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THE PROCEEDING

Of the Honourable

House of Commons

IRELAND,

MONEY-BILL,

On DECEMBER 17, 1753,

VINDICATED

By AUTHORITIES taken from the LAW and USAGE of PARLIAMENT.

Wherein are occasionally exposed the Fallacies of two Pamphlets, intituled, "CONSIDERATIONS on the late Bill, &c."—And "OBSERVATIONS Relative to the late Bill for paying off the Refidue of the National Debt."

The Sublimity of Administration consists in knowing perfectly the proper Degree of Power, great or small, that should be exerted on different Occasions.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vol. I. p. 250.

The THIRD EDITION.

DUBLIN:

Printed for PETER WILSON, in Dame-street, 1754.

THE
SUNDAY
Advertifement.

THE Reader is desired to take Notice, that a Pamphlet, intituled, "OBSERVATIONS relative to the LATE BILL, for paying off the RESIDUE of the NATIONAL DEBT of IRELAND," which is partly expofed in the following Sheets for its notorious Fallacies, tending moft cruelly to Prejudice *Ireland*, by a Mifrepresentation of her Conduct in a delicate Point, hath been within this few Days re-printed in LONDON, under the NEW TITLE of, "An Account of the REVENUE and NATIONAL DEBT of IRELAND, with fome Observations on the late Bill for paying off the National Debt. In which is contained a Speech in the Parliament of *Henry*, Lord Viscount *Sidney*, Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1692; as alfo an Order of Council, and feveral Refolutions of the Houfe of Commons, extracted from their Journals, parallel to the prefent Juncture of Affairs in that Kingdom." It is impoffible for any Man, but the Contriver, with Certainty to fay, what was the Intention of this Change: But be it what it may, it is hoped, this Notice will prevent it from paffing under its DISGUISE, as unanswerd and unanswerable, and will fave the innocent Country from being hurt by that which is fufpected to be a concerted Scheme of its unnatural Enemies.

PROCEEDING, &c.

MISREPRESENTATION of either Houfe of Parliament, in a Matter of great Importance to their Sovereign, or to the People, is an Offence not to be forgiven: Because it tends to difsolve that Confidence, which is the natural Support of the Constitution, and which alone can give Weight and Dignity to the Supreme Power.

YET, that fuch a Mifrepresentation of the Honourable Houfe of Commons of *Ireland* hath, by fome means, been transported into *Great-Britain*, the sad Effects do too plainly prove.

AND that it is alfo endeavoured to be impofed upon and propagated amongft their Conftituents, is as clear, from fundry Pamphlets, little better than Libels againft the Commons, againft the Constitution, and againft Truth; being at a great Expence, and in a manner unufual in this Kingdom, put into the Hands of all who will accept of them, from the Capital to the remotest Corner of the Nation.

HAD the Parliament been permitted to meet after the ordinary Recess, the Commons, who have ever been true and faithful Subjects, to the best and most beloved King in the World, would moft furely have defended themselves before the Throne, in a manner becoming their Dignity, and the Figure that illustrious Body make in the State; and would have juftified their Actions, with the Spirit and Senfe, they are (happily for thofe they represent) poffeffed of, in a moft eminent Danger.

THEN indeed, it would have been extremely improper, for any private Perfon, to pretend to take the weighty Talk of their Vindication upon him: But fince a sudden Prorogation hath deprived our Representatives of the glorious Opportunity of laying their Cause in a parliamentary and dutiful Manner before their juft Sovereign, it cannot be looked upon to be presumptuous in an Individual, even to attempt to refcue the People from the Snares laid for them, by the ruinous Doctrines published every Day, and by false Tales without Ceffation

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spread amongst them, to induce them to think much worse of their Constitution, than, bad as it is, it really deserves; and thus, by making them desperate, and careless of what shall happen, to obtain that Opportunity, which otherwise they could not find, of gradually, and without Interruption, paring away their Liberty.

To effect the bad Purposes of the Enemies to the most glorious Majority that ever was seen in Parliament, were the two Pamphlets, mentioned in the Title-page, apparently written and published. The CONSIDERATIONS, &c. are a smooth, superficial Work, disguising the true Nature of the Question, and calculated to captivate the Affection, not to convince the Judgment.

THE OBSERVATIONS, &c. are plainly designed as a Sequel to the other, and to supply the Deficiency of the former in parliamentary Learning, which they profusely scatter, without Pertinence to the Subject, or Fairness in Argument.

THESE however require Notice; for there is something plausible in them, and apt to take hold of an ingenuous Mind, not sufficiently instructed, but disposed to learn the Truth.

THERE is another Pamphlet in being, called *A Letter to the Publick*, which hath, it seems, so far recommended it self to some considerable Persons, as to be patronized by them. This is evidently put together for the Sake of its declamatory Abuse, and to ingratiate the Author with his Patrons. But as he has very precipitately declared, in page 30, *our unhappy Disputes, to have been, not about Essentials, but merely upon Forms and Ceremonies*; I shall leave him to his Friends, the *Considerations*, and the *Observations*, to be chastized, for making *nothing* at all of what they have made such a *Pother* about.

It is not sufficient to answer the material Parts of my two Adversaries: This would take up but little of my Time; but then the Readers would not be much edified by the Controversy. The Curiosity of the Publick is awakened; People desire to be informed minutely in a Matter wherein it is said every Body is intimately concerned. They have a Right to be gratified. In a free Country, He who holds Knowledge from the People, means to make their Ignorance an Instrument to enslave them.

As I am not privy to any such Scheme against their Happiness, I shall deliver all I know, or have heard, with any Probability of being true, relative to the late rejected Money-Bill, with as much Clearness as I am master of. My Candor will best be proved by the Manner in which I shall discharge myself. Experience teaches that Professions of *Honesty* are not always remembered in the Time of Action; and therefore a

Writer

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Writer should waive all Pretensions to it, until his impartial Judge the Publick fixes on his Performance a *Probatum est*.

My Work will consist of two Parts. First, to relate the History of the Money-Bill to the Time of its being rejected. Secondly, to assign the Reasons for rejecting it; and throughout the whole, I shall examine the CONSIDERATIONS and OBSERVATIONS as they occur.

IN October 1749, the *Publick Accounts being laid before the House of Commons*, it appeared upon the Face of them, that there remained in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers, at *Lady-day* preceding, to which Time the Accounts were made up, after all Exigencies of Government were satisfied, a Sum of two hundred and twenty thousand two hundred and forty-one Pounds, four Shillings and six Pence. Hence arose naturally in the Minds of all this Reflection, *That the Time was at length come, when Justice required, that such Part of the Surplus remaining in the Treasury, unapplied, should go to discharge as much of that Debt, which was contracted for the Government, and for which the Nation had long and cheerfully paid Interest, as could be spared, leaving still in the Treasury a Sufficiency, to answer any sudden Demand, or any Deficiency that might be in the Revenue before the next Session*. It may be presumed that there was not, at that time, a Man, who doubted the *Right* or *Power* of the Commons to effect this desirable Act of Justice, as there was not a Hint dropped of that Sort from any Person, whether employed or not employed by the Government. This universal Desire, doubtless, reached the Castle, where the Earl of *Harrington*, Lord Lieutenant, then resided. He, not *instructed*, nor waiting for *Instruction*, but upon the general Knowledge he had of his Majesty's most *gracious Intentions*, to make his Subjects happy, readily concurred in so just, so honourable a Scheme; and his Concurrence effectually removed all Obstacles, and produced an Uniformity of Opinion. So that the Committee of Ways and Means having reported their Resolutions, and they being confirmed by the House, and the usual Committee having been appointed to prepare Heads of one or more Bill or Bills, upon the Resolutions so agreed to, it was then ordered by the House, without any previous Form,

“ THAT it be an Instruction to the said Committee, to insert
“ a Clause or Clauses in the said Heads of a Bill or Bills, for *apply-*
“ *ing* so much of the *Ballance* remaining in the Vice-Treasurer's
“ Hands at *Lady-day last*, as shall be for that Purpose necessary, to
“ discharge the Sum of seventy thousand Pounds, now remain-
“ ing due of the old Loan, and carrying an Interest of five Pounds
“ *per Centum per Annum*, as also to *apply* such further Part of the
“ said *Ballance*, as shall be for that Purpose necessary, to pay off and
“ discharge

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“ discharge fifty-eight thousand five hundred Pounds, Part of the
 “ new Loan of two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, car-
 “ rying an Interest at the Rate of four Pounds *per Centum per*
 “ *Annum.*”

It must be observed, that all Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, or Orders conceived in the House, in Consequence of such Resolutions, are ordinarily moved by his Majesty's Attorney-General. And therefore the Remark made, in the *Considerations*, &c. page 7, That in Fact, “ The King's Attorney-General was the Mover of it in the House of Commons,” and repeated in the *Observations*, &c. page 26, had not that Candor in it, that a grave Writer for *Prerogative* should ever stamp on his Works. It is evident, that these Authors have combined, to pick out of all Circumstances *accumulative* Evidence of his Majesty's *previous Consent*. But *Liberty* must not be wrested from the Subject by Implication, more than *Prerogative* from the Crown. And therefore it is material that the Reader should know, that the Attorney-General, in moving this Order, conveyed not a *previous Consent* of the Crown, in this Case, if he did not do it in all Articles of Ways and Means; and that every Man will confess he did not.

THE *Considerations*, &c. were well aware, that it would be objected, that this Matter was transacted in the usual parliamentary Manner; therefore he lays in this Apology for the King's Servants; “ That as the Occasion was new, it is not to be wondered at, that the Gentlemen who conducted the Affair, on this Side the Water, should not be exact as to the Form, in which his Majesty's *Consent* ought to appear; and probably, they apprehended, that the Return of a Bill for that Purpose, under the Great Seal of Great-Britain would be a sufficient Notification of his Majesty's *previous Consent* to such Application.”

A STRANGE Defence for his Majesty's Servants indeed this would be, if they accepted of it. But it is refused; and all his *Probabilities* and *Suppositions* are effectually overthrown, by the ablest of his Majesty's then Servants, declaring openly, and avowing, that his Majesty's *previous Consent* never was once in their Thoughts, as a thing necessary in this Case. And surely they declared the Truth; for they really are not Persons of that *diminutive Apprehension*, that they are, in this delicate Apology, represented to be. Certainly they could, if they had any Scruple about the Manner, as well resort to *English Acts* and Votes in 1749, as the Author of the *Considerations* did in 1754; for all the Authorities, which he has favoured us with, preceded that Season.—It is pretty evident, from the subsequent Conduct of those Gentlemen, that it was not for want of

of Skill or Apprehension, the *previous Consent* was not originally inserted; it is more *probable* and I hope I may advance my *Probability* too) that those learned Gentlemen inserted *gracious Intentions*, because they conceived them to be apt Words to express the Sense of the *Commons*, and not capable of being wrested into any other Meaning than that which they naturally bore.

IN the Heads of the Bill, for Payment of the Debt, were inserted Paragraphs pursuant to the Order, with the following Preamble, *viz.*

“ WHEREAS on the twenty-fifth Day of *March* last, a considerable *Balance* remain'd in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers-General of the Kingdom, or their Deputy or Deputies, *unapplied*, and it will be for your Majesty's Service, and for the Ease of your faithful Subjects of this Kingdom, that so much thereof, as can be conveniently spared, should be paid, agreeably to your Majesty's most *gracious Intentions*, in Discharge of Part of the afore said National Debt.”

“ FROM hence,” say the *Considerations*, “ an ordinary Person would certainly have understood, that his Majesty's *Intentions* (which amount to a *Consent*) had been signified *previous* to the Recital, and that his Majesty was allowed thereby to be judge of what could be *conveniently spared*.”

It must indeed be an *ordinary Capacity*, that would take *Intention* for *Consent*. There are not two Words in the Language that have more different Significations: The Execution of a Man's *Intention*, being very often dependant on the *Consent* of another.—But this is no Place for a critical Examination of Words. It is enough, that the same *Considerations* have given up that Point; or at least, that *those, to whom the Bill, as usual, was referred in Great-Britain*, who I presume were not *ordinary* Persons, did give it up.

FOR, the *Considerations* say, Page 9, “ That as that Recital, though it *seems strongly to imply* his Majesty's *previous Consent*, had not clearly and explicitly expressed the same, and not having done so, might occasion future Cavils on that Head; it is said (and I presume the Fact is well known to be true) that Objections were made to this Bill, on that Account, by those to whom it was, *as usual, referred in Great-Britain*. How it happened, that his Majesty's *Consent* was not by them at that Time inserted, may I think be fairly accounted for; as the Omission on this Side seemed to have been occasioned merely by the Novelty of the Case, without any *Intention* of questioning the King's Right: And it was the less necessary to make the Alteration then; because it was highly

“ probable, the like *Application* of Part of the Residue of the Money of the Treasury would be made the next Session; and then the *Consent* might be originally inserted in the Bill, which, as might reasonably be supposed, would pass without an Objection.”

IN the preceding Quotation from the *Considerations, Intention AMOUNTS to Consent*—In the last, *Intention doth but IMPLY Consent*.—I have neither Leisure or Inclination to be what they call merry; or this Occasion should not be lost: But the principal Subject I have under Examination is too interesting; and its Consequences too serious, to admit of any jocular Excursions. Let it be observed, that this Advocate for the *previous Consent* acknowledges, that the not inserting it in the Bill of 1749 was an *Omission*; and that the Bill was objected to on the other Side of the Water because it was not explicit; but that notwithstanding all this, they suffered it to return without that Alteration, which they acknowledged to be necessary, to express the *previous Consent*; and that this is accounted for, by supposing, that it was let pass that Time, foreseeing there would be soon another Opportunity of inserting it originally.

IF I am also at Liberty to account for this *Omission*, I must suppose that the Words were not altered, because they thought they carried in them sufficient Complement; *previous Consent* from the Crown not being necessary in the Case, and therefore improper to be mentioned in the Bill.

THIS Manner of Accounting is certainly better warranted than the other; for I must be induced to believe, by what hath since happened, that Persons, who have lately proved themselves such vigorous Supporters of what they *fancied* was Prerogative, if they had in 1749, the least doubt about the Matter, would most assuredly have been very explicit, and would not, in the first Instance have established, by their own Admission, a Precedent, which they must have expected, would be rather recollected than forgotten, in a Country where the Prerogative needeth not an additional Strength.

THIS Precedent seems to be so well fixed, and is truly so advantageous to the *Commons* and their Cause, that it must not be wrested from them by chimerical Probabilities and Suppositions, by arbitrary Constructions, or strained Implications: They are in Possession; and really it is no Season to part with a Possession, merely to try the Equity of Adversary-Writers.

THE next *Æra* to be mentioned is, the Year 1751, when the Duke of *Dorset* opened a Session of Parliament, with a Speech, wherein, addressing himself to the *Commons*, he said, “ I am commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease and Happiness of his Subjects,

“ will

“ will graciously *consent*, and recommends it to you, that such a Part of the Money now remaining in his Treasury, as shall be thought consistent with the Public Service, be applied towards the further Reduction of the National Debt.”

THE Disposition of the *Commons* at this Time should be well considered. Peace and Harmony yet flourished in the State. The Publick was not disturbed by the Intrigues and ambitious Enterprizes of *certain Persons*, whose Obligations, of all Sorts, called upon them to promote Quiet, Industry and Friendship. They had not then, in Violation of those Obligations, openly cherished Discord, and miserably rent the Country into Parties, however their secret Practices might have tended thereto. These Fruits of their mischievous Politics have since that Season grown to Maturity.—But at the Time I have mentioned, good Humour was in every Countenance; yet did not the *Commons* forget their Duty to themselves or their Constituents. Therefore, in the Address to the King, which was never exceeded by any, in Loyalty and Respect, they answered that Part of the Speech in the following Words:

“ WE acknowledge with particular Satisfaction and Thankfulness, your Majesty’s gracious Attention to our Ease and Happiness, in *Recommending* to us the Application of the Money, now remaining in the Treasury, so far as it may be consistent with the Publick Service, towards the further Reduction of the National Debt.”

WHOEVER is acquainted with Parliamentary Proceedings, knows, that Addresses ordinarily answer the Speech, Paragraph by Paragraph, and express a grateful Sense of every Part, that they mean to shew, by their future Acts, an Approbation of: But in Points wherein they cannot concur, they are and ever ought to be silent. The remarkable Silence therefore in this Address, with respect to the *CONSENT*, and their Applause of the *RECOMMENDATION*, to apply the *Surplus* in the Treasury, as far as might be consistent with the Publick Service, manifested a Disapprobation of the *PREVIOUS CONSENT*: And yet it is notorious, that there was not any publick Attempt made to insert any Words in this Address, amounting to, or even *implying*, his Majesty’s *previous Consent*. Though by this, and the Address to the Lord Lieutenant, in the like Stile, it appeared evidently, and was also well known, by all the Servants of the Crown, that the *Commons* industriously avoided to give, by any Expression, a Sanction to that, which indubitably they then thought themselves obliged to oppose; yet they received as ample Testimony of the Satisfaction they gave the King and his Viceroy, as they or any House of *Commons* ever did.

UPON

UPON presenting the Address for the King, the Lord Lieutenant said,

“ I WILL take the first Opportunity to transmit this DUTY-FUL and LOYAL Address to his Majesty.”

AND from the King, the Commons, had the Honour of a most gracious Answer, in the following Words, viz.

GEORGE R.

“ HIS Majesty has received, with great Pleasure and Satisfaction, the affectionate Address of the House of Commons; and they may be assured of his Majesty’s constant Endeavours to promote the Welfare of his Subjects in his Kingdom of Ireland.

“ HIS Majesty is fully persuaded of their Duty and Zeal to his Person, and has the firmest Reliance, on their future Support of his Government and Family.”

FROM all this every candid Reader will observe, that the Commons, in the first Instance, refused their Approbation of the previous Consent; that the Opposition to it did not commence from Party-Rage, but from a laudable Jealousy for their Rights; and that no Repentment attended this Procedure.

WHEN the Publick Accounts were laid before the House, it appeared, that there was in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers, at Lady-day 1751, a Sum of two hundred, forty-eight thousand, three hundred and sixty-six Pounds, seventeen Shillings and four Pence.

THIS being the happy Situation of the Nation, in Point of Revenue, it was thought reasonable, again to apply Part of the Surplus, towards discharging the Debt; and it was in the like manner ordered,

“ THAT it be an Instruction to the Committee, appointed to bring in Heads of one or more Bill or Bills, upon the Resolutions of the Committee for Ways and Means, to insert a Clause or Clauses in the said Heads of a Bill or Bills, for applying so much of the Ballance, remaining in the Vice-Treasurer’s Hands at Lady-day last, as shall be for that Purpose necessary, to pay off, and discharge the Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, Part of the Sum of two hundred, thirty-seven thousand, five hundred Pounds, now remaining due, of the several Sums heretofore borrowed by the Publick, at Interest.”

PURSUANT to this Order, the appointed Sum was applied, by Heads of a Bill, for the Payment of the principal Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, in discharge of so much of the national Debt, &c. with the following Preamble, viz.

“ WHEREAS

“ WHEREAS on the 25th of March last, a considerable Ballance remained in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers General of this Kingdom, or their Deputy or Deputies, and your Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease and Happiness of your faithful Subjects, has been graciously pleased to recommend it to us, that such Part thereof as shall be thought consistent with the Publick Service, be applied towards the farther Reduction of the National Debt.

THE Publick need not be informed, that no Attempt was made to insert in this Preamble, any Words amounting to, or even implying, a previous Consent. On the contrary, it was said, that some of the principal Persons, more especially obliged to guard and defend the Prerogative, confessed that they were convinced, that such a Consent was not Constitutional; and added, that they had also convinced other very material Personages on this and the other Side of the Water, and brought them to be of the same Opinion. What else could be the Cause for not endeavouring, after the solemn manner of bringing Consent upon the Stage, to support it throughout, and first to press the inserting it originally in the Heads of the Bill? This the Considerations have told us, was probably the Scheme; and in that Case, I may say, that probably the Authors of the Scheme would have proceeded, but that they were convinced, the Cause was bad and insupportable.

THE Bill was certainly transmitted to Great-Britain as it went from the Commons, but returned altered, by having the Words inserted, that signified the Previous Consent.

GREAT were the seeming Concern and Amazement of certain Persons upon this Change, which was made without their Privy. And who could doubt their Sincerity? Every Body’s Consideration was now employed, how to get through this knotty Affair, with a saving for the Honour of the Commons; who were at this time engaged in an Enquiry, wherein the Interest of the Crown, the Honour of Parliament, the Well-being of the Army and public Credit, were all deeply engaged. Some thought, that it could not hurt, if this were let pass, as the Publick was in Possession of the first Precedent; and that it would be too much, to take this with the other weighty Affair upon their Shoulders at once; that probably, artful Men who were upon the Lurch, might hence blow up a Flame, that might produce an Embarrassment, which some Folk heartily wished for in the principal Matter, for such the Enquiry was then thought to be; and that, from the Conter-nation that sat upon certain Countenances, it might be trusted that it would never be repeated. This Opinion prevailed, and great Care was taken, that the ordinary Committee should

should not be moved for, to enquire into Alterations made in Heads of Bills sent from the House; vainly imagining, that the Alteration not appearing in the usual parliamentary Method, upon the Face of the Journal, would not be another Day trumped up, to serve a Purpose. Expedients in Politicks are dangerous things; as they induce a suspicion of Weakness, and are oftener attended by Loss than by any Advantage. A good Cause should ever be supported by vigorous Measures; leave a bad one to its Shifts, for by Tricks only it can subsist at all.

THUS was that Precedent established, which has been made so notable Use of since. Happy was it for the Nation, that it was not the first, or Effects might have followed it, that People did not foresee.

THE same Lord Lieutenant opened the Session in 1753, with a Speech, wherein, addressing himself to the *Commons*, he said, "I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that he will graciously consent, and recommends it to you, that so much of the Money remaining in his Treasury as shall be necessary, be applied to the Discharge of the National Debt, or of such Part thereof, as you shall think expedient."

THE *Commons* answered this Speech by an Address to the King, with all the *Respect* and *Duty*, becoming the most faithful Subjects, to the *Father of his People*: But, as in the former Instance, they refrained to take any Notice of the CONSENT, but made all proper Acknowledgment for the RECOMMENDATION. This again was denominated by the Lord Lieutenant a DUTIFUL and Loyal Address, and for it they had a most gracious Answer from the King.

BY the usual publick Accounts, it appeared, that there was in the Treasury, at *Lady-day* 1753, the Sum of three hundred, and fifteen thousand, eight hundred, twenty and two Pounds, thirteen Shillings and ten Pence; and it appeared by another Account called for, that the Ballance had considerably increased between *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas*.

HEREUPON an Order was conceived in the old Manner, to six Gentlemen appointed to be the Committee, to bring in Heads of one or more Bill or Bills, upon the Resolutions of Ways and Means, to apply seventy-seven thousand, five hundred Pounds, to discharge the remaining Part of the Debt.

IT is no Secret, that three of those Gentlemen resolutely refused to insert any Words, in the Heads of the Bill for paying the Debt, that should signify a previous Consent from the Crown; and for that Offence, two of them have unhappily felt a Resentment, which they never intended to provoke;

provoke; being, without Question, as loyal Subjects; as they were able Servants.

THERE being thus an equal Division in the Committee, the Heads of the Bill were brought in by the Master of the Rolls, with this Preamble only, "Whereas on the 25th Day of *March* last, a considerable Ballance remained in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers-General of this Kingdom, or their Deputy or Deputies."

THE *Considerations* need not to have been under such a Difficulty, as they pretend, Page 15, to find out, "How, or on what Motives, the Recital of *Consent* was totally left out of the Heads of the Bill, when brought into Parliament." A Recollection of the publick Transactions herein related, would have supplied them with sufficient Reasons for leaving out the Recital of *Consent*. Beside, it was very well known by all, except the Author of the *Considerations*, that the *Represented* had every where expressed a great Dissatisfaction and Uneasiness, at the Passiveness of their *Representatives* upon that Occasion in the last Session: And indeed, the *Vox Populi* hath ever met with Respect, but from those who neither have it, nor expect to have it with them; and they truly always affect to ridicule it!

MOST People expected, that an Attempt would have been made, when these Heads of a Bill were committed, to insert the Recital of the *Consent*; but the Appearance on that Day was not encouraging, and therefore, it is believed, that it was thought prudent not to stir in that Matter. Whatever was the Cause, it is certain, that they passed through all the usual Forms, without Interruption, and were transmitted to *Great-Britain*, as they left the House; but returned from thence in Shape of a Bill, with the following Words inserted in the Preamble;

"AND your Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease and Happiness of your faithful Subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify, that you would consent, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the Money remaining in your Majesty's Treasury, as should be necessary, be applied to the Discharge of the National Debt, or such Part thereof, as should be thought expedient by Parliament."

THIS Alteration was accompanied by a Letter from the *Privy-Council of Great-Britain* to the *Privy-Council of Ireland*, setting forth, "That their Letter to the Secretary of State took Notice, that the Words inserted in the Bill, passed last Session, for Payment of Part of the National Debt, relating to his Majesty's previous Consent, are omitted in the Bill now transmitted. But that Words of the like Import were inserted in the present Bill, for the Support of the Prerogative and

“ Dignity of the Crown, and for preserving the Regularity of Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.”

THIS Letter quickly crept Abroad, and was in every Body's Hand; and the Bill was in a convenient Time carried into the House. There it cannot be denied, but that it was treated with as much Respect as any disputed Bill ever was. It was read twice and committed, and in the Committee was thoroughly debated, and in it's whole Course never received the least Affront. Upon the Report it was indeed *rejected*: But that is the usual Fate of Bills not agreed to in Part. For by *Poyning's Law*, when they return from *Great-Britain*, there remains but a Negative in either House of Parliament, and consequently all must be taken or none. And therefore, when any Part is disagreed to, the whole is rejected, for the Sake of preserving as much Dignity in parliamentary Proceedings, as the Constitution will admit of.

I HAVE thus related the History of this famous Bill, and I hope impartially; it now remains, that I assign the Reasons for rejecting a Bill, which was, and is insisted upon, by its Favourers, to be agreeable to the known Prerogative of the Crown, and conformable to the usual Proceedings of Parliament; but is utterly denied by those against the Bill, to be CONSTITUTIONAL in either Respect.

THOSE for the Bill have introduced the History of the *Hereditary Revenue* into this Controversy, and have thereby perplexed the Question so much, that Men of excellent Understandings know not what Opinion to form about it. It is not wonderful that it should so happen; when a simple Question, subject to every Man's Reason, is puzzled into a knotty Point of Law. This Satisfaction however the Publick hath, that the Advocates for the Bill are forced to advance endless Absurdities, to support their Cause; by which one would in Charity rather suppose, that they had perplexed themselves too, as well as many of their Readers, than that they had designedly led People into a Labyrinth.

WHATEVER may be my private Opinion in this Matter, I judge, that if I do not enter into an Examination of the Nature of the *Hereditary Revenue*, and enquire into the Extent of the Royal Power over it, it will be taken by others as an Admission, that the Law is clear for the *previous Consent*; and as I do not in any Sort intend this Compliment to the Adversaries, I must comply with the Fashion. The *Hereditary Revenue* then by Common Law consists in the *Crown-Rents*, *Composition Rents*, *Casual-Revenue*, &c. This Branch of the Revenue is computed to amount to seventeen thousand Pounds *per Annum*; a very Small Part of four hundred, forty-four thousand, six hundred

dred and eighty-two Pounds, the nett Produce of all the *Hereditary Revenue*, in the Year ending the 25th of *March 1753*.

THE *Hereditary Revenue* by Statute Law, is composed of *Quit-Rents*, *Excise*, *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, *Hearth-money*, *Wine* and *Strong Water Licences*.

“ *Quit-Rents* are an acreable Charge reserved to the Crown by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.” 14 and 15 *Ch. 2*.

THE *Excise* was granted, “ For and towards the constant Pay of the Army, and Forces, and for defraying other publick Charges in the Defence and Preservation of his Majesty's Realm.” 14 and 15 *Ch. 2*.

Tonnage and *Poundage* were in Part granted by a Statute in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*.—The new *Tonnage* and *Poundage* were granted 14, 15. *Ch. 2*; “ For the better guarding and defending the Seas against all Persons intending, or that may intend the Disturbance of the Intercourse of the Trade of this Realm, and for the better defraying the necessary Expences thereof, and for Increase and Augmentation of his Majesty's Revenue.”

Hearth-money was granted, 14 and 15 *Ch. 2*. *in lieu of the Profits of the Court of Wards* &c. with this remarkable Preamble, expressing the Consideration of the Grant, “ Forasmuch as nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of a Kingdom, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the PUBLICK REVENUE THEREOF may be in some Measure proportioned to the publick Charges and Expences; in Consideration thereof, &c.”

ALE, and *Beer Licences* were granted, 14, 15. *Ch. 2*. *Wine and Strong Water Licences* 17, 18. *Ch. 2*. and were granted partly to prevent Disorders in the Country; but chiefly the better to secure the Payment of the inland *Excise*; and therefore may be properly called Branches of the *Excise*.

THESE several Branches of Revenue, *Hearth-money* excepted, were not made a Perpetuity, without much murmuring and Struggle; as may be fairly gathered by a Message delivered from the Lords Justices to the House of Commons on the 25th of *June 1662*, by Sir *Paul Davis*, principal Secretary of State, importing, “ That there were yet some Acts before the House, that concerned his Majesty's Revenue, which they desired might be taken into speedy Consideration, for the better defraying the Charge of the Army and other important Occasions; and the rather, for that they conceived it a Duty incumbent upon them to his Majesty, to suspend giving the Royal Assent unto the

“ the great Bill of Settlement, until it should be accompanied with those other Bills of the Revenue.”

THIS was seemingly a harsh Message, but had it's Effect, by quickening the House. The Lords Justices acted honourably to both Parties; for they knew this Revenue was the stipulated Price of the Act of Settlement, and that their Instructions were positive, not to pass the one without the other: This Message therefore, in this Light, was *Paternal*; because it signified the Danger, and kindly pointed out the Method to prevent it.

AND nothing could have prevailed upon them to comply, but Necessity. The *Hereditary Revenue*, or a blind Submission of all their Property to the absolute Will of the King, or a Civil War before them: And wisely they chose the least Evil.

IN the Conduct of this whole Affair, that eminent and excellent Patriot ROGER BOYLE, Earl of *Orrery*, GRANDFATHER to the present SPEAKER of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, was principally concerned. His Head, Heart and Hand, all remarkably good, were ever engaged in the Service of the *English Interest in Ireland*. To his wise Management we chiefly owe the obtaining so good a Settlement for this Country; and a good Settlement it was indeed, considering the powerful Rivals the Protestants had in the Favour of the King, to whose Mercy all Things in this Kingdom were unhappily left. To Him also was owing the cautious Terms, in which those Revenue Laws were drawn; Terms, which at this Day intangle and confound the Advocates for the *Previous Consent*.

Special Appropriations were not the Practice of those Days, in *England* or *Ireland*. General Words in Laws importing, That the Revenue was granted to the King, in Trust for publick Services, were deemed sufficient: And that the Words made use of in the Acts of Excise, Tonnage and Poundage were relied upon as sufficient for that Purpose, they being not created in lieu of any other Revenue of the Crown, (as the *Considerations*, Page 26, 27, intimate, without the least Shadow of Reason) may appear from the wise and cautious Form of, and Provisions in, the *Hearth-money Act*, which was substituted in the Place of another Branch of the Revenue.

Wardships, in lieu of which *Hearth-money* was granted, were ever looked upon to be more an Estate at the King's Will, than any other. Therefore, a rich Wardship was sure to be the Prey of some Court-Beggar. This Estate, from the Profuse and wanton Management thereof, produced little to the Crown, and brought great Calamities upon private Families, by the Tyranny and Oppression of those to whom these *Wardships* were bestowed; who knew they got them, to turn them to the best Account for themselves. This raised great Clamour, and a strong Inclination

Inclination in all People; to get rid of this Grievance at any Rate; And so the Rich threw the Burthen from themselves upon the Poor; and hence grew the Tax of *Hearth-money*. But none other would content the Court: For it was foreseen, that it would be surest and easiest collected, and that it would infallibly increase, as the Nation grew in Circumstances.

THE Patriots at Court, of whom ROGER, Earl of *Orrery*, was Chief, foresaw, that if this new Revenue was expressly created in Lieu of another, over which the King had indeed exercised a despotic Power, without any Words of Restraint; that a Pretence would be derived from thence, to make as arbitrary an Use of the new, as he did of the old Revenue. And therefore was that significant Preamble fixed to it, which I must here again insert, and wish I could properly place it at the Top of every Page in this my Work, that the Reader might never lose Sight of it.

“ FORASMUCH as nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of a Kingdom, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the PUBLICK REVENUE THEREOF may be in some Measure proportioned to the publick Charges and Expences; IN CONSIDERATION THEREOF, &c.

It might have been thought, that this would have been sufficient Security to the Nation; and that such an Express, strong Declaration of the Right of the PUBLICK to the REVENUE, could not have been explained away, even by the *Author or Authors* of the *Considerations*, if he or they had been then Inhabitants of this Island. But those Patriots (and sure the Age was happy, in which they ruled at Court,) to remove every Pretence for Misapplication, nay, to furnish the Crown with a legal Excuse for not complying with the importunate Sollicitations of ravenous Courtiers, further inserted an Injunction, “ That this Revenue shall not be particularly charged or chargeable, either before it be paid into the Exchequer, or after, with any Gifts, Grants or Pensions whatsoever: And that all and every Grant of any such Pensions, and all and every Clause of *non obstantes* therein contained, shall be, and is hereafter declared to be, utterly void, and all and every the Persons to whom such Grants are, or shall be passed, shall be, and are hereby, made Accomptants unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and shall pay back all Sums of Money received by Pretence of such Grant; and the Court of Exchequer is hereby enjoined to issue out Procefs accordingly.”

NOR would they rest here; they suspected that Parliaments might not be called: Who would then censure a Breach of the Law? Alas! In those Days, *Prerogative* every where received Protection: And was so uncertain in it's Description that passive Obedience was the only Security the Subject had. This we can learn at this Distance of Time from Books only; they had,

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doubtless,

doubtless, from Knowledge, a much stronger Impression of those Facts.

THEY therefore resolved to engage others, by Interest, to give the Law motion, and to that Purpose inserted a Clause, enacting, "That if any Person or Persons, Bodies politick or corporate, shall at any Time hereafter procure, or accept of, from the King's Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, any Pension, Gift or Grant for Years, Life, or any other Estate, or any Sum or Sums of Money, of the Revenue arising by Virtue of this Act, that then such Person or Bodies politick or corporate, procuring or accepting the same, shall forfeit double the Value of such Pension, Gift or Grant, the one Moiety of which Forfeiture shall be to the Use of the Parish or Parishes where the said Offenders be or inhabit, to be recovered by the Church-Wardens, the other Moiety to him that will sue for the same, by Action of Bill, Plaint or Information.

THERE was now but one Branch of the Statute-Revenue left, which was not attended by an express Declaration of the Trust for which it was granted, viz. *Quit-Rents*. An Occasion happened soon after the Revolution to do that also. For King *William* had been taught by his Ministers, that he had a Power over all the Forfeitures in *Ireland*, and was prevailed upon, by them, to whose Opinion he submitted, to execute his Power, by granting them away. But the Parliament of *England*, 11 *Will.* 3, resumed those Grants; and left the same pernicious Advice might one Day prevail in the Case of *Quit-Rents*, which stood in lieu of Forfeitures, and of Course subject to the like Power, enacted "That all *Quit-Rents*, as also *Crown-Rents* and *Chief-ries*, belonging to the Crown of *Ireland*, shall for ever be for the Support of the Government of *Ireland*, and shall be unalienable.

THE Parliament which granted this Hereditary Revenue was kept on Foot, till it had compleated every Thing that was necessary, for explaining and confirming the new Settlement, and for securing the Revenue; and then, in 1666, was dissolved.

THE Confidence placed in the Crown, by granting a perpetual Revenue, was shamefully abused; for during the rest of *Charles's*, and throughout all his Brother *James's* Reign, a Parliament was not held in *Ireland*.

THE great and sensible Effect of the *Revolution*, was the Restoration of Parliament; for this alone could provide effectual Means to secure Religion, Liberty and Property; which in the latter Days of *Charles* were Names only; but in the Reign of *James* had not even Names left.

WHAT the *Observations* tell us, Page 7, of the Distresses of *Ireland* by the long Difuse of Parliaments is undoubtedly true. "The Inhabitants were oppressed; Industry, Arts and Sciences were

"were neglected; even the *Publick Revenue* was mismanaged: "And, in short, every Thing was wretched for want of Parliaments." Surely, no good Man could wish that this Nation should return to so woeful a Condition. He certainly would be a most bitter Enemy, both to the King and his Subjects, who would advise so desperate a Measure. And yet (unwittingly I hope) this Author gives broad Hints against this Country, Page 18, where he says, "The gross Produce of the old additional, unappropriated Duties, without including the six pence a Pound payable to the Vice-Treasurers, was, at a Medium for twelve Years, ended at *Lady-day* 1753, 149,865 *l.* a Year; and this, with many Deductions thereout, for Parliamentary Grants, &c. is all the Nation pays for having the Benefit of frequent Parliaments."

IT is a bad Compliment to his Majesty to say, that the Nation pays for Parliaments; when it is notorious, that the Nation has a Right to frequent Parliaments; and his Majesty has most eminently distinguished Himself in protecting the Rights of all his Subjects. Beside, it is by his own Confession, as necessary for the Crown as for the Subject, to hold frequent Parliaments; since the Miseries of the Kingdom, to be incurred by want of Parliaments, must diminish the Revenue of the Crown, as well as the Property of every Individual.

THE Parliament hath not hitherto shewed any Disposition to refuse the Crown what Aid was required from them; and if the Sum they mention appears diminutive in their Eyes, it must be for want of being sufficiently informed of the Condition of the Country, and the Demands of the Crown; for then, they would know, that it is all that is asked, and full enough for a Kingdom to pay, that is almost undone by Luxury, out of which that Revenue arises.

I MUST be indulged, in thus making Digressions with my Adversaries, otherwise some dangerous Doctrines, which they now and then slide in, would pass upon the Readers as invincible.

INCREASE of Charge growing upon the Government quickly after the Revolution, and the Hereditary Revenue becoming too narrow to support it, necessitated the Crown to demand Parliamentary Supplies. And these being granted, as often as asked, in general Terms, for Support of the Government, make, with the Hereditary Revenue, that Fund by which the Expence of all Publick Services is defrayed.

THE Reader having now before him a minute Recital of all Particulars necessary to precede the Discussion of the main Question, I shall enter into the Reasons, that are given in Justification of the rejecting of the Money Bill on the 17th of *December* 1753. By the name of *Money Bill* I must call it (notwithstanding both my Antagonists dislike it) if I mean to speak properly; as it

directs the Application of Money, and contains nothing in it beside.

THE *Observations* have (I cannot think with a good Design) said, in Page 4, that, "One Argument employed for rejecting the Bill, was raised on the Pretence of the *sole Right* of having *Money-Bills* take their Rise in the House of Commons, and that no Alteration should be made in those Bills after they are prepared by the House." And he has employed himself from the Beginning of the 8th Page, to the End of the 15th, in combating this Objection; and has brought upon the Stage the Votes of 1692 in Favour of *Sole-Right*, and Lord *Sidney's* famous Protest, and directly charged the Majority of that Day, with an open Invasion of *Poyning's Law*. This *Misrepresentation* has, by all Accounts that have been received from *Great-Britain*, created many Enemies to us, who from their Love of Liberty, and their Zeal to preserve all the just Rights of the *Commons*, would certainly have declared on our Side, if they knew that all this Author hath said was Fiction; and that the real Struggle of the *Commons* was, to preserve the Regularity of Proceedings in Parliament.

THE *Considerations* indeed have been kind enough to say, Page 20, "Some indeed have imagined that the Recital's having been inserted in *Great Britain*, was the Reason of rejecting the Bill: But I do not suppose it could be so." Why then hath he taken up so much of a short Pamphlet to shew his Learning upon a Question not there disputed? Would it not have been more ingenuous, to have said—*It was not so*: Thus generously writing in Favour of Adversaries in a Pamphlet, which the Author knew was to visit every Hole and Corner in the three Kingdoms, would have cast such a Light of Candour on the Whole, as would have gained it a Credit, not to be procured by any *Pass*.

SURE I am, that the only Argument I have met with, for seven Years, in Behalf of the *Sole-Right*, is in the *Considerations*, Page 33, "The Right of granting Money is admitted to be in the *Commons*." I suppose he cannot with all his Art persuade the World, that there is any material Difference between *Sole-Right* and the *Right*.

It is essential to this Kingdom, that it should be well known, where only it can be hurt, and from whence all Benefits must be derived, that we are not the *mad* People, our Enemies describe us to be; but it will be enough in this Place, in order to overthrow the malicious Purpose of the *Observations*, to add, as the *Considerations* authorize me, Page 22, *That the Bill was rejected, for Objections raised to the Substance of the Alteration, and according to its Merits, as it was conceived, the Commons had a Right to do; upon an Apprehension that their Negative was not yet taken from them.*

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FOR it was often and directly said, that the only Cause of opposing the Preamble, which determined the Fate of the Bill, was, because the Words signifying his Majesty's previous Consent were therein; which Words were looked upon to be intended to establish a Right in the Crown, of such a Nature, as would forbid the Commons to intermeddle in any Surplus, that was now or hereafter might be, in the Treasury, unapplied, without his Majesty's Consent being first signified: That they knew not that the Crown had such a Right: That the Power of the Crown over the hereditary Revenue was to apply it to publick Services within the Kingdom: That the additional Duties were granted, not upon Estimates, but upon fixed Establishments, and only to make up the Deficiency of the Revenue: That the Surplus, whatever it was, or might be, must proceed from the additional Duties, because the hereditary Revenue must be all expended, before that given in Aid could be applied; and whether it arose from its producing more than it was given for, or from a Saving, by the Establishment not being kept full, as it was, or was designed to be, when the Provision was made, it was all the same; the Surplus must belong to the Publick, and be consequently subject to the Disposition of Parliament. That in this Case, particularly, it was due to the Nation, that had made a separate Provision to pay the Interest of the Debt when it lay a heavy Clog upon Government, that it should be reimbursed out of a Surplus grown upon the Aggregate Fund, which must have borne the whole Debt, if the Nation had not created a Fund for it: That the Crown had ever thus considered the Case; for it is certain, that Credit was ever given to the Nation for Surplusses, even in this Session; and that all former Surplusses, as well as the present, have been carried forward in the Estimates for Supply, and have been applied to the current Service of the Interval between Sessions; and what makes this Argument of still greater Weight is, that it is known by every Body, that these Accounts and Estimates are all prepared by the King's Servants: That therefore departing from the *constant Method of Proceeding in Parliament* would be a betraying of their Constituents, and an unpardonable Offence: That they should always pay equal Regard to the Prerogative of the Crown, and to the Liberty of the Subject; but must ever guard against the Establishment of a new Prerogative; and therefore disagreed to the Preamble.

AND all this was illustrated by Facts related, and Precedents quoted and not controverted.

WAS not this an honourable and wise Procedure upon the Merits alone? Hath this the Face of Anger or Party? Doth it carry the least Appearance of Opposition to the Crown? Doth it not put the Question fairly upon the Test of Reason and Usage? And if that Reason and that Usage rise up in Judgment

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ment against the Bill, what Recompence can be made to those injured Persons, who have suffered in Reputation, by an Imputation of Disrespect to Majesty, or perhaps by a Suspicion of Disloyalty?

AND by Reason and Usage they shall be tried, in Opposition to verbal and Pamphlet-Argument.

THE principal Argument of the Advocates for the Bill is, That by granting the Revenue in general Terms, and not with *special Application*, the King is made sole Judge of the *Application*, and hath such an Estate in the Surplus, that the Commons cannot meddle with it without his previous Consent. To enforce this, one said "He had a mixed Estate; for he had " by Common Law, five or six thousand Pounds *per Annum*; " and though but five Pounds of this loose Estate were mixed " with four hundred thousand Pounds of the Statute Estate, " no Part could be laid Hands upon by the Commons, because every Part was affected by the five Pounds." This must be submitted to the Consideration of common Lawyers; for it doth not favour much of Equity. And hereafter, it will appear clearly, that even this Estate is as limited as any other.

ANOTHER said, "That the Title of the Crown was as that " of a Partner."

IF that be true, Partnership implies an Equality. An uncommon State of Partnership it would be, where one Partner had not a Right, to propose the *Application* of any Part of the Stock, to the Use of the Partnership, without first having the *Consent* of another Partner to make the Proposal.

A third said, "That the whole Revenue was the absolute, " uncontrollable Property of the Crown, to do with it as it " would, and that nothing could limit it; which he proved " from a very antient Maxim, viz. *Nullum tempus occurrit Regis*."

THIS Sentiment was strenuously recommended by a fourth, with a positive Assurance, *That the best Lawyers in England and Ireland were of that Opinion*.

BUT a fifth, not relying upon any of the former Titles, very fortunately hit upon a Medium, that hath brought this Matter to an Issue: For he asserted, that there was a *Royal Trust* in the Crown. This Opinion after much canvassing was adopted by the Party, and by their Order, I suppose, hath been since promulgated in the *Considerations*, page 22, as the Title they rest their Cause upon, in these Words,

" THAT the Trust of applying the Money given by Parliament to the Crown, without any special *Appropriation*, is, by " the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom, vested in the " Crown for *PUBLICK Services*."

IT is very surprizing, that Contention about this Matter should longer subsist, when both Sides agree in Principles; for

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a private Interest cannot by the greatest Art be extracted out of a publick Trust; and consequently a private Wrong cannot grow, by the publick controuling the Trust, which was of its own Creation, and for its own Use.

THIS seems to be undeniable. The Conclusion then drawn from the above Premises, "That when an Application shall " be proposed by any Power, the Consent of the Crown must " be previous thereto," is absurd.

BECAUSE the Crown hath but a Trust for the publick Service.

THIS appeared to me so clearly, that I thought it idle, to bring the *Hereditary Revenue*, that was with so much Prudence and Foresight secured for the *publick Service*, into the Controversy, as a Matter that could, from any private Interest in the Crown, make a Difference advantageous to the *Previous Consent*.

BUT indeed the Author of the *Considerations* has been extremely unlucky, in accommodating his Adversaries with Arguments against his Cause, and in throwing them into a Course of Reasoning from his Premises and Proofs, that must end in his Overthrow.

THUS, page 40, he saith, "The principal Objection is, " that the Produce of these several Funds, is accounted for to " Parliament; and from thence it has been inferred, that it is " Publick Money, subject to Parliamentary *Application*, without other *Consent*, than what is given by the Royal Assent to " the Bill, when passed into a Law. This seems founded on " a Mistake, as to the Reason, and Manner, of laying the Publick Accounts before the House of *Commons*, as will appear " from a short History of this Usage, and an Account of the " Effects of it."

THAT which is denominated by him, to be a principal Objection is most certainly a strong Argument against the Necessity of a *Previous Consent*, and of Course an Objection to his Doctrine; but I cannot admit it to stand in the first Place. The Principal Argument drawn from Law and Reason is undoubtedly the Power of the Crown over the Revenue being but a *Trust for Publick Service*, and stands the foremost Objection to his Conclusion. The Second will be taken from the Law and Usage of Parliament; and this which he calls Principal is a Branch of that Usage, but shall be examined distinctly in this Place since he lays so great Stress upon it; and if it shall happen by his *short History*, and his *Account of the Effects* of it, to be rather confirmed, than shaken, I hope the Reader will allow me the full Force of it.

IN Expectation of this Piece of Justice, I shall attend the *Considerations*, Step by Step, in this Argument, and try the Value and Weight of his Proofs.

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It was not indeed wise, to set out with so disingenuous an Assertion as the following, page 41. "No Account of the Disposition of the *King's Revenue* in this Kingdom, was laid before Parliament, till the Year one thousand six hundred and ninety-two, when the Crown wanted further Supplies."

WOULD not any Man, a Stranger to the History of this Country, conclude from hence, that there had been frequent Opportunities, of laying the Account of the *King's Revenue* before Parliament? Yet it is certain, that from the compleat fixing and establishing of the Statute-Hereditary-Revenue, viz. from 1666, to the Year 1692, containing a Course of 26 Years, there was not a Parliament in Ireland. And for this Reason alone, we may safely conclude, that the Account of the *King's Revenue* was not laid before Parliament; for on the first Opportunity, the *Commons* called for it, and had it.

THE *Considerations* proceed thus: "Then indeed, a Motion was made, that such Accounts might be brought in: But the Reason of the Motion appears on the Journal, viz. *That it might be the better known what Supplies were necessary to be given to their Majesties.* So that they were not called for as a *Right*, but desired as a *Direction* for their Discretion in the Grants they were making.

THIS is a Misrepresentation from Beginning to End. If the Precedent he makes use of were sufficient to strip the *Commons* of a *necessary Right*; it was not made at a Time that a candid Man would chuse to take a Precedent from. For by the long Difuse of Parliaments all were then so ignorant in the Forms, that when the Act of Recognition came from the Lords, and was passed the third Day of the Session, a Committee was appointed, "To find out by Precedents, whether it should be returned to the Lords." And on the same Day another Committee was appointed, "To know how the Committee of Grievances should come at Records, *Accounts* and Papers in the Hands of Officers of the Revenue or others." And this was done, though the Journal of the preceding Parliament abounded with Instances of *Powers granted to Committees, to send for Persons, Papers and Records*: So that probably there was not in the House a Man, who had ever perused the Journal. But surely there is very bad Logick in this Assertion. A Motion was made that certain Accounts should be brought in, *that it might be the better known what Supplies were necessary to be given to their Majesties.* Therefore they were not called for as a *Right*, but desired as a *Direction* for their Discretion in the Grants they were making. And pray, had they not a *Right* to call for that, which was to direct their Discretion? But indeed the Author of these *Considerations* did not attend carefully to

to this Precedent, or did not apprehend the Import of it; for if he had, he would have found therein a strong Assertion of the *Right* of the *Commons* to call for Accounts.

It must be observed in the first Place, that the Reason for the Motion is given to the House, not intended for an Apology to any other Body.

THEN it appears, that the Secretary being present took hold of the Opportunity, and informed the House, that his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, had put the Papers in his Hands, to be laid before the House: But the House did not accept of them in that manner, and thereupon conceived this Order:

"ORDERED, That the State of the *Revenue of the Nation*, and the Establishment both Civil and Military, be brought into the House the morrow Morning."

AND the morrow Morning they were brought in. Was this calling for a *Right*, or desiring a *Direction*?

THE Occasion of the Reason for the Motion being inserted, appears evidently to proceed from that Repentment which the House shewed throughout the Session, upon Account of the Indignity they thought had been put upon them, in the Lord Lieutenant's Speech. For by his Speech, they were given plainly to understand, that neither the *Quantum* of the *Supply*, nor the *Means* of raising it, were left to their Consideration. And accordingly, two Money-Bills did afterwards make their Appearance in the House; one of which passed, and the other was thrown out. But surely from this Account of the Matter, it is evident, why these Words, "That it may be the better known what Supplies are necessary to be given to their Majesties," were inserted; and that it could mean nothing more, than that they would have other Evidence of what Supplies were necessary, than the Bills, that they knew were provided for them. I must confess that House of Commons were too fond of entering their Reasons of Action upon their Journal. They did not indeed want Spirit, but they wanted Prudence, in expressly setting down the Cause of exercising their *Negative*, which it was their Right by the Constitution to exercise; and therefore entering their Reasons could do them no Service, and certainly gave great Advantage to their Adversaries. But unhappily for this Enemy to the Rights of the *Commons*, the House did that very Session call for Accounts relating to forfeited Goods, and did on the 20th of October appoint a Committee to examine those very Accounts; which cannot fail to strike every Body with two Observations:

FIRST, that these were not called for, *The BETTER to know what Supplies should be granted to their Majesties.*

SECONDLY, that these were particularly Accounts relative to
forfeited

forfeited Goods; (which have been called, in and out of Parliament, by all the Friends to the *Previous Consent*, his Majesty's *private Estate*;) but were yet called for by the *Commons*, in their own *Right*, and that at a Time, when they knew there was a Commission from his Majesty, to make the same Enquiry out of Parliament; and that the Committee did make a Report; but its being made the last Day of the Session, was the Cause that nothing farther was done thereon.

IN the next Place, the *Considerations* assert, "That for the same Reason, the Publick Accounts have been, every Session since, brought into Parliament: So that, in Truth, were not Supplies demanded, such Accounts would not have been tendered."

THE last Part of this is merely conjectural; because, there has not been a Parliament, wherein Supplies were not desired, and the Accounts laid before the House. Indeed the Sessions of 1692 and of 1713 were cut short by Prorogations, before they could compleat their Business: That of 1692 was prorogued in Resentment for an Invasion on the Prerogative: That of 1713 was prorogued to save wicked Ministers, who would have established Arbitrary Power in this Kingdom, the better to promote their *Jacobite* Schemes; if they had not been checked in their Career, by a gallant Protestant House of Commons, with a Speaker at their Head, *zealous for the Succession in the illustrious House of HANOVER*, and by his Blood, Interest and Principles, firmly connected with the Rights of his Country.

THE Author is certainly mistaken in the first of his Assertions, and would have been convinced in that, if he had but cast his Eye on the Proceedings in the Session of 1695, next to his beloved one in 1692. He would there have found, that the Publick Accounts were called for by the House, for various Purposes. That they were first referred to the Committee of Supply, and after the *Quantum* of Supply was resolved, that then, at the Instance and Motion of the Committee of Supply, another Committee was appointed to examine the Accounts, and many Particulars were given in Charge to that Committee, no way relative to the Supply, but altogether to the Management of the Revenue.

IN 1697, the Commons, by their own Authority, ordered sundry Accounts from the Treasury, and from the Commissioners of the Revenue, to be laid before them, as of *Right*, and particularly of the *Forfeitures*; which I cannot omit to observe, upon Account of that nice Distinction recently made, to serve a Turn, between the *Private* and *Trust* Estate of the Crown; a Distinction, which we find not favoured any where in the Commons Journal.

I will readily grant, that when Accounts have been brought into

into Parliament, without Call of the Commons, they have been generally brought in, to point out the *Quantum* of a Supply, or for some other Purpose of the Government. But it is as certain, that those Accounts have been applied to other National Purposes, as often as the Commons liked so to do; and that the Commons have never looked upon themselves to be circumscribed by the Purposes for which the Accounts might have been at first introduced.

IN 1703, the Commons ordered the several Officers to lay the several publick Accounts before the House, and when they were brought in, a Committee was appointed to inspect them; and this Committee did not act in the humble Manner the *Considerations* would direct.

IT will not be improper to point out a few of the Observations of this Committee, that the *Considerations* may be convinced they looked upon themselves to have more Authority than some People would in these Days allow them.

"DUKE of *St. Albans*, *Richard Earl of Ranelagh*, &c. Pensions.—We know not upon what Considerations the above Pensions were granted."

"LIEUTENANT Colonel *Montargis's* Pay of Lieutenant Colonel and Captain of Foot, till provided for.—Not provided for. *Quere*, why not?"

"MR. Justice *Dolben*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, 600*l.*—Memorandum. He received 200*l.* for two Circuits, of which he went no Part, and which by the express Words of the Establishment, ought to be saved to the Queen."

IT would be too tedious in this Work, to recite more Articles of that spirited Report. I recommend it to the Perusal of the Author of the *Considerations*, that he may be satisfied, that a Committee of Accounts hath something more to do for the Nation, than barely to be directed, to ascertain the *Quantum* of a Supply.

THE Committee of Accounts in 1725 and 1745 sat long, after the Supply was granted, and examined upon Oath; which doth not seem to be a necessary Step toward granting a Supply.

BUT why should I laboriously search for Evidence, when I can bring this Author, as usual, to be a Witness against himself.

HE, in Page 47, forgetting all he had said in former Pages, saith thus: "Nor is the Publick without a Remedy in Case of Abuse: The true parliamentary Check will always remain, either to withhold future Grants, in proportion to Misapplications, or to punish those, who shall wickedly advise such Acts as would be a Breach of the publick Trust."

THE Author will not dispute, that it will be necessary to look into Accounts, to detect *Abuses* or *Misapplications* of the publick

lick Money. But if the Commons have not a *Right* to call for them for some other Purpose, than merely to *direct* them in granting Supplies, how shall they come to a Knowledge of the *Abuses* or *Misapplications*? He will not suppose, that Ministers, who advise those *Abuses*, will publish their Offences, and supply Evidence to ruin themselves if the Constitution will not compel them so to do. The Absurdity is so great, that it would be an Affront to a Reader, to take more Pains to expose it.

A COMMITTEE of Accounts appears, from all that hath been said, to have commenced with Parliaments after the Revolution, and is now become so much a Part of the parliamentary Constitution, that by a standing Order of the House, *no Supply can be granted, until the Committee shall make a Report*; and whenever that Committee hath reported *Credit* to the Nation, it will be found by the uninterrupted Practice, that the Sum in Credit, whatever it hath been, was ever appropriated to the current Service of the next Term for which the Supply was granted; and that it cannot be otherwise, without breaking in upon the Chain of publick Accounts, that hath subsisted since the first Grant of additional Duties, in Aid of the hereditary Revenue.

AND thus I am fairly brought to the proving, by the Law and Usage of Parliament, that every Surplus of the Revenue hath been *appropriated* or *applied* by the *Commons*, to publick Service, with the *Admission* and *Assent* of the *Crown*.

THE first Parliament that met after the Parliament of 1662, was that of 1692, as hath been often related. The War was not over more than a Year when this Parliament assembled; the Country was not then recovered from its wretched Condition, and the Revenue could not be in a better State. So that we can learn nothing from this Period, relative to the Revenue, save that the Forfeitures were greatly mismanaged and embezzled.

AND indeed the Reader would find little Entertainment in any Matter I could pick out of the Parliamentary History relative to the Subject I am upon, before 1703. Then indeed a regular Method of Proceeding was plan'd and executed, and hath been adhered to since.

HERE I shall begin, and relate with Exactness the Proceeding of the *Commons* in granting of Supplies; which, if diligently attended to, will more effectually bring the present Controversy to an End, than all the ingenious Arguments that can be invented. For Facts stare Men full in the Face, and can only be put out of Countenance by Facts. Wit may get the better of Truth; but all the Arguments of the cunningest Logicians will not persuade a Man, that his Eyes are not open when he seeth; or that he liveth not when he feels. To Facts therefore, he, that seeks sincerely for Truth, will ever resort, and when they declare against him, he will candidly submit, and not trouble the

World

World with Contention, or endeavour to engage Men, to waste their Time, and disturb their Neighbours, with everlasting Disputes and Wrangles, for the Sake of Conquest only.

THE Peace of *Ryswick* was ensued by an *English* Law for disbanding the Army, except a certain Number; and by this Law, the King was permitted to keep up twelve thousand Men in *Ireland*, to be established in the Manner the Act prescribed; to be all natural-born Subjects, and to be maintained by *Ireland*. This Establishment was well pleasing to the Kingdom, and the *wise Hero* then upon the Throne foresaw, that *France* would not keep any Terms with her Neighbours longer than while she was recovering her Strength; and therefore resolved to make as good an Use of the Law as he might, and to fill the *Irish* Establishment. This necessarily drew after it a great Expence, which, as it was soon discovered, the *Hereditary-Revenue* could not alone afford; and therefore a Parliament was called in 1703, the Duke of *Ormond* being Lord Lieutenant, to give an Aid to that Revenue.

THE Lord Lieutenant told the Commons from the Throne, "That her Majesty expected from them only to discharge the publick Debts, and to make the Revenue EQUAL to the Expence of Government."

AND from the fixed Rule in this Speech, the Measure of Supply has been computed from that Day, without Variation.

IN the Address of Thanks, the *Commons* promised, "To do all in their Power, in their then Circumstances, for discharging the Debt of the Nation, and defraying the Expence of the Establishment."

AND toward fulfilling their Engagement, they resolved, "That a Supply be granted to her Majesty." But before they proceeded to ascertain the *Quantum* of that Supply, they appointed a Committee to inspect the publick Accounts, which they had called for, and to report their Opinion.

THEY then passed a Bill, "For an additional Duty of Excise upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors, for one Year," which had been proposed in Council and transmitted in Form, according to *Poyning's* Law, and became a Law, before the *Supply* was granted.

THE Committee of Accounts next made a Report, and received the Thanks of the House for saving the Nation a Sum of one hundred and three thousand three hundred and sixty eight Pounds, four Shillings and four Pence, which by Misrepresentation was charged as a Debt on the Nation; and then the House proceeded to vote a Supply, which was done with the strictest Regard to the Demand from the Throne, and to their own Engagement.

FOR past Time, they resolved; "That the Funds former-ly

ly granted by Parliament, and *the Revenue of the Kingdom*, were sufficient to support the Government, and to discharge the publick Debts to and from *Michaelmas 1703*."

FOR Time to come, they resolved; "That the Supply be a Sum *sufficient to make up the Deficiency* of the Revenue, to support the *necessary* Branches of the Establishment for two Years."

THEN they resolved; "That a Sum *not exceeding* one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds be granted, to make good the Deficiency of the *necessary* Branches of the Establishment, for the Support of the Government for two Years."

THE *Quantum* of the Supply being thus fixed, the Ways and Means of raising this Supply were next to be thought of: For this Purpose they resolved;

I. "THAT such *Debt* as shall appear to be *due to the Nation*, shall be Part of the one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds granted to her Majesty."

II. "THAT the half Year's *Quit-Rent*, which became due at *Michaelmas*, amounting to twenty nine thousand Pounds, is such a *Debt due to the Nation*, as ought to be taken and reckoned as Part of the one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds granted to her Majesty."

III. "THAT there is a further *Debt* of two thousand two hundred and thirteen Pounds, four Shillings and eleven Pence due to the Nation, which ought to be taken and reckoned as part of the one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds granted to her Majesty."

IV. "THAT the additional Duty of Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, granted by an Act of this present Session of Parliament for one Year, commencing *Michaelmas 1703*, be valued at, and taken for, thirty thousand of the said one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds granted to her Majesty."

V. "THAT the same additional Duty, of Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, granted for one Year by Act of this present Session of Parliament, be further continued upon all Beer, Ale and other Liquors, for and until *Michaelmas 1705*."

VI. "THAT the additional Duty of three Pence Half-penny *per Pound Weight*, upon all Tobacco, which shall be imposed into this Kingdom, for two Years, shall be taken for fifty thousand Pounds, of the one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds granted to her Majesty."

BESIDE those recited Articles, there were additional Duties granted upon Linen, Muslin, Calicoes, and Molasses, and four Shillings *per Pound* on certain Pensions and Grants, the Product of which, it was expected, would amount to the Remainder of the Sum of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.

HEADS of a Bill were ordered upon the said Resolutions, and a Law afterwards passed to grant to the Queen, the several additional

additional Duties mentioned in the Resolutions, with a general Preamble, setting forth, "That the Commons well knowing, that the Security, Peace and Prosperity of this your Majesty's Realm, necessarily depend on the Support of your Majesty's Government, have in most thankful Acknowledgment of your Majesty's most gracious Disposition and tender Care to preserve your People, in the full and free Enjoyments of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, (the Effects and Fruits whereof do daily rejoice the Hearts of all your good Subjects) freely, chearfully and unanimously given to your Majesty, &c."

If the Representatives of those Days had been all *Prophets* they could not have provided a more ample Proof of the Power of Parliament over the Hereditary Revenue, and of their Title to every Surplus arising thereupon, than this which they have transmitted to us; with which alone we are able to encounter successfully every Argument that hath been produced in Favour of the *novel* political Maxim, of the *previous Consent* of the Crown being necessary, before the Commons can even propose to apply any Surplus.

FOR hence we may observe that under the Title of a Supply *EQUAL to a Charge*, no Provision can be made for future Contingencies, because they cannot be foreseen; therefore what are called *extraordinary* Expences of Government (amongst which are *King's Letters*) must be in the Commons alone to allow or disallow, there being no Provision made for them; and that when the Charge and Revenue are made by Computation *EQUAL*, if the Charge diminishes, or the Revenue increases, the Advantage ought to accrue to the Publick; for, if the Publick must repair the Deficiency, it ought certainly to avail it self of any Improvement. And this will be found, to have been the uniform Practice of Parliament.

THE Demand from the Throne, that the Revenue should be made *EQUAL* to the *Charges* of Government, which hath not been varied in Substance to this Day, should alone determine the Question, and give up the Surplus to the Management of the Publick.

BUT to remove all Pretences for even doubting, fortunately it happened, that at the same time, a full Exposition of the Intentions of all Parties was made, and as clear and explicit a Declaration of the Right of the Commons, to apply every Surplus, as Men could think of.

THE Intention of the Crown is evident, that all it desired was to have from the Subject, as much Aid as, being joined to the Produce of the *Hereditary Revenue*, would support the Government; and the only Support the Government expected was, to have its Establishment maintained. For by a fixed Establishment only

only could the Proportion be ascertained between the Charge and the Revenue. The Commons having taken the Establishment into Consideration, (for they did not look upon themselves to be bound even by that) and having censured very freely the unnecessary Branches thereof, made an Estimate of the standing Revenue of the Kingdom, and found there would be required one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, to be given in Aid of that Revenue, to support the necessary Branches of the Establishment for two Years.

To raise this Sum, they first applied *Quit-Rents* due at *Michaelmas*, to the Value of twenty-nine thousand Pounds. *Quit-Rents* are undoubtedly Part of the Revenue before granted to the Crown; and indeed that Part, that the Advocates for the *Previous Consent* most strongly insist upon, to be private Estate, as issuing out of *Forfeitures*. Yet without any Opposition from the Servants of the Crown, this is called a *Debt due to the Nation*, and applied in express Terms by the Publick, to the Use of the Publick. That this Application may appear in its strongest Light, it should be observed, that the Provision making for the Support of Government was to commence from *Michaelmas* 1703, at which time these *Quit-Rents* became due, and therefore the Revenue unapplied at that Day was really a Surplus, after the Exigencies of Government were satisfied, and returned to the Publick, and was appropriated in the Manner I have mentioned.

Now, Reader, be so just to yourself and the Majority of your faithful Representatives, as to turn to Page 42 of the *Considerations*, where you will find the following Words:

“ THE going through the Accounts, is only to enable the House to judge, what may be the Measure for the Supply; not to appropriate the Ballance, if any there should be; for that remains as Money already vested in the Crown, for Publick Services: And I do not know of any Instance, where such Ballance has ever been appropriated by Parliament, without the *previous Consent* of the Crown.”

CAN there be an Excuse invented for this Author, who went back to 1692, to find out a fallacious Argument, to divest the Commons of a most important Power, the Inspection of Publick Accounts; and would not stop in his Way, at 1703, to read and consider a Precedent that would have saved him much Trouble in contriving, and me a good deal of Labour in unraveling his intangled Work?

IN the next Place, they applied, “ Another Debt of two thousand, two hundred and thirteen Pounds, four Shillings, and eleven Pence, *due to the Nation*, to the same Purpose.”

THIS will admit in most Part of the same Reasoning with the last.

IN

IN the third Place, they applied the Additional Duty of Excise upon Beer, &c. granted by an Act of the same Session, to the same Purpose, and valued it at thirty thousand Pounds.

AND then, they proceeded to fix upon additional Duties to compleat the Sum.

ONE risen from the dead could not convince Persons, who will shut their Eyes, and stop their Ears against such conclusive Evidence as this.

IT will probably be said, that these Things are not mentioned in the Act of Parliament, and therefore do not appear to have been legally granted.

To which this will be a full Answer: That they needed not be mentioned in the Act of Parliament, which was only to authorize a new Collection of Duties; but that the great Duties granted by the Act of Parliament, having been valued in the Committee of Ways and Means, if those Debts, and Additional Duties were not taken as Part of the Supply of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, it would have been deficient in the Sum of sixty one thousand, two hundred, and thirteen Pounds, four Shillings and eleven Pence.

IN the Sessions of 1705 and 1707, there do not appear any Particulars remarkable upon this Occasion.

BUT in 1709, the Committee of Accounts reported, “ That there will remain in *Credit to the Nation* at *Midsummer* 1709, over and above all Charges of Government, seventy one thousand and nineteen Pounds, one Shilling and five Pence.”

THIS considerable Surplus, very considerable indeed, when the Supply for one Year amounted but to seventy-five thousand Pounds, was the particular Object and Care of the *Earl of Wharton*, then Lord Lieutenant, who, doubtless, wished to see it disposed of to the best Advantage: And therefore proposed in his Speech from the Throne, “ That the *Commons* should take into Consideration, whether it would not be for their Service to put some of their Fortifications in a better Condition of Defence; and whether it would not be reasonable for them to have a sufficient Quantity of Ammunition and warlike Stores always before hand; and whether it would not be absolutely necessary to think of building some proper and safe Place for the keeping of those Arms and Stores, which they had already, and which they might think fit thereafter to provide.”

THE Ingenuity of Men could not devise a more effectual Method to dispose of a Redundancy.

THE House of Commons of *Ireland* never wanted Generosity to their Governors, when they were not dealt with roughly; and this Governor was too well acquainted with the World, not to know how to please those he desired to win.

So that the Committee of Supply, having, as usual, voted a “ Supply for the necessary Branches of the Establishment,” in the next Place resolved,

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“ THAT

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“ THAT a Supply be granted to his Majesty for buying Arms, Ammunition, and other warlike Stores for the Militia of this Kingdom; and for building and providing Arsenals in the several Provinces of the Kingdom, to lodge and secure the said Arms, and Ammunition and other warlike Stores.”

AND what amounts to a Demonstration, that the Redundancy was the Fund for this new Charge is this, that the Supply granted for the usual Service of the Publick, and for these additional Services, which bespoke great Expence, was but the old one of seventy-five thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and that instead of adding new Duties, the old Duties *upon white, painted, and stained Callicoes, and all other Sorts of Linen, were granted to the Use of the Linen Manufacture.*

IN 1710, the Committee of Accounts reported in the first Place, “ THAT THE BALLANCE DUE TO THE NATION AT MIDSUMMER, 1709, AMOUNTING TO SEVENTY - ONE THOUSAND AND NINETEEN POUNDS, ONE SHILLING AND FIVE PENCE, HALF-PENNY, HAS BEEN DULY CREDITED TO THE PUBLICK;” and reported also a *new Ballance* of eleven thousand, five hundred, forty-seven Pounds, seven Shillings and eleven Pence, to be due to the Nation at *Midsummer, 1710.*

IN 1711, the Committee of Accounts, with like Care, reported, “ THAT THE BALLANCE IN 1710 WAS DULY CREDITED TO THE PUBLICK; and that there was then *in Credit to the Nation* a Sum of six thousand, four hundred, thirty-three Pounds, seventeen Shillings and seven Pence.”

IN 1713, there was no Report from the Committee of Accounts, the Parliament having been suddenly prorogued, for a Reason herein before related.

BUT in 1715, the Committee of Accounts carried back their Enquiry to the Year 1711, and reported, “ THAT DUE CREDIT HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PUBLICK FOR THE BALLANCE IN 1711.”

IN the Committee of Supply of this Year, there is a very remarkable Resolution, which shews the great Care and Nicety there was in those Days, that the *Publick* should have *due Credit* upon all Occasions. There was, as there is still, upon the Establishment, a certain Provision for the Support of Barracks: This having been provided for, but not expended, the Committee of Supply resolved, “ That Credit ought to be given to the Kingdom for seven thousand, one hundred, forty-two Pounds, three Shillings and a Farthing, being unissued of the Barrack Fund;” which reduced the Debt of the Nation, as reported by the Committee of Accounts, to sixteen thousand, one hundred and six Pounds, eleven Shillings, and one Half-penny, which was the first Debt contracted by the Kingdom. IN

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IN this Session fifty thousand Pounds were borrowed at Interest, to put the Kingdom into a proper Condition of Defence; lest any Disturbance, encouraged by the Rebellion in *Scotland*, should happen therein, in Favour of the *Pretender.*

IN the Committee of Ways and Means, “ The Produce of a Bill passed, for granting additional Duties upon Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, and other Goods and Merchandizes for six Months,” was voted Part of the Supply, as was before done in the Year 1703.

AND there can be no Dispute that this was as absolute a Law, as any of those that created the Hereditary Revenue; and that, if the Commons had not a Right to apply to the Publick Service, the Produce of the Hereditary Revenue, neither had they of this recent Law. It was as full a Grant to the Crown; the Trust was the same in the one as the other; yet did not the least Objection arise to this *Application.*

To pay the Interest of the fifty thousand Pounds, some additional Taxes were created; amongst which was one of four Shillings in the Pound upon Pensions and Employments: But these new Taxes were added to the aggregate Fund, and no separate Account kept of them.

THE Debt then in 1715 was the Sum of sixty-six thousand, one hundred and six Pounds, eleven Shillings and one Half-penny, and grew in 1717 to ninety-four thousand, five hundred and forty-four Pounds, thirteen Shillings and two Pence three Eighths.

IN 1719, the Debt fell to eighty-seven thousand, five hundred and eleven Pounds, four Shillings and seven Pence Farthing; in 1721, to seventy-seven thousand, two hundred and sixty one Pounds, six Shillings and seven Pence; and in 1723, to sixty-six thousand, three hundred and eighteen Pounds, eight Shillings, and three Pence Farthing.

IN those several Instances of reducing the *National Debt*, since the Year 1717, no other Means were made use of for that Purpose, but an *Application* of the several Surpluses. Hence it is manifest, that in that Time a Sum of twenty-eight thousand, two hundred, and twenty-six Pounds (being the Surplus upon the whole Revenue) was, without Hesitation or Contradiction, applied to ease so much of what was called the *National Debt*: And it is as sure that this was done, without any Form of *Previous Consent*, but in the ordinary Manner of accounting between *Debtor* and *Creditor*; the same Manner that hath been continued to this Day, as will hereafter clearly appear.

IN 1725, the Debt grew to one hundred and nineteen thousand, two hundred and fifteen Pounds, five Shillings and three Pence; in 1727, to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and seventy-one Pounds, fifteen Shillings and six Pence;

Pence; and in 1729, to two hundred and twenty thousand, seven hundred and thirty Pounds, fifteen Shillings and three Pence.

THIS great Debt occasioned so large an Arrear upon the Establishment, especially upon the Military Part thereof, that it caused Inconveniencies and Difficulties to the Government; which the Commons resolved to remove, not having any reasonable Hopes, that the ordinary Revenue would be sufficient to reduce so considerable a Debt in any convenient Time. For this Purpose they resolved to borrow one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, and to provide a separate Fund, to pay the Interest of that and the fifty thousand formerly borrowed, until the Principal should be paid off: Because, as the Preamble to the Act expressed, "So great a Debt could not AT PRESENT be discharged, and the necessary Branches of your Majesty's Establishment supported, without such Supplies as would greatly burthen your Majesty's faithful Subjects of this Kingdom."

TOWARD paying this Interest, they took the Tax of four Shillings per Pound upon Pensions and Employments, which was originally added to the aggregate Fund for Payment of the Interest of fifty thousand Pounds, from the ordinary Supply, and made it Part of this appropriated Fund, by which the Interest of the whole Debt was to be paid.

ANOTHER great Arrear grew upon the Establishment of 1731, and it was found necessary to borrow one hundred thousand Pounds more, to add it to the former Debt, and to appropriate the same Fund to the Payment of the Interest of this new Debt also, and to apply its Surplus, whatever it might be, toward discharge of the Principal, by a new Law, with the like Preamble, importing, "That so great a Debt could not AT PRESENT be discharged, and the necessary Branches of the Establishment supported."

THERE were afterwards other Sums borrowed, and placed upon the same Fund, to be paid Interest thereout.

THE Law for providing this Interest had never any Continuance longer than for two Years; and one political Reason, plainly to be discovered, was, that though they could not AT PRESENT discharge the Principal, out of the usual Supplies, (which, truly they had a gloomy Prospect of ever being able to do) yet it was not fit totally to give it up, as a thing altogether desperate; and therefore, by giving the Law but two Years Continuation, they reserved a Power of applying any Surplus that might arise to this PUBLICK Service.

WHETHER this Reason was expressed or implied it matters not. It is clear, that the Publick Accounts always did keep the Principal and Interest of the Debt separate; and in the National State of the Account, made up and signed by his Majesty's

Accountant-

Accountant-General, the Principal Debt hath always been carried on as a Charge against the Nation, without any Notice taken of Interest; and Credit hath ever been given for the Surplus arising upon the Fund provided for paying Interest, and made applicable by Law, to go toward the Discharge of the Principal.

FOR the Illustration of this Matter, I must insert States of the National Account at different Periods.

A GENERAL State of the National Account, from Lady-day 1749, to Lady-day 1751.

Hereditary Revenue, nett	872800	18	11 ³ / ₈
Additional Duties, nett, with Poundage	366683	1	3
Surplus of Loan Duties, over Interest	26647	2	3
	<hr/>		
	1266131	2	5 ³ / ₈
Debt of the Nation at Lady-day 1749	205117	18	6
Civil List	146134	8	4 ¹ / ₄
Military Establishment	766151	19	1
Payments pursuant to Act of Parliament, &c.	126356	14	6 ¹ / ₂
	<hr/>		
	1243761	0	6 ¹ / ₄

Which being deducted from the amount of the Revenues, there will remain in Credit to the Nation at Lady-day 1751

22370 1 11 ¹/₈

A GENERAL State of the National Account from Lady-day 1751, to Lady-day 1753.

Credit remaining to the Nation at Lady-day 1751	22370	1	11
Hereditary Revenue, nett	866672	6	3
Additional Duties, nett, with Poundage Fees	349733	13	10
Surplus of Loan Duties, over and above Interest	25089	14	11
	<hr/>		
	1263865	16	11
Civil List	143705	0	8
Military Establishment	762571	7	7
Payments pursuant to Acts of Parliament, &c.	152415	9	7
	<hr/>		
	1058691	17	10

Which being deducted from the former Credit and Revenues, there will remain

in Credit to the Nation at Lady-day 1753 205173 12 1

It is not a little surprizing, that it should be thought at this Time necessary, to wait for the Consent of the Crown, to apply what the Crown hath already, by its Servants, given the Nation Credit for; and which only waits for proper Application. But the Observations have made two Objections to my Train of Argument which must be answered, or all the Pains I have taken will little avail.

IN stating the Account of 1745; he saith, " That the National Debt appears to be but two hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and seventeen Pounds, ten Shillings, and six Pence, and at the same Time the Nation paid Interest for three hundred and thirty-five thousand Pounds; and that the Revenue exceeded the Charge of Government, in the two Years immediately preceding, by the Sum of seventy-one thousand, nine hundred and forty-seven Pounds."

BE it so: What is the Inference? *That it is extraordinary, that the Nation should be reported, to be in Debt but two hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and seventeen Pounds, ten Shillings and six Pence; and should if it had a Power over the Surplus, without the PREVIOUS CONSENT of the Crown, pay at the same time Interest for so much a greater Sum; and not only submit to this Hardship, but also raise a further Sum of seventy thousand Pounds, at Interest.*

THE Author of these Observations will find, if he pleases to examine, that the Difference between the two Debts, amounts but to seventy-six thousand four hundred and eighty-two Pounds, nine Shillings and six Pence; and that the Ballance in the Treasury was really at that Time but thirty-three thousand, six hundred and nineteen Pounds, seven Shillings and ten Pence; and that the former Difference was occasioned by the Nation having Credit for all Arrears, some of which never will become Cash. This Matter was not forgotten to be mentioned in the House at that time; but upon receiving this fair Answer, was not further insisted upon. Yet let us suppose the whole Sum had been in the Treasury; will any Man of Loyalty say, that the COMMONS of IRELAND, distinguished for their firm Attachment to the illustrious House of HANOVER, should not rather borrow any Sum they wanted at any Interest, than to take from that Treasure, at a Season when an Army of SCOTCH Rebels had presumed to march into the Heart of ENGLAND; when all the PROTESTANTS in IRELAND were arming, to attend every Call for the Service of their Excellent KING and his Royal House, whose Success alone could give them Security.

AND indeed the Necessity of not touching that Money appeared evidently in 1747, when the Charge of Government exceeded the Revenue by fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and thirty-seven Pounds, sixteen Shillings and four Pence; which appears by the National Account of that Session, viz.

Charge of Government	—	914206	15	1
National Revenue, nett,	—	856368	18	9
		Difference	57837	16 4

By this true State of the Case, it seems, that if the Commons had not been more prudent, than the Observations would have had them, the Government would have lain under fresh Difficulties, at a Time when they could not have been easily

IT doth not appear there was any Surplus worthy the Consideration of Parliament, until the French War ended in 1748: Then indeed there was so prodigious an Importation of Food for Luxury, that the Revenue afforded an unnatural Redundancy; and it cannot be laid to the Charge of the Commons that they let the first Opportunity pass them, for they made the Application of 128000*l.* in 1749.

THESE Observations have made use of one Argument to captivate, that, if true, would not answer their Purpose long; but as it is false, must in the End bring great Prejudice to their Cause.

IT begins, Page 20, observing, " That in the Year 1741, there were Savings to the Nation,
" On the Military Establishment
" On the Civil List

	178130	11	0
	1202	1	2
	<hr/>		
	179332	12	2

" which," they add, " was a very great Ease to the Nation." PAGE 21, they make the like Remark of the Year 1743.

PAGE 22, of the Year 1745. AND Page 23, of the Year 1747. And in succeeding Pages they repeat the Remark of the following Periods.

IN Pages 36 and 37, they apply their Doctrine to use, and carry a List of all the Savings, which they make to amount to four hundred, sixty-nine thousand, five hundred and one Pounds: And in Page 38, have drawn from the Whole this notable Conclusion, " That it appears, that the redundant Money in the Treasury, did not arise, as some have vainly imagined, from Exceedings in the Aids granted to the Crown. It arose from Savings on the Military Establishment, and Civil List, which amounted to above 100000*l.* more than the highest Loan, and other Debt of the Nation ever was." And Page 39, they boast, " That they have confined themselves to Facts, that cannot be controverted," and that therefore they believe; " That the unprejudiced Reader, will find sufficient Reason to judge, that the Fomentors of rejecting the Bill, (that is, the Majority of the House of Commons) do not deserve the much respected Names of PATRIOTS, AND DEFENDERS OF THE LIBERTIES OF THEIR COUNTRY."

THE Friends of that MAJORITY of the COMMONS (of which Number, in-Pride, I profess my self one) will struggle hard before they lose those much respected Names, which are given them by about two Millions of People, notwithstanding all the irregular Attempts made to poison their Minds. Therefore I must take the Liberty to controvert the Facts, upon which the Observations are founded.

I SHALL not take any Notice of the Savings upon the Civil List; they are not worth repeating.

THE Military Savings are the only Object worthy Consideration, and shall be fully explained. Every Body must remember that the War with *Spain* broke out in 1739, and the War with *France* in 1743, or thereabout. *Ireland* is, in Time of Peace, a Nursery for Troops for *Great-Britain*; therefore in War-time these Troops are, as many as are wanted, carried into *Great-Britain* or abroad, as Occasion requires. *Great-Britain* having had upon her Hands at once a War with two such formidable Powers, was obliged to exert all her Force; to keep her Garrisons full abroad to prevent Surprizes; to act offensively in *America*, and upon the Continent of *Europe*; and defensively at Home, *Pro aris & focis*, against SCOTCH REBELS, acting in Favour of a POPISH PRETENDER, supported by FRANCE. In these various Distresses she had a Right to command all the Troops of this Country to her Assistance; and she did command them as she pleased; and she might have commanded, in the same manner, every PROTESTANT in IRELAND that could have carried a *Musket*, or made even one of a *Baggage-guard*. The least Murmur was not heard in IRELAND, though she paid some of her Troops out of the Kingdom upon that Occasion: So zealous were all to spend their Blood and Treasure in the glorious Cause.

WHENEVER the Establishment is laid before the House of Commons for a Supply, it is provided for as if it were full, though it is well known not to be full at the Time; but it is so ordered, lest it may happen to be full before the succeeding Session. This was the Case throughout the War, and therefore the Difference, between the Provision made, and the Expence incurred, should not, for it cannot properly be called a *Saving*. The Accountants charge the Nation with the whole Establishment, and give them Credit for as much of the Establishment as was not full. What Advantage hath the Nation by this? It cannot need much Proof, that it greatly redounds to the Profit of the Kingdom, to keep its Establishment full, though a greater Expence were to follow.

BUT granting this to be a Saving; how much thereof is in the Treasury? Not one Farthing. To prove this, I need only shew the fallacious Method of stating the Account, by the *Observations*, to the Year 1749, at which the Surplus was first applied by Parliament to the Payment of the Debt.

THE Saving in 1741, say the *Observations*, was, £. 179332 12 2

The National Account for 1741, tells a very different Story.

Charge of Government	— — —	£. 929859 9 4
Revenue Nett	— — —	876810 14 7

Charge above Revenue 53048 14 9 which increased

increased the National Debt just so much: Where were the Savings and the Ease to the Nation?

So in 1743, say they, the Saving was £. 113562 7 4

Behold again the National Account at that Period.

Charge of Government	— — —	£. 898108 9 9
Revenue Nett	— — —	894258 16 2

Charge above Revenue 3849 13 7 which again increased the national Debt.

In 1745 and 1747 they make the Saving £. 105299 10 8

The National Account stands thus:

Revenue Nett	— — —	£. 1773609 8 4
Charge of Government	— — —	1755650 6 11

Revenue above Establishment 17959 1 5 which was carried to the Credit of the Nation as a Surplus.

So that instead of a Redundancy, misrepresented to have grown in that Time, of three hundred, ninety-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-four Pounds, ten Shillings and two Pence, the Nation really contracted a Debt of thirty-eight thousand, nine hundred and thirty-nine Pounds, Six Shillings and eleven Pence.

WHAT a Cause must this be, that cannot bear a critical Examination of the Arguments propagated for its Support? Figures can only deceive the Man, who understandeth them not, or will not examine them. They serve extremely well to impose upon the ignorant, or the indolent. The indolent will say, who could think that any Person, for Favour or Interest, should venture his Reputation upon a Fact, that might some Time ago be in the Breasts of a few only, but by the printing of the Commons Journal, is now open to every Body.

IT should then be an inviolable Rule with an indolent Person, never to condemn the accused till he examines well; for there is no Trust to be put in Party-Writers. If their Arguments be formed on Facts, be sure the Facts are impartially stated, before you allow their Arguments the desired Force.

I have yet one Part of the *Considerations* to take notice of, that offers Precedents to support their Cause. These are *English* or *Irish*. The *English* Precedents in the Cases of the *Excise* and *Gin* Acts answer themselves; for these were to affect an Estate granted to the King for his Life, and specially appropriated to the Support of his *Household* and *Civil List*, not given in General for publick Services, but for certain publick Services. As there was no other Fund out of which these Services could be supplied, it was agreeable to the strict Rules of Justice, that the Consent of the

the Crown should be first had, before that Fund should be affected prejudicially. But Estates that are vested in the Crown, by Common or Statute Law, for *Publick Services*, generally stand upon a quite different Footing, as will be best explained, by two well known Instances, that, I suppose, will be admitted, at least to counterpoise those in the *Considerations*.

THE first is, the Act of *Resumption of Irish Grants* in the Reign of King *William*, which passed not only without his *previous Consent*, but directly against his *known Inclination*; so that in order to compel him to give his *Assent*, it was consolidated with the Money-Bill for paying the Army and Fleet; and the Commons not only positively and peremptorily refused to submit a third Part to the King's Disposal, but also tied up and secured the *Quit-Rents*, from being ever alienable. The next is more recent, for it happened in 1739, and is to be seen by every Body in the 17th Volume of the Parliamentary Debates Page 429.

A Bill was moved, for the more effectual securing the Trade of his Majesty's British Subjects in America, and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service, which Bill was intended, partly to give all Captures made at Sea to British Sailors.

IT was objected by the Servants of the Crown, amongst whom was a Gentleman now a principal Minister of celebrated Honour and Prudence; "That, by the Constitution, the Crown has the sole and absolute Property in every Ship and her Cargo that is taken from an Enemy, by any of his Majesty's Ships of War; and therefore, when any Share of a Prize is given or promised to the Captors, it ought to be considered as a gracious Condescension in the Crown; and that no Law should be ever proposed for that Purpose, until a Message was brought from the Crown: That acting otherwise would be a direct Encroachment upon the Prerogative Royal." And this was enforced by all the Eloquence and Reason that the Thing would admit of.

IN Answer, "The Property of the Crown was admitted; but it was insisted, to be vested in the Crown, as a Trustee for the Publick; and that Ministers may be punished for a Misapplication of that, as well as any other Property belonging to the Publick: That though it was a Bill for altering, nay, for abolishing one of the Prerogatives of the Crown, it could not be admitted as a Maxim, that no Alteration can be made with Regard to any of the Prerogatives of the Crown, unless leave be given to do so, by a previous Message from the Crown."

THE Gentlemen, who spoke against the Bill, thought proper to drop their Opposition, and it became a Law: And I do not remember, to have heard, that any of the Ministers were punished, for giving up the Point; or that the Gentlemen, who succeeded

ceeded in the Debate, were charged with, or suspected of, carrying about them a Spirit of *Rebellion*.

I do not indeed think, that Precedents in the *British Parliament*, can in all Points direct the *Irish Parliament*, because in many Things they constitutionally differ: But where Precedents are brought on one Side, the best Method to end the Dispute is, to produce on the other Side, Precedents stronger, and more pointed, as they have been litigated; and such I apprehend those to be, which I have now offered.

THE *Irish* Precedents are taken from Addresses to the Lord Lieutenant, in Favour of the College and Charter-Schools, "That he would lay before his Majesty their humble Desire, that his Majesty would be pleased, out of his *Royal Bounty*, to give, &c." This is desiring "a Favour and acknowledging a Bounty, which would be absurd, if the Crown had not the Right of Application."

THIS is indeed catching at a Straw. Are not all Grants of Money made to the King? Must not all Applications be in his Name? Is not this allowed by every Body; but do not the Commons, even in those Instances point out an Application of certain Sums, to certain Uses, not before provided for in the Committee of Supply? Such an Application must be called *Bounty*, because it cannot be called a *Publick Service*, being given to a *Private Use*: For though the College and Charter-Schools are most worthy of the Patronage and Care of the Publick, yet they are immediately under the Government of private Corporations, and therefore, in a parliamentary Sense, are not ranked with *Publick Services*.

THE Word *Bounty* is certainly relative to the Nature of the Grant. It being then a Matter of *Bounty*, it would be altogether Anti-Constitutional to Address his Majesty, that he would be pleased out of *their Bounty*, to give, though it is well known the Commons must make good any Deficiency. These modern Addresses are taken from those of long standing: That in favour of the College is a Transcript from another of 1721, as to the *Bounty*. At that Time the Nation was in Debt in the Sum of 77261 l; whose *Bounty* was it then?

BUT this will be very clear, if Attention shall be given to the Manner of addressing for Publick Service.

IN 1715, an humble Address was presented to his Majesty, *Humbly* beseeching him to allow the half-pay Officers full half-pay from August last, and promising to make good any Deficiency."

ANOTHER Address was presented, *humbly* desiring, "That Mr. *Topham* might be put upon the Establishment for a Salary of three hundred Pounds per Annum, as Register of the Records of the Forfeitures in this Kingdom"

IN 1721, an *humble* Address was laid before his Majesty, "That

“ That one *Penny per Diem*, clear of all Deductions, be added to the Pay of each of the effective Soldiers of the several Regiments of Foot in this Kingdom, except to the Regiments of Foot which shall be on Duty in *Dublin*.”

THE Lord Lieutenant's Answer will shew, that notwithstanding the *Humility* of the Address, it was taken as a Grant.

“ I will, said the Lord Lieutenant, by the first Opportunity, lay this Address before his Majesty, which I doubt not will be very acceptable, as it is a farther Instance of the Duty and Loyalty of the House of Commons, and will greatly tend to the Support of his Majesty's Government.”

October 25, 1721. An Address was presented to the Lord Lieutenant, “ That he would lay before his Majesty the *humble* Desire of the House, that his Majesty will be pleased to order, that a Sum of five hundred Pounds be given to *Stephen Costello* for the many Services performed by him to the *Publick*.”

THIS last Instance especially justifies me in the Distinction I have made with Respect to publick and private Applications of Money; that no more is meant by *Bounty* than to express it as a Matter of a *private* Nature, and that it admits no other Sort of Property in the Crown, than the others do, that is, a Trust for the Publick. If it were otherwise, how happened it that Application was made to the Commons? For it is very well known, that the very Sums were agreed upon before the Motions were made. I suppose the Application was made for this plain Reason, because the Publick Money was to be accounted for before them, and those could not be called Publick Services, such as the Publick Revenue is granted for; and of Course no Part of that Revenue which had been granted for Support of the Establishment only, could, without Misapplication, which the Sanction of the Commons obviated, be applied to private Uses, or in another Word, in *Bounty*.

BUT be that as it may, though the *Commons* had, through their great Respect for the Crown, used Words in an Address, that might be wrested to favour a Prerogative; yet I must insist upon it, that it cannot be conclusive, whilst there are stronger and more explicit Precedents on the other Side. Such I shall now produce, and so close my Evidence.

IN the Session of 1751, an Address was, at the Instance of the principal Servants of the Crown, presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, “ That he would be pleased to lay before his Majesty the *humble* Desire of the House, that a Sum, not exceeding the Sum of twenty-four thousand Pounds, might be laid out in making Additions to, and providing Necessaries for, the Accommodation of his Majesty's Troops in the new Barracks, and in building, rebuilding and repairing such other

“ Barracks,

“ Barracks, as his Majesty shall judge necessary for the more convenient Reception of his Forces, and the more effectual Security of the Kingdom.”

IF there were Authority in the Crown to expend this Money, without such Address; why was it moved for, when there was so considerable a Sum in the Treasury? Surely, more Caution should have been used in a Matter grown so tender by the then late Transactions relative to the Money-Bill. May an ordinary Man not surmise, that it was not thought quite secure to trust to the Preamble past a little before?

THE last Instance shall be the Estimate drawn up by an Officer of the Crown, and delivered by him to his Majesty's principal Servants, Members of the House of Commons, for their Direction in moving for the *Quantum* of Supply.

Charge of Civil Establishment at £79399 14 7 yearly amounts, for two Years, to Dec. 25, 1755	158799	9	2
Charge of Military Establishment at 391631 16 3½ yearly, amounts for two Years to Dec. 25, 1755	783263	12	7

Amounting to—942063 1 9

TOWARDS ANSWERING WHICH MUST BE APPLIED THE SUM REMAINING IN CREDIT TO THE NATION AT LADY-DAY, 1753. ————— 247162 18 3½
 ALSO the Nett Produce of the Hereditary Revenue, taken at a Medium of seven Years last past 393796

Making together—640958 18 3½

Remains—301104 3 5½

Add to this Grants by Parliament— 46468 13 4

Quantum of Supply to be asked—347572 16 9½

LET not the Officer be blamed for having done this; let it not be suspected, that he hath betrayed the Cause which he was employed to advance. No such Thing: He hath but followed the Precedents that have come down successively from 1703.

COULD any Reader believe, that the *much abused Commons* had all this to say for themselves? Or can he now believe, that those who have most abused them, knew that all this was said for them before publickly? Yet the Fact is so; for in Truth, this is but a Recapitulation of sundry Speeches, with a more correct Detail, perhaps of Facts.

CAN he suspect from what is here related, or from any of the Arguments made use of, that there was the least *Spirit* of *Rebellion* in the Majority, or the least Disposition to throw off their *Dependency* upon the Crown of *Great-Britain*?

YET in this Light have they been represented by their Enemies in *England*. But this is a stale Device. In the Beginning of this Century, the Trustees, acting under the famous Resumption Law, set up a very Inquisition in this Country, suspended all Law but their own, and were in all Things more like the *Roman Decemviri* in their corrupt State, than like Persons only impowered to act under the gentle Authority of *England*. The People thus aggrieved could not help complaining:

complaining : And then they were represented as Persons desirous of delivering themselves from a Subjection to an *English* Government. The Commons, when they met in 1703, shewed a well-spirited Resentment for this base Misrepresentation, to some of the Authors of it ; and restored themselves to the Favour of the Crown by an Address, in which they thus delivered their Sentiments clearly and emphatically.

“ We cannot, but with the deepest Concern, take Notice to your Majesty, that our Enemies, by many *groundless and malicious Calumnies*, have misrepresented us, (the sad and severe Effects whereof we too sensibly feel) and especially, as if we thought ourselves, or desired to be, *independent of the Crown of England*.

“ IN Duty therefore to your Majesty, and to vindicate ourselves from such foul and unworthy Aspersions, we here declare and acknowledge, that the Kingdom of *Ireland* is annexed, and united to the imperial Crown of *England*, and by the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom is declared to be justly and rightfully depending upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the same, and that it never entered into our Thoughts to wish the contrary ; the Happiness of this Kingdom entirely depending on a steady Duty paid to the Crown of *England*, and a good Correspondence with your Majesty's Subjects of that Kingdom. And we do unanimously assure your Majesty, that we will, to the utmost of our Power, support and maintain your Majesty's rightful and lawful Title to the Crown of this Realm, and the Succession in the Protestant Line, as the same is settled by Acts of Parliament in *England*.”

MOST certain it is, that there is not one *Protestant of Ireland*, who will not with Heart and Hand, at this Day, subscribe that solemn Declaration.

IN the Year 1713, when the Commons made the most glorious Stand against the Attempts of a Party, meditating the Overthrow of the Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, their Enemies made use of the old Scheme of Misrepresentation in *England* ; but the Commons followed it with a stinging Address, wherein they assured the Queen, “ That they would, as far in them lay, Discountenance the restless Endeavours of those factious Spirits, who attempted to weaken the *Protestant* Interest of the Kingdom, by sowing *Jealousies*, spreading false Calumnies, and raising groundless Fears in the Minds of her Majesty's People.”

IN 1723, the Lords and Commons interposed in Behalf of their Country, to save it from impending Ruin ; and represented to the Crown against a Patent granted to *William Wood*, for coining Halfpence. Whilst this Matter was in Agitation, the Patentee, (who expected to persuade this Kingdom to exchange its Gold for his Brass,) and his Associates, possessed all the Coffee-houses in *London*, with a Notion that *Ireland* was throwing off its *Dependancy* ; and their Pretence was, that the Patent so obtained was under the great Seal of *Great-Britain*. This Storm however blew over ; the Nation prevailed, and continued under its old *Dependancy*.

I do not recollect that any Occasion offered, to make the *Dependancy*

cy of *Ireland* a Subject of Discourse afterwards, until 1749 : Then there were some Papers published, that tended to create Jealousies between *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* ; and the Commons were so justly careful, that it should not be even suspected they were generally countenanced, that they thought themselves necessitated to declare in their Address to his Majesty, “ That they should, with great Chearfulness, lay hold on every Occasion, which may tend to continue a reciprocal Confidence and Harmony, between his Majesty's common Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and must look, with the highest Indignation, on any audacious Attempt to create a Jealousy between them, or disunite their Affections.”

THEY did not yet think they had done that Justice which the Case required, until they had censured the Author of those Papers, merely to shew their Zeal in suppressing every mad Thought of an *Independancy*.

YET, (who could imagine it !) this very House of Commons fell themselves in 1751, under the same *inglorious Reputation*, of setting up for an *Independancy* ; and in Vindication indeed of their Understanding, as well as their Loyalty, were forced, though unusual, at the latter End of a Session to transmit an Address to his Majesty, importing ;

“ THAT being truly sensible of the many Blessings that arise from the good Harmony, mutual Confidence and Affection of His Majesty's Subjects of these Kingdoms, and full of Gratitude for the Protection and Support they had at all Times received from the Crown of *Great-Britain*, on the Continuance of which their very Being depended, they should, on all Occasions, exert their utmost Endeavours to cultivate the same good Understanding, and merit the like Support and Protection.

“ THAT any Attempts to create Jealousies between his Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, or to disunite their Affections, can only proceed from the selfish and ambitious Views of designing Men, who have an Interest separate and distinct from that of His Majesty, and of his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom ; but that the Commons were ready and determined to maintain and support, to the utmost of their Power, the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty's Crown and Government, and the united Interests of both His Kingdoms, at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.”

It was strange what could give Occasion for a Report so disadvantageous to the Honour of the Commons ; and yet it is certain, that Letters by every Packet about that Time from *England*, spoke of the Representatives of *Ireland* and their Constituents, by the Influence of the Representatives, as ripe for *Rebellion* ; and that this was the Foundation of the recited Address.

It is undoubted, that a House of Commons never acted more quietly or dispassionately, or indeed submissively : They not only passed the Bill, with that Preamble that hath since given them so much Disturbance, without Hesitation ; but they dropt silently the Linen-Bill that was altered ; though it much alarmed, being the first Alteration of the Sort made in a Linen-Bill since that Trade was guarantee'd to them solemnly by the whole Parliament of *England* before the Union : Indeed, they

they enquired into an abused Vote of Credit; they adjourned a certain Committee for a Week, instead of twenty four Hours; and they ordered a Call of the House to keep it full.

SURELY none of these could be called *Rebellious Acts*; yet I defy their most malicious Enemies to produce any other.

THE late Session was short, but busy: Elections cannot directly relate to *Government* or *England*. The two Points therefore that have the *Rebellious Taint* (if any have) must be *the Censure of a late Officer of the Crown; or the rejecting the Money-Bill*. The first, no Body publicly condemns; the last must stand upon its own Bottom: If there be in the foregoing Account of that Matter sufficient Argument, even to induce any Man to think the Majority was in the Right, then cannot the Majority be blamed for exercising a Negative, *which the Constitution hath given them*.

UPON the whole, it cannot with any Justice or Colour of Reason, be laid to their Charge, that their Actions tend by any Means to *alienate the Affection of the Subjects from the Crown*, or to disunite the People of the two Kingdoms. These are only the Insinuations of Persons who hate them, because they cannot conquer them; and who would at any Rate procure for themselves potent Auxiliaries. But these Insinuations will never meet with Credit from Persons who know their own Strength, and the Dependance the People, thus misrepresented, have upon it, for the Enjoyment of their Property, and the Continuance of their Trade. They are neither Fools nor Madmen, and they must be one or other, to fly in the Faces of their Benefactors, from whom they have derived all the Good they possess.

THE *Irish Protestants* detest the very Thoughts of *Rebellion*. Some Constitutions may be prone to it; and then it matters not whether they be *pampered* or *starved*: *Pampering* will produce Pride and Wantoness; *Starving* will produce Discontent and Greediness; and either will bring forth *Rebellion*. But the Plant will not grow where the Seed is not sown. The *Babes* in IRELAND learn to hiss the GLORIOUS AND IMMORTAL MEMORY OF KING WILLIAM; the *Young Men* have imprinted on their tender Minds, that the HANOVER SUCCESSION was the *Fruit* of all his Toil and Battles, and will be an everlasting Monument of his *Fame*; and the Females are all Heroines in the same Glorious Cause.

IF *Resistance* be *Rebellion*, *Irish Protestants* have been *Rebels*. They were *Rebels* to King JAMES, and they were resolved to be *Rebels* in the latter Days of Queen ANN, if there had been Occasion to draw their Swords, in Support of the HANOVER SUCCESSION.

BUT *Resistance* is over. The HANOVER SUCCESSION hath, God be praised, taken firm Root, in Spight of two wicked Rebellions, and many villainous Conspiracies; and the *Liberty* of the Subject grows every Day more secure. We have now nothing more to hope for, but that HIS PRESENT MAJESTY may very long wear the Crown of GREAT-BRITAIN, to which that of IRELAND is *inseparably annexed*, and that it may be PERPETUATED IN HIS ROYAL HOUSE.

F I N I S.

Erratum. P. 3. l. 25: for *Danger*, read *Degree*.