catholic question after the place and pension bill had passed—we dispute not as to days or months ; but the question was taken up by them soon enough to give the country sufficient cause for deep regret that it was ever made a political engine in the hands of any party.

As to the denial that Mr. Grattan ever declared that the adjustment of 82 emanated from Dungan-non—we leave our readers to determine how far the evidence which we have given is a proof or not.

That Mr. Grattan ever compared the parliament that accomplished the adjustment to the Parliament of 1613—we leave also to our readers to determine on the same grounds.

As to the denial that Mr. Grattan ever declared that the Catholics would be the most powerful if these nations were separated—we observe, that the Chancellor makes no such charge ; but gives a comment which that body might naturally make upon Mr. Grattan's text—and if he had made such a charge, Mr. Grattan's expressions in Parliament, given in page 27, would fully warrant it :—

With respect to the two next denials,

That “ he abandoned to popularity the draft of
“ a bill, &c.”

And that “ he never saw, agreed to, or heard of
“ such a draft.”

My readers will please to recollect, that the Chancellor, in his speech, states what passed in the Irish House of Commons, 16th April, 1782. The Chancellor's expressions are, “ no man of common sense will believe that the King's ministers in Great Britain or Ireland could have been such dupes or drivellers as to rest the future connection of the
two

two countries upon such a proceeding ;” and he refers to the official correspondence of the Duke of Portland, carried over from the 6th May, to 22d June, 1792, with Lord Shelbourne. The Marquis of Buckingham and Mr. ——— (probably Mr. Fox) in proof of this sentiment. The Chancellor never accused the Duke of Portland of having employed Mr. Grattan as one of the King’s ministers—he has more than once assumed that character of his own authority—and the Irish nation are pretty well enabled to judge of his qualifications for that office. The authenticity of the official correspondence he cannot question : and therefore he condemns it as an intrigue carried on to clog the settlement. The fact very possibly may be, that the Duke of Portland did not admit Mr. Grattan into his confidence—and that gentleman’s political life, from the period of his advancement to affluence by public bounty, down to his memorable conferences at Tennehinch, in 1798, will very fully justify the Duke of Portland’s caution in this particular ; and therefore, if Mr Grattan felt his situation as every honest member of the community feels it, instead of accusing the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Shelbourne, with intrigue and insincerity, and assuming to himself the character of one of the King’s ministers, with which the Chancellor has not invested him, he should with a becoming humility have vindicated himself, if he felt his vindication necessary, by asserting, that he was not admitted into the cabinet of the Duke of Portland, nor privy to the points agitated in it. But when Mr. Grattan’s defective recollection of what he had so recently deposed upon oath, on the trial of his friend Mr. A. O’Connor is adverted to, there is a possibility that his memory may fail him when he speaks of transactions which took place in 1782. The
Chancellor

Chancellor in his speech states, " I happen to know from an *unofficial* quarter, that the sketch of such an act of parliament was then drawn," &c. &c.—See speech, page 38.

Mr. Grattan seems to think that he is the only public man to whom any allusion can be made in stating any public transaction. What pretensions has this gentleman to such an assumption? The Chancellor states, " that he knows from an unofficial quarter, that the sketch of such an act was drawn, and that he knows the gentleman who framed it, and that blanks," &c. &c.

To this Mr. Grattan arrogantly replies, " It is not just, that I," &c. &c.—If Mr. Grattan speaks truth, it would have better become him to have said, that he was not consulted upon it.

Mr. Grattan's two last denials are, " It is not fact that I ever agreed to an alliance with an English party," &c.

It is not fact that I ever entered into alliance, &c. See his answer, page 52.

These are denials of a statement made by the Chancellor in page 57, of his speech. " That it was a fact of public notoriety that the first act after the adjustment of 1782, of *some gentlemen*, who consider the Irish nation as their political inheritance," &c. See page 47, of the Lord Chancellor's speech.

Here again my readers will observe, that Mr. Grattan chuses to put himself forward as the prominent political character of Ireland. Will Mr. Grattan venture to deny the political connection of him and his political associates in parliament, with Mr. Fox and his party? Will he venture to deny, that he acted in concert with them in 1785, to defeat the Irish propositions? Will he deny, that he acted again in concert and direct communication with them in 1789? Will he venture to deny, that
his

his friends publicly threatened every man who should oppose Mr. Grattan's projects on the regency, with the displeasure of the same party, and dismissal from their offices? Will he deny, that the Whig club was formed here, as a branch of the English one, and that the Irish whigs were voted honorary members of that club? Will he deny, that his associates in politics, the P——ys, publicly boasted after 1789, that they had a *carte blanche* from English opposition, whenever they should come into power? Will he deny, that his English friends have, many of them, in the course of this war, adopted the means and inculcated the principles: (in concert with Mr. Grattan) which were originally devised by the Rebel Confederacy of the Irish Union, to abolish the Religion, and subvert the Monarchy of Ireland? Does he forget the motions repeatedly made in both Houses of the British Parliament, on the subject of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform in Ireland? Does he forget the exhibition of him and his English friends at Maidstone.

He may put himself forward and boldly make assertions against the conviction of thousands and tens of thousands of honest men in this kingdom; but the Chancellor is fully warranted in stating it to be "a Fact of public notoriety, that on the acknowledgment of Irish independence in 1782, the first step taken by some gentlemen of this country, who have been in the habit of considering the Irish nation as their political inheritance, was to form a political confederacy in both countries. It is of public notoriety that they have been playing the Independence of Ireland, against their political antagonists; it is also a fact of public notoriety, that the conduct of some of the parties up to this hour has fomented turbulence and faction."

faction in Ireland even to open rebellion.”—Witness the cabinet conferences at Tinnehinch with Messrs. Bond, John Sweetman, Samuel Neilson, &c. *

Are the Chancellor’s assertions established or not?

I will now also make one denial; though after the body of evidence which I have produced, I am inclined to think, that I have no need of resorting to such a mode of defence against the accusations which Mr. Grattan makes against the Chancellor. It is this—that the Chancellor did not fabricate the history of the adjustment of 1782, viz.—“that it emanated from Dungannon,” &c. &c.—But that this history is given verbatim *as Mr. Grattan’s* in some of the public prints of January last.

I am now arrived at the concluding paragraph of the “ANSWER,”—and I follow this PUBLIC ACCUSER to the two awful tribunals before which he cites the Chancellor to appear—his CONSCIENCE and COUNTRY. The first has already acquitted him, and before he can be convicted by the second a Republican-revolutionary Jury must be impanelled, and then no doubt his condemnation will be inevitable.

I have finished my remarks upon the “answer to the Earl of Clare’s speech.” I have not attempted to force my readers assent by solemn asseverations, nor endeavoured to convince him by denials. I have avoided intemperate language, as I feel no personal pique or private enmity to the author, although I abhor his politics. And though he calls for an answer from the Lord Chancellor, surely he can have no objection, that any individual in the community (however retired or unknown,) should animadvert upon a pamphlet,

* See their evidence on oath before the House of Lords, &c.

which

which he has given to the public with such triumph, and which challenges public investigation—I have produced FACTS and EVIDENCE.

My work has been written in haste, and I am conscious, has no other recommendation but truth and simplicity. Such as it is, I submit it to the perusal and deliberate consideration of men of plain sense and common understandings.

DUBLIN,
28th April, 1800.

I

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.



LORD MOIRA * having in his reply stated, that he did not wonder the people of Ireland should wish for Parliamentary Reform, when an official declaration had been made in the House of Commons, that half a million must be expended to put down the opposition; the Chancellor, in answer to this observation, thanked his Lordship for having afforded him an opportunity of publicly refuting a calumny which had been propagated with uncommon industry. The Chancellor stated, that in the session of 1789, during the indisposition of his Majesty, when a debate arose upon a vote of censure moved against Lord Buckingham, because he declined to transmit an address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, an observation was made in the House of Commons, by some other gentleman, that a censure had some years before been voted against Lord Townshend, and that in the same Parliament, a flattering address had been also voted to him. The

* See last page of Lord Clare's speech, upon Lord Moira's motion, for "Conciliation," in 1798.—Printed by Milliken.

Chancellor

Chancellor said, that in adverting to this observation in the course of the debate, he stated simply, that he had heard that address, in all its consequences, cost the Irish nation half a million; and the story which has been built on this naked observation, on a statement made in debate by another gentleman, is, that he had, in defending new offices created by Lord Buckingham, justified the expenditure of half a million in putting down the opposition in the House of Commons: he said, he was not surprised that Lord Moira had been imposed upon by this impudent falsehood; but that two plain facts were sufficient for its detection: one is, that the new offices complained of, were not created till after he [the Chancellor] had ceased to be a member of the House of Commons; and the subject never was debated in the House of Lords. The other fact he stated to be, that when he made the observation, he voted in a small and virtuous minority in the House of Commons, when, so far from his speaking officially, it was generally understood, that he was to go out of office on the change of administration, which was expected immediately to take place, so much so, that his successor was publicly named. As to the transactions in Lord Townshend's time, he could have spoken of them merely from report, as at the time they took place, he was at the University of Oxford.

