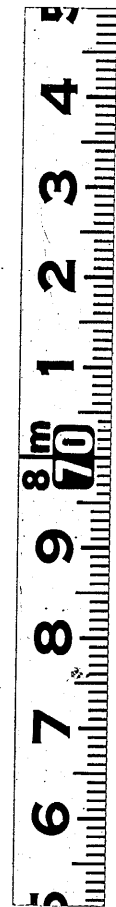


87-9



TRUTH *against* CRAFT:

O R,

SOPHISTRY and FALSHOOD detected.

In ANSWER to a

P A M P H L E T

INTITLED,

*The* C A S E *fairly* stated:

AND LIKEWISE TO

*The* DEFENCE *of the* CONSIDERATIONS.

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*Magna est Veritas et prevalebit.*

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D U B L I N:

Printed in the Year MDCCLIV.

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TRUTH *against* CRAFT:

O R,

SOPHISTRY and FALSHOOD detected.

**W**HEN a Controversy comes to be reduced to so wretched a State, that the principal Advocate on one Side of the Question, after having been convicted of the grossest Misrepresentations in Matters of Fact, shocking Absurdities in Points of Argument, and of the most pernicious Doctrines in regard to the essential Rights of Men, and the political Liberties of this Country, shall, instead of prudently acquiescing, proceed to take Refuge in the last and most desperate Shifts of Imposture; flatly denying in the strongest Terms, what he had, in his former Pamphlet, in the strongest Terms asserted; affirming, on the other hand, Facts to be true, in direct Opposition to Eye-sight; and after playing a Number of Pranks of this Sort, in the Spirit of *Peter* in the *Tale of a Tub*, proceed to a Conclusion with an Air of Triumph, by making an Appeal to the Public, whether the CONSIDERATIONS did not remain UNANSWERED? an Appeal of much the same Species of Modesty, and carrying much the same

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Degree of Insult on the Senses of Men with that of his worthy Predecessor just now mentioned, who appeals to *Martin* and *Jack*, whether the Lump of Bread he held in his Hand, was not as good Mutton as ever was purchased in *Leaden-ball Market*.—When Matters are brought down to so miserable a Pass as this, it is no great Wonder that a Writer of such distinguished Merit as the Author of the Pamphlet, intituled, *The Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons, &c. vindicated*, should judge it unsuitable to his Character to appear any longer in the Lists with such an Antagonist.

Yet some little Notice would still seem requisite to be taken of these singularly intrepid Assertions contained in this Antagonist's Reply; so much Notice, at least, as plainly to shew, that he has in Fact abandoned the Cause which he would be thought to defend; and has, at the same Time, rendered himself unworthy of the least Degree of Credit for the Future, so as to be able to unsettle the Perswasion of any reasonable Man, should he continue to write on; for doubtless, write on he may, to the End of his Life, or till no one will read, if he is always to take the Licence of denying the Principles in his subsequent Pamphlet, which he had been strenuously labouring to establish in the one that had gone before.

This, therefore, shall be Part of the Purpose of the following Pages; a Task in itself highly disagreeable, but in some sort rendered necessary; and in some degree too the less irksome, as it will naturally and usefully fall in, after having answered the principal Intention of this Paper, which is, to administer some necessary Instruction and Admonition to a late Writer, who,  
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without having acquainted himself with either Text or Margin of the real Subject in Debate, has unaccountably thrust himself into this Controversy; on Pretence, forsooth, at this Time of Day, of giving to the Public a true State of the Case, or, as it is expressed in the Title of his Pamphlet, *The Case fairly stated*.

It is peculiarly astonishing in regard to this Gentleman, that he, from whom so much better Things might have been reasonably expected, should, contrary to the Tenour of an Admonition which he is so well acquainted with, go about to teach quite another Doctrine concerning the Meaning of the capital Point in Debate, than what had already been most explicitly taught by those who were vested with Authority for promulgating the Mystery, and laying down the Doctrine.

The ever memorable Transaction which gave Occasion to the present Debate, was compleated in Parliament the Seventeenth of *December*, seventeen Hundred and Fifty-three; and surely it must have a very extraordinary Appearance in the Eye of common Sense, for any Person to imagine, that, in Virtue of his polemical Abilities however distinguished, it could at this Time of Day be practicable to cause a Conceit which he happens to be fond of, and which he chuses to call a fair State of the Case, to be now received by the Public, as the whole of the real Question, which on that Day had received its final parliamentary Decision, when in Fact, from the Beginning of this Winter to the Conclusion of that great Event, this Conceit was never once mentioned by either one Side or the other, as constituting any Part of it: So singular an Attempt is in reality no way inferior in Point of Absurdity,  
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to what it would be in any modern self-sufficient *Dutch* or *German* Divine, affecting Moderation, to go about, at this Distance of Time to prove that the Debate in the Synod of *Dort* did not relate to the antecedent Predestination and sovereign Decrees of GOD, but was wholly reduceable to the harmless Question; whether it was not decent and proper for Men to make Acknowledgements of Thanks to their Maker, by the Favour of whose Providence, our Tables are covered, and we are enabled to relish and enjoy the Fruits of our own Labour? Or that admitting this was not then understood by either Party to be any part of the Subject of that Synod's Debate, yet as it was in some manner extractable out of the Terms in which the Questions were expressed, it ought for the Future to be considered as the Whole of the Doctrine, which the orthodox *Contra-Remonstrants* wanted to establish.

Who would not laugh, if such a Man there be?

Who will not grieve, if the applauded Combatant,  
Of *Tindal*, *Morgan* and *Bolingbroke* be he?

Be this as it will, no Man's Reveries can make any Alteration in the Nature of Things, or change the State of Facts already transacted.

From what has been observed, there would appear a peculiar Propriety in classing these two Writers together; the only Writers on the prerogative Side of the Debate, who seem to have engaged any material Share of the public Attention; for tho' such a Conjunction may be highly unacceptable to the Author of *the Considerations*, and possibly to both; yet as the One in his first Performance found himself under a Necessity of as-

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serting for Fact, what has to a Demonstration been proved to be false; and again, in his Second, flatly to deny what it is scarcely conceivable his own Eyesight should not have convinced him to be true; and as the other before he could appear in the Defence of a Cause, so utterly repugnant to his well known Principles, found himself compelled to have Recourse to the old, and always accounted dishonest Trick of the Schools, totally to change the Terms, and thereby, as far as in the Power of the Sophist, the real Nature of the Question; it cannot but serve a valuable Purpose thus to join these Pleaders together, as the Public will thereby have the easier Opportunity to judge concerning the Merits of a Cause, when it shall appear, that nothing but Falshood and Sophistry, and Doctrines manifestly subversive of all Liberty, have, by such able Advocates, been advanced to support it.

But tho' there be thus far a Conformity between those two scholar-craft Writers, yet no attentive Reader can well fail to observe what a remarkable Difference there is between the Writers in Defence of the Rights of the Country on the one hand, and all those who have written in behalf of imagined Prerogative on the other; the First are not only invariably consistent with themselves throughout their respective Productions, but universally consistent, and in all material Respects, surprizingly coincident, tho' absolutely without the least Communication the one with the other; no small Presumption this, that Truth, which can be but one, is the Foundation of both; the other, so strangely discordant, that the Writers are not more numerous, than are their different Hypotheses; an almost infallible Proof, that as Error is infinite, the Subject these Gentlemen would be understood to support,

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can have little or no Connexion with the invariable Principles of Sense and Honesty.

It is farther remarkable, in respect to the Author of the *fair State of the Case*, that he manifests a particular Fondness to speak the same Language with the Author of *the Considerations*, tho' it is certain, and shall soon be demonstrated, that his Principles and the Doctrine of *the Considerations* stand in such Variance the one from the other, as no Art can reconcile;—Thus this Writer in p. 28 and 29, speaking of the Power with which it was apprehended the Crown might naturally come to think itself vested in Virtue of the House of Commons passing this Clause, namely, that the Prince and his Servants, would have the uncontrollable, because unaccountable Power of disposing of the redundant public Money in whatever manner he and they should see fit, expresseth himself dogmatically in the following Words. 'But the Truth is, that the Clause hath nothing to do with this matter at all: His Majesty, if the Clause had passed, *would not have acquired any new Power over the Money in the Treasury which he had not before.*' Compare this with the 4th Page of the *Considerations*, &c.

Now this Author ought to have known, that this is no better than a barefaced and shameless begging the very Question in Debate: According to the declared Apprehension of the Commons who rejected the Clause, the passing it in the present Circumstances, would have been vesting, in the strongest Manner, *a new* and unconstitutional Power in the Crown, by divesting themselves of *an old* essential constitutional Right; and according to the Apprehensions of common Sense, the passing this Clause would have been the giving *a new* Power of so evil a Tendency, as under  
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a lawless-spirited Prince must render the Property of the Community an easy Prey to the Crown and its Ministers; and a Power of such a Nature, as even under the honestest Prince upon Earth, might irremediably intail infinite Mischief on this poor Country.

Every one knows, that there is one Circumstance of great Unhappiness, inseparable from the Crown of *Great Britain*, that let the Prince have the best Heart, and the soundest Understanding which his Subjects can wish, yet, in Variety of Cases, must he unavoidably find himself under the invincible Necessity of beholding the State of his Subjects, not according to Truth, and in its genuine Colours, but under whatever political Varnish his Minister shall see fit to daub over it.

In such a Situation how wicked must it be, and how nearly approaching to the highest Offence in the Law, to go about to persuade the Public, that the Actions of the Ministry are imputable to the Person of the Prince; that the Massacre of *Glancoe*, for Instance, was justly to be laid to the Charge of the personal Spirit of the glorious King *William*; or the passing of *Woods's* Patent to the personal Intention of that thoroughly honest-hearted Prince, and Father of his Country, his late Majesty King *George*.

And surely it ought to be reckoned amongst the worst of all Injuries which a Man can commit, in respect to the State, to attempt to beget an Apprehension in the Breast of his Majesty, that a constitutional Opposition to the destructive Measures of a Minister, or of his Favourites, is Disloyalty to himself, when, perhaps, it is the very highest Testimony of Duty and Attachment,  
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ment, which can possibly be given to him. See, in regard to this Subject, a Passage quoted below, from the 28th Page of the *Case fairly stated* \*; a Passage, which nothing, but the utmost Degree of Ignorance, even all the Ignorance that is *supposeable* in a Man who spends most of his Life in his Closet, can render in any Degree excusable; its obvious Tendency being so grossly malignant: But certainly a Man, who is yet to be instructed in that truly necessary and essential Principle, in regard to the Administration of *Great Britain*, that all that is Good, is to be imputed to the Prince, and all that is Evil to be charged, as far as the Nature of the Thing will possibly permit, solely on his Ministry, ought not to have meddled in such a Kind of Controversy. This, it is true, is not now to be remedied, and therefore, the next best thing to be done, is, to attempt, if possible, to reclaim the Author himself, and likewise such of his Readers as may happen to have been misled through their Respect to his Authority, from the present Error of their Ways, by making it evident, that tho' he has by some unaccountable Influence, been unhappily induced hastily to range himself on the side of useless and groundless Prerogative, yet

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\* ' The several Considerations that have been hitherto offered, may perhaps tend to remove or lessen the Prejudices many have entertained against the Clause, which was sent over by his Majesty, with the Advice of his Privy Council in *Great Britain*: I say, by his Majesty: For to suppose, as some have insinuated, that he was such a Stranger to the Transactions of his Parliament, or of his Privy Council, as not to know, that such a Clause was sent over hither in his Name, or what it was, would be, in my Opinion, to cast a great Reflection on his Majesty's Wisdom and Attention to the Affairs of his Government.' See p. 28. in the *Case fairly stated*.

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yet such is still the Force of his good old Whig Principles, as every now and then, in this very Pamphlet, to constrain from him Declarations and Concessions as strong and as full as need to be wished for, in behalf of that very Right of his Country, which he is now understood most zealously to contravert.

*Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.*

This is indeed so remarkably the Case through the whole of this Pamphlet, that it will not be a Matter of any great Difficulty to shew, that once this Gentleman comes distinctly to understand the real Question in Debate, if he will be but true to himself, and to the Character of an honest Man, he must instantly become an avowed and zealous Convert to the Cause of his Country, and be as forward, for the Future, in applauding the Spirit and Principles on which the Clause was rejected, as he has shewn himself eager, in his present Pamphlet, to censure and condemn them.

In order that the Public, as well as this Author, may have the whole of this Matter placed clearly before them, it may be proper to set forth, in as distinct a Manner as possible, the *real* Subject of Debate; whence it will instantly be seen, how totally different, and how intirely besides the Purpose, is the fond Conceit of our Author, which *He* by dint of his Arts in Reasoning, in direct Opposition to Fact and to Sense, will needs have the World at this Time of Day to consider, as *the Case fairly stated*.

Next, it will be easy to demonstrate from the whole Strain of the Reasoning, and from the

Principles acknowledged in this very Pamphlet that had our Author been so fortunate as to have understood the Point in Debate, in the same Sense in which the contending Parties themselves understood it, and which, for that very Reason must now, and for ever hereafter, be admitted as the only fair State of the Question; instead of an Adversary, we must have had him an Advocate for the Cause of his Country; an Advocate, on the same Principles, and for the same Reasons, with those very Writers, whom he hath set himself, with so much lost Labour, and so preposterously, to refute.

After these few Articles are fairly and properly discharged, nothing farther can remain, in regard to our present Author, than to conclude with some serious and free Expostulations in regard to the Wisdom and Morality of the Part he has acted.

In the mean Time, it is but honest to acknowledge, that it is not principally for the sake of our Author, or of his Admirers, that these Pains are taken: The steady Perseverance of the Public in just Conceptions and suitable Sentiments concerning the real Nature of the Cause in Debate, is plainly growing every Day of higher Importance to the Welfare of this Country; not solely in regard to the future Preservation of those essential Parliamentary Rights so critically rescued, but in order to this Nation's Properly, and by Ways and Means most truly constitutional, discharging their present indispensable Duty of distinguished Honour, Gratitude, Trust, and generous Fellow-feeling, in respect to those of her Sons, by whose Wisdom, Fortitude, and inflexible Integrity towards their Country,

try, and to the Prince who is the Father of it, this Deliverance was accomplished.

Therefore it is, that the present Task is so readily undertaken; undertaken from the fullest Conviction, that the rejecting of the Clause was absolutely requisite for vindicating the essential Parliamentary Rights of this most loyal Kingdom; and that what Representations soever may have been sent or carried into *England*, antecedent to those worthy Patriots, who invariably stood firm to the united Interests and Rights of their King and their Country, unhappily incurring Marks of his Majesty's Displeasure; the only real Crime in which they could possibly stand guilty, even in the Eye of Envy and Revenge beholding their Conduct, was their so resolutely thwarting the Ambition of a few Individuals; an Ambition, which were it truly understood, could not fail of becoming as odious in Fact, as it is in its Nature injurious to the Honour and Interest of his Majesty, and of his Majesty's most faithful and zealous Protestant Subjects of this Kingdom.

No one who has any just Conceptions of his Majesty's Greatness and Righteousness of Heart, can so much as suppose him capable of conceiving Displeasure against the best of his Servants, merely for doing what they apprehended to be their indispensable Duty in Parliament; every one, be their Denomination or Party in other Respects what it will, must be equally obliged to confess, that the Gentlemen who have been lately distinguished by Marks of Severity, were at least as able Servants, and are and ever have been as loyal and zealous Subjects, as any who have been, or can be found to fill up their Places.

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The Conclusion is therefore unavoidable, that had those worthy Subjects been fairly represented, they could not have incurred such Marks of Severity. But this will still be more evident from what is to follow.

The first Thing now to be done is, in as distinct a Manner as possible, to lay before the Reader the real Subject of Debate: For this Purpose, his careful Attention is most earnestly requested to the following Particulars.

*That* the House of Commons, by sending over the Bill without the Preamble, meant clearly to assert, that, in their Apprehension, the Commons of *Ireland* had in themselves an ancient, inherent and constitutional Right, to point out to the Crown, by Heads of a Bill, as well as by Address, such Uses of public Money remaining in the Treasury unapplied at the Time of their Meeting, as they judged most conducive to the Ease of the People, and for the public Service of this Kingdom; looking on the public Money as the Money of the Nation, intrusted to the disposal of his Majesty as a Royal Trustee, and upon themselves, of all his Majesty's Counsellors, to be the very best qualified for advising his Majesty concerning the real Nature and State of the Country, in regard to these Articles; — and more particularly, as in Cases of Deficiencies in the Treasury, the House had invariably manifested their Readiness to bring the Nation into Debt, rather than the Exigencies of Government should not be seasonably supplied, so they could not but think themselves, on the Principles of Justice and common Sense, both intitled and obliged, as soon as the parliamentary Funds produced a Redundancy, to point out to his Majesty an Application of this Surplus, towards discharging that

that Debt, which they had been obliged to bring upon the Nation, in consequence of these Funds having proved formerly deficient; *That* the Exercise of this Right could in no case interfere with the Rights or Prerogative of the Crown, as his Majesty's Power, either of accepting or rejecting their Advice still continued entire; *That* his faithful Commons, had always been ready to receive with Gratitude, and acknowledge with Thankfulness his Majesty's Recommendations; but to make a Parliamentary Acknowledgment, that the Commons had *no Right to offer their Advice* in regard to the Application of the public Money, which had been raised off the People the Session before, till his Majesty should be first graciously pleased to intimate his *Leave, or previous Consent*, and that it was solely in virtue of his thus previously signifying, that he *would consent*, they had now taken the Liberty of offering their Advice; this was in their Apprehension, so directly contrary to the known Parliamentary Rights and Constitution of this Country, that the indispensable Duty they owed to the King, and to their Constituents in conjunction, and the sacred Regard which is always due to Truth, would not upon any Consideration, permit them to comply with it: And as all this was *confessedly* imply'd in passing the Clause, inserted and sent over by the Privy Council of *England*, they therefore found themselves laid under the distressing Necessity of rejecting the Bill.

That these were the real Merits of the Question, on the Side of the Commons; no Man of Truth, who was present at the Debate, or has since had an Opportunity of knowing the real State of that ever memorable Transaction of the 17th of *December*, can possibly deny.

And



And is there a Man of Honour in the Kingdom, so far possessing the Spirit of a Whig, as to dare to judge for himself in Matters intimately affecting the Rights of his Country, as well after his Governors have made known their Sentiments, as before? Is there a Man of this Spirit in the Nation, who must not think himself obliged to do all possible Honour to the Men, who, by resolutely opposing this NEW and destructive Doctrine, have delivered their Country? delivered it, many of them, at the well-known Hazard of being stript, through malevolent Misrepresentation, of various highly honourable and profitable Advantages peculiar to themselves? And is there a Man of such Spirit and Principles, as just now described, and conscious of being a Sharer in this great Deliverance, whose Heart doth not glow with a generous Sympathy and most affectionate Desire, by every honest Means in his Power, to alleviate the Sufferings which the malignant Glosses of Anger, Detraction, and unmeasurable Ambition, have already brought upon some of the most eminent of those inflexible Patriots? Nay, must not even the Heart of our Author, and of all who are pleased with his *State of the Case*, so far as an ingenuous and liberal Spirit continues to have any Influence, be stung with Remorse, when once they are sensible, that the Pains they have with so much Officiousness been taking, to divest those Gentlemen of the Esteem of their Country, whom the insidious Arts of its Enemies have been able to divest for a Season of the Favour of their Prince, have, in reality, been employ'd against Men, who, above being awed by the Threatnings of Power, when the essential Interests and Rights of this Kingdom seemed to them to be at Stake, went steadily on, in the Discharge

Discharge of their Duty, directing and confining all their Proceedings, to the necessary Vindication, of what our Author himself expressly pronounces, to be *the fundamental parliamentary Rights of this Country*. See *the Case fairly stated*, p. 22. and first Paragraph of p. 23. See likewise p. 2. wherein he hath these Words; 'And if this were really the Case, the Gentlemen who were in Opposition to the Court, certainly ought to be distinguished as eminent Patriots, and deserve all the Honour and Applause, that their Country can bestow upon them.'

That this was really the Case, and that the Doctrine acknowledged in such strong Terms by our Author to be destructive of the essential Rights of this Kingdom, was the real Doctrine intended, in virtue of the Clause, to be made the established Doctrine for the Future, in regard to all public Money redundant in our Treasury, no-body can have any Doubt, who either was present at the Argument, or who has read the authentic Comment contained in *the Considerations*, where it is avowed and laid down by the Author, in almost every Page of that Book; at present, there needs only to mention a very short, but peremptory Passage in the 35th Page. 'If such Trust be in the Crown, the King's Consent is necessary previous to public Deliberations on the Application.' All Deliberations of the House of Commons, where there are two or three hundred Men, must, in their nature, be public; so that here we are plainly given to understand, that tho' there should ever so large a Sum of the People's or public Money be got into the Treasury, yet the natural Guardians of the Properties and Liberties of the People are not to be at Liberty to take the least Thought about it: It may remain there for  
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ever, without the Nation, whose Money it still is, being any thing the better for it ; and if they are nothing the better, they will quickly be sensible, that they are vastly the worse ; and it may be otherwise disposed of, without the Guardians of the Property of the Nation, being any thing the wiser, unless the Crown, from its own mere good Pleasure, shall condescend, of its own Accord, to *tender the Accounts*. See p. 41. of *the Considerations*. All this Doctrine we see can be confidently laid down, and the Authors the next Moment, with equal Confidence affirm, that no *new Power* is thereby added to the Crown, but all is in Affirmance only of the King's antient Right ! Matchless Effrontery !

Much less however, than what has been just now observed, is more than is requisite, in regard to our present Author. No body can dispute, that the Sense above-mentioned, was the Sense, in which the Clause was understood, at least, by one Side of the Question, namely, by the Men, who from a Variety of Circumstances were justly rendered jealous for the Liberties of their Country ; and that it was solely from their conceiving the Clause in that Light they had opposed it : Now, what would it avail our Author, in Justification of the Part he has acted towards those Gentlemen, even tho' it were admitted that the Clause was in fact capable of another and more harmless Sense than what it was understood in, by those jealous Patriots ? tho' taking in the necessary concomitant Circumstances it is demonstrable it was not.

Surely our Author will have no Difficulty in allowing, that every Man, acting as a Member of the great Council of the Nation, is under a strictly moral Obligation to judge for himself, and

and to govern his Conduct according to the inward Sense and Persuasion of his own Mind ; those Gentlemen therefore conceiving the Meaning and Intention of the Clause in the Manner just now set forth, and our Author expressly acknowledging, that such a Meaning and Intention would render the Clause, not merely bad, but destructive of the Fundamental Parliamentary Rights of this Country, what can be more evident, than that, our Author himself being Judge, these Gentlemen were under an indispensable Obligation to do what they did, in opposing the Clause and rejecting the Bill ?

On the other hand, doth not common Sense make it evidently necessary, in regard to the debating and passing of Bills, that when one Side conceives the Manner of Expression to carry a Sense injurious to the Country, and the other Side doth not controvert, that the Clause, as it is worded, is liable to have this Sense put upon it, should it pass into a Law ; then, unless the Party originally contending for the Clause do really mean to have it carried into a Law, in that very Sense which the other thinks hurtful, either the Form of Expression is directed to be altered, so as to remove the Cause of Objection, or else the Clause must, of necessity, be instantly laid aside.

In regard therefore to the Case now before us, seeing the Party contending for the Clause, never once in the Debate attempted to shew, that it was not plainly susceptible of the Sense in which it was understood by the Friends of the Country ; doth it not demonstrably follow, that they not only acknowledged the Clause capable of being construed into such a Meaning, should it pass into a Law, but that this Meaning is the very Sense which

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the Leaders of this Party wanted to have got established for the Future, as the Doctrine of this Country; to the Destruction of the essential Parliamentary Rights of this Kingdom.

It must now be left to this officious Writer to explain, upon what honest Principle it was that he has been prevailed on to exert all his Influence, in order to derive Honour on the Men who had been doing all in their Power to carry into Execution a Measure, which, had it succeeded, might at any Time be made use of for stripping this Country of, what he himself expressly pronounces, *a fundamental Parliamentary Right of this Kingdom*; and, on the other hand, to practise all the little Arts which his Genius could invent, to detract from the Merit of those Men, and to render their Character equivocal and suspicious, by whose Integrity and Resolution, that essential Right was vindicated and preserved.

It will, in a particular Manner, be incumbent on this plausible Gentleman to explain, how either his Head or his Heart could permit his attempting so gross a Delusion, as to make the Public believe, that the *Merits* of the *Question* depended on the *abstract Meaning* of the *Words* of the *Clause*, directly contrary to Fact and to Sense; when it is impossible in Nature, that there can now, or for ever hereafter, be any other proper Question concerning this Matter, than singly, 'whether it was fit for the House of Commons of *Ireland*, to have the Clause, 'in the Sense in which it was then understood 'by them, passed into a Law?' What can it possibly signify, in regard to the Matter in Debate, into how many Senses the Words of the Clause

Clause are capable of being construed, if it must now be agreed, that in the particular Sense in which they were understood by the House of Commons, there was an absolute Necessity laid on the House, if they would be but true to the fundamental Rights of their Country, to give their Negative to the Clause, and, in Consequence of doing so, to reject the Bill?

Can any thing be more monstrous in Reasoning, and indeed likewise in Language, than to attempt making an essential Distinction between the *Intention and Design of the Clause it self*, and the *Intention and Design of the PERSONS who were the Authors and Supporters of the Clause*, the only Subjects to whom Intention and Design are in this Case properly applicable? And as it is now put past all Doubt, that the Sense which our Author, in *p. 18*, finds so much Fault with the Writer of the Remarks for having put upon this Clause, and which he acknowledges in this Place to be a *bad Sense* \*, and in a former

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\* That which seems to have created the chief Prejudice against the Clause in the Minds of the People is an Apprehension, that it tended to give the King such an absolute Power over the Money in the Treasury, that without his previous Consent the Parliament would not be allowed so much as to give his Majesty any Advice relating to the Application of it, much less deliberate about forming a Bill concerning it. And that though it should appear to them to have been manifestly embezzled, and applied in a manner even prejudicial to the Public, they could not without the King's express Allowance and Consent enter upon any Enquiry with regard to it. And that this would be a great Infringement of our Liberties, and of the most valuable Rights of Parliament.

This is the Strength of what hath been urged against the Clause; especially by the Author of the *Remarks on the Considerations*. And this seems to be the true Cause of that Zeal which he hath every where expressed against it. It is on this Foundation

mer Passage, to be destructive of the fundamental Rights of this Country, was the very Sense, in which the Clause was universally understood by the House of Commons in the Day of the Debate; there is not any help for it, nor is there now any possible Remedy, but that our Author, whether willingly, or out of Necessity, must acknowledge, that, 'The GENTLEMEN, who were in OPPOSITION to the COURT, certainly ought to be distinguished as EMINENT PATRIOTS, and deserve all the HONOUR and APPLAUSE that THEIR COUNTRY can bestow upon them.' — What his own Favourites, the Gentlemen who followed the Court in that Question, deserve, shall readily be left to his own Breast to determine.

How utterly out of Purpose therefore, and without the smallest Degree of relation to the real Subject in Question, is that great Waste of Reasoning, concerning a possible abstract Meaning of the Words of the Clause from p. 19, to p. 24! But as there is a Position assumed for an Axiom in the Course of that Reasoning, which, considering the Person it comes from,

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dation that he represents it as striking at the very Root of our Liberties; and as tending to make void the everlasting most righteous Title of the Community to a valid Security for their essential Rights and Liberties. And he talks of an infinite deal of Mischief, which imminently threatened this Country, and which was carried off by rejecting the Clause. But this Gentleman, and the other Writers that have appeared on that Side, seem to me to have very much neglected that which is the principal Thing they ought to have proved, and that is, that the bad Construction they would put upon it, is the real Intention and Design of the Clause itself. This therefore is what I shall distinctly examine, since it is upon this that the whole Force of the Objections against the Clause, and the Arguments for rejecting it manifestly depend. *Case fairly stated*, p. 18.

from, is, beyond measure astonishing, it cannot be passed over without particular Observation.

In p. 19. the Author has these Words, 'To assist in this Inquiry, I shall lay down two Principles, which cannot be reasonably contested. The first is, that in judging of the TRUE SENSE and INTENTION of the Clause, we are to judge by the WORDS and EXPRESSIONS of the CLAUSE IT SELF,' and in p. 23. to the same Purpose, 'There is no proper way of judging of the Intention of the Clause, but from the Words of the Clause!'

Singularly lamentable would be the Event, if our Author, after the honest Zeal he hath so often testified in behalf of Christianity, should, by classing himself wrong, in a Debate upon Politics, come to be quoted as an Authority, in behalf of the foolishlest Class of the deistical Writers; Men who are for ever insisting, 'that there is no proper Way of judging of the Intention of our Saviour, but from the Words of our Saviour.' Hitherto it has been thought abundantly sufficient, in order to render contemptible and odious the illiberal Jokes of that Set of Men, barely to observe, that instead of interpreting Mens Intention merely from their Words, it is a Rule essential to Justice, and founded in Nature and common Sense, always to interpret the Words according to the Intention, so far as that Intention is capable of being found out: Alas! surprising Critic and Casuist! what would become of the Labours of your Life; and, which is still of infinitely more Consequence, what would become of the best Cause in the World, so far as it depends upon the Interpretation of Words, if, for Instance, these Instructions of our Saviour, 'resist not Evil. Take

' *Take no thought for your Life, &c.*' ' *He who hateth not his Father and Mother, &c. cannot be my Disciple.*' And multitudes of other Passages, were to be construed and judged of, merely from the Words? Strange! that Laws should derive the whole of their Obligation from the Intention or Will of the Power which enacts them, and that whatever Merit there is in obedience, must solely arise from the Subject's voluntarily paying that Respect which is due to the Wisdom and Authority of the righteous Legislator, and yet that the Subject need be under no kind of Concern, in regard to this Wisdom, Will, or Intention; it is enough that he conforms to whatever Sense his respective Genius shall be able to extract out of the Words, and shall fancy to be most natural, or grammatical. Besides, is there not an almost infinite Difference between a Difficulty that may in some Cases arise concerning the Intention of a Law already passed and established, and the immediate declared Sense and Intention of the Legislature, or any of its Branches, concerning the Meaning of a Clause, just then under Deliberation, whether it shall be passed into a Law, or not?

What a Mixture of Absurdity, and total Perversion of that which is right, has here been disclosed? and yet more or less of this, will always be found, when Men suffer something else than Righteousness and Truth to have the controuling Direction of the Powers of their Mind. Surely it is high Time for this Gentleman, to break off all Connexion and Communication with such Politics and their Authors, as have already shed so baneful an Influence both on his Sense and on his Simplicity of Spirit.

Evil

Evil Communications, it is unavoidable, must pervert sound Sense, as well as corrupt good Manners; how effectually they have had these Operations in the Instance now before us, will still farther appear from that amazing Attempt of our Author, when after having, as he imagined, by dint of his singular Art in Ratiocination extracted an harmless Meaning out of the *Words* of the *Clause*, taken abstractedly from the *Intention* of the Parties contending about it, He sets himself to confer all the Popularity that could possibly arise from taking the Clause in this same harmless Sense, upon the Leaders of the Party, who voted for the Clause; tho' he was very well assured, that these Leaders were far from *intending* this harmless and nugatory Construction; and had, at least, vehement Cause to *suspect*, that those Gentlemen actually meant that very Sense, which he himself pronounces to stand in direct Opposition to the fundamental Parliamentary Rights of this Kingdom.

While, on the other hand, he shews himself most solicitous to detract from the so universally acknowledged, and truly exalted Merit of the Deliverers of their Country, by endeavouring to make the World believe, that the Step they were drove to the Necessity of taking, in consequence of that painful Alternative, either of hazarding, through Misrepresentation, the Displeasure of his Majesty, or otherwise to betray what they were fully persuaded was a fundamental Parliamentary Right of this Kingdom; *That* this Step had been frowardly or wantonly taken, merely in Opposition to this same harmless Sense of the Clause: and all this, when it is hardly conceivable, that he could be ignorant, or rather could have forgot, that these very Men

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had



ous Leave, in most exprefs Terms to acknowledge, that it was only in Virtue of this previous Consent, that these Heads of a Bill in regard to the Application of this public Money, had been brought in? — Neither of which Articles was the House of Commons, according to the exprefs and declared Sentiments of our Author immediately following, under any Obligation, not even of Parliamentary Fitness or Decorum, of which our Author seems to think himself so competent a Judge, to comply with; and therefore it follows, beyond all Possibility of Contradiction, that our Author has, in a most explicit Manner, given up the whole of the Cause he would be understood to contend for. This whole Passage, though it is of some Length, deserves to be set down, as at the same Time, that it clearly lets the Reader into the native Sentiments of the Author, in regard to what is, *in truth*, the Point in Debate, it fully serves also to shew in what Sense it is, that he had throughout his Pamphlet understood the Phrase of his Majesty's declaring that *he would consent* \*.

Could

*Case fairly stated, p. 31.*

\* Many of these Precedents are designed to shew, that the Commons have a Right without any previous Consent from the Crown, to point out such particular Applications of the publick Money as they judge to be for the publick Service. But these do not properly come up to the Point. They that are for the Clause may very consistently acknowledge, that when the Parliament judge that any particular Application of the publick Money lying in the Treasury would be of great Advantage to the Publick, they have a Right as his Majesty's Great Council to give their Advice relating to that Application, where it hath been omitted or neglected by the Crown. But the allowing such a Right as this in the Commons doth not preclude his Majesty from previously signifying his Consent to any particular Application, nor make it improper for them to acknowledge that Consent, when it has been previously declared.

Could our Author have but satisfied himself with suggesting every thing that was plausible on behalf of the Gentlemen of this Country, who divided for the Clause, tho' his Partiality might be wondered at by such as were acquainted with his Principles, yet would it have been far from bringing upon him any Severity of Censure: These Gentlemen, it was evident, stood much in need of an Advocate, and great Indulgence is always due to the Pleader, especially where the principal Inducement appears to proceed from Compassion and Humanity; for this Reason it is, that the Writer would willingly suggest in mitigation of the Conduct of our Author, every thing that a proper Regard to Truth, and the Importance of the Cause he has meddled in, will reasonably permit; he therefore can readily suppose, that a great Part of the Incongruities, into which this Author has fallen, may have been owing to his studious and retired Manner of spending his Time; when, speculating in his Closet, and little acquainted with what is every Day occurring in active Life, he might, for Instance, naturally consider it as a Matter hardly to be believed, that so great a Number of the professed Guardians of the Rights of their Country, should at this Time have appeared in the Support of a Doctrine, so manifestly destructive of the principal Articles of Parliamentary Liberty;

clared. If it should be allowed, that the Commons have a Right to advise, or even to bring in Heads of a Bill concerning a particular Application of Part of the publick Money lying in the Treasury, when they judge it necessary for the publick Good to do so, though there has been no previous Consent signified on the Part of the Crown, yet it will by no Means follow, that when his Majesty hath previously signified his Consent, the Commons should reject a Bill merely because it contained an Acknowledgment of that Consent.

Liberty; yet had this Gentleman been seasonably attentive to the political Proceedings during the Course of this Administration, he might in some Measure have learned to account even for this singular and astonishing Appearance; probably he was altogether a Stranger to those new Rules of Discipline, said to have been sent over previously to this last Session of Parliament, in order to be carefully communicated to all such Ears as were fitted to be entrusted with such truly *gallican Arcana* of Government; whereby 'not only the Servants of the Crown, but all the other Members of the House of Commons, who had expressed their Inclinations to serve the King and Government, were instructed and admonished to be more cautious for the future, than ever hereafter to pretend to distinguish between what were immaterial Points in the Transactions of Parliament, and such as were not; or ever to differ from those in whom the Governor should be pleased to place his principal Confidence; lest he should be laid under a Necessity of exerting the Authority of the Crown in a Manner, which, if you will believe the Author of these Rules, would be always disagreeable to him.'

Indeed it will be no great Wonder, if our Author should still find it a matter very difficult of Belief, 'That the Sons of *Britain*, Men chosen by their Country to be the Guardians of its Rights, and to have a principal Share in giving of its Laws, could through any Influence whatever, be brought to submit to a Discipline fit only for the Servants of an eastern *Centurion*;  
'To one he saith, go, and he goeth; to another, come, and he cometh; and to a third, do this, and he doth it.

But

But it is hereby most earnestly recommended, not merely to our Author, but to the Public in general, to make themselves sure, whether any such Instructions had, in reality, been given and promulgated, agreeably to the *Fama clamosa*, or not? For should what is so universally taken for granted, turn out, upon the strictest Enquiry, to have been, in reality, the Fact; there can be no farther need either of reasoning or Witnesses: nothing can be more evident that whoever is capable of committing such an Outrage on the Dignity and Liberties of our *Members of Parliament*, must be incapable of feeling any Remorse or Reluctance in attempting whatever Measure would best suit his Purpose, however destructive it might prove, to the most essential parliamentary Rights of this Kingdom. Should *Rules* to this Purpose, after a strict Examination, turn out to have been genuine; alas! there can be no need of an Inquiry how far and by whom they have been complied with; nor can any one be at a Loss to discern, that had the Compliance been more general, the most precious Article of the Liberty of Man, as well as the most essential Article of the Rights of Parliament, must have been for ever given up; with this most aggravating Circumstance, that all this Mischief would have been brought upon this Country, in the House, and by the Hands of her own deluded Sons.

But, blessed be God! a very different Spirit most gloriously prevailed; and rescued this Land, as yet a Land of Liberty, from infinite Evil; a Spirit which cannot be better described than by using the Words, with a small Accommodation, in which one of the finest Stories in all Antiquity is expressed by *Daniel* the Prophet in the

3d



3d Chapter of his Book: After having first represented *Nebuchadnezar* as calling before him three principal Men of the *Jews*, and requiring them, under a most severe Penalty, to worship an *Image* which he had set up, these three principal Men are introduced as expressing themselves to the following Effect; ' O *Nebuchadnezar*, we are not careful to answer thee concerning this Matter; our *King* whom we serve is able to deliver us from all thy Penalties, and he will deliver us out of thine Hand, O ——. ' But if not, be it known unto thee, O ——, ' that we will not serve thy *Favourites*, nor worship that *Golden Image* which thou hast set up.' The whole Story is most worthy to be read, and will all along admit of most natural Accommodations, concluding, as every one must naturally expect it should, that these three great Men were soon afterwards promoted.

But let all Matters of this Sort be understood as they will, it is now apprehended that, from what has been so distinctly pointed out in the foregoing Pages, in regard to the Contrast between the real Principles of our Author, and the professed Design of his Book, the Reader and, perhaps by this Time, likewise this Gentleman himself will be pretty well prepared to judge of the Justness of the following Argument; which is thus put into Form, that our Author, if he shall see it necessary, may, with the greater Precision, a manner he seems not very fond of, make his Reply.

Whoever is convinced that the *Commons of Ireland* have a Right in themselves, to call for, and look into, the national Accounts; to inquire into the Redundancies as well as Deficiencies of the national Funds; and  
to

to give Advice to his Majesty, as well by Heads of a Bill as in any other Manner, in regard to what appears to them the most useful or necessary Application of any such Redundancies; and in consequence to vindicate and assert this Right by parliamentary Measures, when in any Instance they find themselves in danger of being deprived of it, must of necessity acknowledge that the *Commons of Ireland*. in the last Session of Parliament, did no more than they had a Right to do, nor than their Duty laid them under an indispenfible Obligation of doing in regard to the Bill for discharging the public Debt.

But the Author of the *Case fairly stated* has, from repeated Passages in his Book, manifested a full Conviction that the *Commons of Ireland* have the above Right in themselves, and are most justly intitled to the full and free Exercise of it in all the several Instances just now enumerated.

Therefore the Author of the *Case fairly stated* must of necessity acknowledge that the *Commons of Ireland*, in last Session of Parliament, did no more than what they had a Right to do, and than their Duty laid them under an indispenfible Obligation of doing, in regard to the Bill for discharging the national Debt. Which was the Thing to be proved.

Having thus pretty fully stated all Matters with this Author on the Subject of Reasoning, it remains, that the Writer should now discharge the remaining Part of his Task, in regard to this Author, by entring, for a few Minutes, into a  
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free Expostulation in regard to the truly surprizing Part he has acted, relative to this Debate: And

*First*, Sir, it might, not without Reason, be asked of you, who, while \* conscious of not thoroughly understanding the Question, yet so readily, undertook to plead the Cause of Prerogative; Felt you no Remorse in thus intermeddling, before you had made yourself sure that nothing unfriendly was meant to the Liberties of the Country; especially, as hitherto it has always been inseparable from the native Jealousy of a Whig, instantly to take the Alarm, as soon as he hears the Word Prerogative made use of in Opposition, or even in Contra-distinction to the Rights of the Community? But as this might possibly be owing to the Arts and Importunities of insidious Advisers, or to some still more harmless Cause, it may be more proper to confine the Inquiry to the Spirit, and to the Manner, with which you have conducted yourself, in the Management of this Controversy, after you had chosen your Side. And here, Sir, you are desired to explain, how you could take upon you to represent the general Body of his Majesty's most faithful Protestant Subjects in this Kingdom, Subjects whom you yourself know to be universally and zealously faithful, as *complimenting Gentlemen of this Country at the Expence of the King*; merely because they had not understood the Point in Debate in the Sense which you spend a great Part of your Book, in proving it was capable in the Abstract of having been understood in, but without any regard to the Intention of the Parties, which yet was the single Circumstance on which the whole Question depended:

And

\* See the Author's Preface, and the 24th Page of his Book.

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And because, on the contrary, the People had most truly understood the Question in the very Sense in which it was invariably understood by the Friends of the Country from the Commencement of this Session, and avowedly understood by the Leaders in the Opposition, indeed the only Sense in which it was capable of being understood on the Day of the Debate; therefore is your Country to be represented by you, as *putting Dishonour on his Majesty*, and as under the Power of *Prejudices, which must of Necessity, diminish the Zeal and Affection of his Majesty's Subjects to his sacred Person and Government*; nay, as *insinuating, that his Majesty was for assuming a Prerogative which doth not belong to him, and which is subversive of the Liberties of his People*, p. 2. and 3. A most odious and false Exhibition of the Spirit of this Country! springing from that Root of Bitterness, which occasioned your taking so much Pains to prove that *the Clause* was his Majesty's own, and that he must, in Person, be answerable for it, than which nothing can be more injurious and absurd. See what has been already said on this Subject, p. 9.

Mark, however, Sir, that you have, in this very Place, notwithstanding all those unfriendly Insinuations, expressly acknowledged, that were the Clause to be understood in the Sense therein mentioned, and which it is but reasonable to think you must, by this time, be fully convinced is the real Sense in which it was, at the time of the Transaction, universally understood; *'then the Gentlemen, who were in Opposition to the Court, certainly ought to be distinguished as eminent Patriots, and deserve all the Honour and Applause that their Country can bestow upon them.'* That these Gentlemen understood it in this Sense you

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have

have already, if you are a Writer of any Candor, as good as confessed; in p. 5. you have these Words; ‘ *And, it must be supposed, that they would not, on the Account of that Clause, have rejected an Act of such Importance to the Public, if they had not regarded this Clause, as having an ill Aspect on our Liberties, and as designed to invest his Majesty with unconstitutional Powers, prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges of Parliament.*’

Pity it is, Sir, that the Supposition of your being a Writer of Candor, should necessarily bring along with it the Imputation of your having shewn yourself a very inconsistent and inconsiderate Writer; — You immediately go on thus, ‘ *On the other Side, his Majesty, with the Advice of his Privy-Council in Great-Britain, hath, in a very effectual Manner, signified HIS DISPLEASURE against that Proceeding of the House of Commons, as an unwarrantable Infringement of his royal Prerogative.*’ What, Sir, could tempt you to express yourself in such a Manner, and in such Terms as these? Did you, the professed Advocate for Prerogative, in sad, sober Earnest, mean to exhibit this Prerogative in the most odious of all Colours, by representing *his Majesty’s Displeasure* having been effectually kindled against his *faithful Commons of Ireland*; Subjects, who have never ceased to deserve his Majesty’s distinguished Regard and Complacency? Behold, Sir, the wretched Effects of your Petulancy in pressing the royal Person of his Majesty into the Controversy!

But however untoward the Appearances may be at present against you, your old Acquaintance will never suffer himself to suspect that you could seriously mean to represent his Majesty as conceiving high Displeasure against the worthiest of his

his *Commons of Ireland*, those who, in your own Judgment, *deserved all the Honour and Applause that the Country can bestow*, merely for these Patriots opposing, under a Sense of indispensable Duty, a Measure of his Ministry, which appear’d to them ‘ *to have an ill Aspect on our Liberties, and as designed to invest his Majesty with unconstitutional Powers;*’ and therefore, Sir, no Alternative can remain, but that you must be forced, along with the great Body of your Country, to resolve many of our late Appearances into this unavoidable Conclusion: ‘ *That these Gentlemen must have been represented in a most injurious Light to his Majesty,*’ otherwise, it would have been impossible that such distressing Events, as have happened in the Course of this Winter, could have befallen these Gentlemen and their Country: If it should be said, that this Conclusion is of a very high Nature, let it be observed, that it is inseparably connected with a Subject of a much higher Nature:

That it is absolutely necessary his Majesty’s most faithful and distinguishedly zealous Protestant Subjects of *Ireland* should continue fixed and unalterable in the rational Belief, that if his Majesty had beheld the Conduct of his Servants in the Light, which, by them is known to be the only fair Light in which it ought to have been exhibited, it would have been impossible but that such faithful and able Servants should have continued to possess the same Share in his royal Confidence and Favour, which they were known to hold before the Commencement of the present Administration: In this all honest Men, of whatever Side of the Question, if they entertain just and suitable Conceptions of his Majesty’s Greatness of Mind, must necessarily join, as it is a Truth universally known, and in most express

Terms

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Terms acknowledged by yourself, ' that the Cause of these Gentlemen's Opposition to the Clause, was their regarding it, as having an ill Aspect on the Liberties of this Country;' And as it is the established and invariable Character of his Majesty to be not only as careful of the Rights of his People, as he is of his own Prerogative, but ready to relinquish every Prerogative, as soon as it comes in Opposition to any of their essential Rights, it is impossible he could be displeas'd with any of his Servants merely for asserting, in a parliamentary Way, what they understood to be essential to the Liberty of their Country, and especially, with such Servants as were of unquestionable Fidelity, and had long served his Majesty with distinguished Abilities: Therefore it must be equal to Demonstration, that Means have been found out to exhibit these worthy Servants and Patriots in a Light to his Majesty very different from what all his Majesty's faithful Subjects of this Country know to be the only true one.

And now, Sir, be pleas'd to look back, and see what preposterous Measures you have been taking: The Force of Truth has compelled you to acknowledge, that these Gentlemen have done nothing but what was highly worthy of eminent Patriots, in opposing the Clause, in the Sense in which they understood it; and surely you would not have had them to have complied with this Clause, in a Sense in which they did not understand it: You are likewise perfectly convinc'd that the great Body of his Majesty's faithful Subjects of this Kingdom did Honour to these Gentlemen, merely on their being perswaded that the Sense in which these Patriots understood this Clause, was the true and real Sense; and in this Light this Body of the Country were as much obliged to do Honour to these Men, as these Men were

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were obliged to give all parliamentary Opposition to the Clause; yet you instantly proceed to represent them as doing Honour to these Gentlemen, at the Expence of his Majesty! How could you find in your Heart to throw out the slightest Insinuation to the Disadvantage of this Body of Men? Men, whom you know to love and honour his Majesty with such Sincerity and Strength of Affection as to be ready to lay down their Lives in his Service; a Strength of Affection which it would be impossible for them so invariably to retain, unless they had learned to make an infinite Difference between the Person of his Majesty and some of his Ministers.

But to make you still farther sensible how little qualified you were for an Undertaking of this Sort, let us next inquire what you could possibly have in your Thoughts in favour of the Gentlemen who voted for the Court, after having made such Acknowledgments, constrain'd by your native Sense of Justice and of Truth, in honour of the Men who voted for their Country? The latter, you yourself own, rejected the Clause, because they understood it in a Sense, which if it were really the Sense, would have most justly distinguished them as eminent Patriots, and rendered them deserving of all the Honour and Applause that their Country could bestow upon them; they therefore are at least entitl'd to all the Merit of the worthiest Intention: It has been proved in the course of this Paper that the Gentlemen, or, at least, the Leaders of the Gentlemen, who voted for passing the Clause, understood the Clause in the very same Sense with the Patriot Majority by whose Votes the Clause was rejected; what, think you, must have been their Intention? or what can all your Partiality in their Favour suggest in their Defence?

You

You will not wonder, Sir, that, seeing you thought proper to take such particular Notice of *the Remarks*, the Writer of them should wish to be informed, how it came to pass that you totally overlooked the 8th and 9th Pages of the *Supplement*, where the whole of that Sense of the Clause which you lay such Strefs on, and represent to the Publick as the only *fair State of the Case*, was minutely discussed, and the manner in which it came to be exploded, previous to the Debate on the 17th of *December* circumstantially explained; some Folks may be tempted to think that this Oversight of yours must have been committed through Design; for had you condescended to take any fair Notice of this Article as it stands in that Paper, it would not be an easy Matter to assign any good Reason, 'that an old Notion, so thoroughly obsolete, should, at this time of Day, under the Guise of a *new* and fair State of the Case, have been brought upon the Stage.'

Indeed, after the Pains which that Writer had taken in several Parts of his *Remarks*, and particularly in the 10th and 11th Pages of the *Supplement*, to reduce the whole Merits of the Debate into a few distinct Propositions, on purpose to afford to every fair-minded Reader an easy Opportunity of discerning and pointing out any Falacy or Deception, if such were to be found, it was no small Surprize to him that you, Sir, who are so well acquainted with the Canons of Controversy, should have neglected so unexceptionable and speedy a Method of bringing the Cause to an Issue: But if this was an Omission, likewise by Design, it can have answered no Purpose; as by your charging the Remarker in p. 18th, with begging the Question in taking that

that for granted, which ought to be proved, you have thereby plainly acknowledged, 'that if this could be proved,' the Cause you have espoused must be instantly given up; you your self pronouncing it, *bad*, and injurious to the fundamental Rights of this Country; and it having been in the Course of this present Paper repeatedly proved, that this very Sense which you so highly condemn, was in reality the Sense in which your Friends understood the Clause when they were so zealously contending for having it passed; can any thing therefore be more clearly demonstrated than that, you yourself being Judge, 'your Friends were contending for a very bad Clause.'

In this Instance, Sir, you cannot but see, that the Distinction you seem to have been originally so fond of, between what you call the *Intention of the Clause*, and the Intention of those who insisted on the Clause, can be of no kind of Significancy, because the sole Subject of Debate from the Beginning of this Winter was no other than this, 'What would be the Operation of consenting to this Clause, taking it in the Sense so repeatedly mentioned, of precluding the House of Commons from bringing in any Heads of a Bill relative to the Application of Money redundant in the Treasury, without first having received Leave from his Majesty to bring in such Heads of a Bill; and likewise expressly acknowledging in those Heads of a Bill, that without their having had a previous Notification that he would consent, they were sensible they had no Right in themselves to propose any Application whatsoever of any public Money redundant in the Treasury.'

Those who, in this Sense, were for passing this Clause, insisted, that by passing it, no *new Power* would

would be added to the Crown: Those, on the contrary, who opposed the Clause, stedfastly maintained, that the passing of this Clause would not only most certainly invest his Majesty with Powers that were *new*, but with Powers manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental parliamentary Rights of this Kingdom; — and in this latter Judgment you, Sir, have, in as full a manner as Words can express, declared your Concurrence; and surely, Sir, you, who are so well practised in the Rules of legitimate Argumentation, cannot be insensible, when you take time to reflect, that reasoning from any abstract Signification of Words to the real Intention and Meaning of the Persons who made use of those Words, must in all Cases be evidently impertinent and sophistical, unless it can be shewn that these Words are not only capable of such abstract Meaning, but that they are not capable of any other.

In Page 9th you have these Words, ‘ And supposing such a public Trust of applying the Money given by Parliament to the Crown without any special Appropriation, to be eminently vested in his Majesty, it seems to be very proper and reasonable, that his Consent should be had, and signified previously to the APPLICATION of that Money, to a particular Service.’

And now, Sir, after having attentively considered this Passage, are not you sensible that the apparent and most obvious Meaning which it tends to convey is, to represent the House of Commons as wanting to take the actual Application of the public Money into their own Hands; and this too without troubling their Heads to obtain before-hand, either his Majesty's Consent or Assent? But tho' the Words are most evidently capable of having this Sense put upon

upon them, would not you, Sir, be apt loudly to complain, if any one should go about to infer, that therefore it is in this Sense that you must for the future be understood to have made use of them? You, as well as all the rest of the World, cannot but know, that the only Right which is claimed by the Commons of *Ireland*, in regard to public Money remaining in the Treasury, is either to make it an Article in the Estimate for the ensuing Supply, or to propose to his Majesty such other Use or Application of this public Money as to them appears still more conducive to the Ease of his Majesty's Subjects, or to the public Service of this Kingdom; leaving his Majesty in the full and intire Possession of his constitutional Right of consenting or refusing to make such a particular Use or Application of this Money as they had proposed.

And now, Sir, lay your Hand on your Heart, and please honestly to pronounce, even though it should refute the whole Purpose of your Book, whether it *doth not seem to be very proper and reasonable* that the Parliament of *Ireland*, in virtue of whose Authority so much Money had been raised, as, after having answered all the Exigencies of Government during the Interval of their sitting, to leave a large Redundancy still to be disposed of for the Ease of the People and for public Services, that they, in Virtue of their being the original Grantors of this Money, and likewise his Majesty's principal Council, in regard to the Interests of this Kingdom, and best qualified to know in general what these Interests require, should be free from all Restraints, and at full Liberty to advise his Majesty concerning, what they apprehended to be, the properest Use or Application of this Money? and whether it would not be, in Truth, highly proper and perfectly consistent with

with the Dignity of the Crown, and every Prerogative that can be of any Use to the Kingdom, that, in such a Situation, the royal Trustee should leave the original Grantors at perfect Liberty to give their Advice; and even that he should ask them to assist him in devising the best Purposes to which this redundant Money could be applied? Is not this even less than the whole of what the faithful Commons claimed as their constitutional Right this last Session of Parliament? And could they possibly have claimed less than they did, without ceasing to possess, and relinquishing their Title to what yet it is absolutely necessary they should continue to possess, so long as we are to continue a free Government, namely, the principal Power over the Purse of the Nation? Is it not a perfect Delusion to talk of the parliamentary Remedy of *with-holding of Grants*? Is not the Support of the civil and military Establishment *absolutely necessary* for the Safety of *Ireland*? And are not parliamentary Supplies absolutely requisite for affording this Support? What then can possibly remain towards affording any tolerable rational Security of this essential Power, other than the Representatives of the Nation continuing in full Possession of their inherent Right to recommend and point out to his Majesty such Applications of all Money already brought, or in the Interval of their Adjournment or Prorogation to be brought into the Treasury, as they shall judge most conducive to the public Happiness and Safety of the Country, and to call in the Aid of the Laws to punish all such Officers of the Crown as they shall find guilty of Misapplications and Embezzlements.

The Author of *the Considerations*, that Writer of Authority, was either directed, or permitted to tell us, 'that *unless Supplies were wanted, the*  
& *national*

'*national Accounts* WOULD NOT BE TENDERED.' Common Sense must always tell the House of Commons, that Supplies *must* be granted, whether the national Accounts should be TENDERED, or not; what then can there possibly remain towards preserving to the Parliament of this Kingdom the principal Power over the Purse of this Kingdom, but the Representatives of the People continuing in full and quiet Possession of the above essential and unalienable Rights?

Having thus, Sir, at great Length, endeavoured to make you sensible, that if you will be true to your own acknowledged Principles, you must, of Necessity, declare yourself in Opposition to the Party in whose Favour you have been prevailed on to write: It would be high time to bid you farewell, though Incongruities more numerous than the Pages of your Book remain still ready to be pointed out.

But before your old Acquaintance finishes this Part of his Design, it may be proper, once more, to expostulate with you, why, having betaken yourself to a Sense of the Clause, which had no Sort of Relation to the *Precedents* which had been produced in Favour of the Proceedings of the House of Commons, all of which were urged from understanding the Clause in a Sense totally different; you yet took it into your Head to animadvert upon some of these *Precedents*, which had solely been produced, in Confirmation of Rights, which *you* expressly acknowledge to be fundamental parliamentary Rights of this Country?

But much it were to be wished that Incongruities were the worst thing that occurred in this new and most officious part of your Enterprize;  
and

and still it is to be hoped that, now the Fit of unnatural Zeal is probably pretty well spent, you yourself will be astonished at what you have written on this Article of the Debate, particularly in the 35th Page of your Book.

In the preceding Page you take notice of a short Passage in *the Proceedings*, &c. relating to the Precedents just before produced, where the Author pronounces, 'that one risen from the Dead could not convince Persons, who will shut their Eyes against such conclusive Evidence as this;' and surely, Sir, it was but reasonable that so strong an Expression coming from so able and distinguished a Writer, whose Authority, in these Matters particularly, you could not but inwardly respect, should have put you on your Guard, so as to make yourself sure that you had something very material to offer, before you would engage in a Matter which your own State of the Question did not in any Sort make it necessary for you to meddle with: Instead of which you set out with a quaint Observation, so big with Absurdities, if you did not mean Delusion, as makes it difficult to chuse where to begin in exposing it; your Words immediately following the above short Quotation are these, joining the *Remarker* with the Author of *the Proceedings*, 'But here it may be observed, that these ingenious Writers seem to have carried it further than they themselves intended. If the Precedents here produced by them, were to the purpose, they would prove, that the Commons have not only a Right, but the sole Right, not only of raising the Money, and of appropriating Part of it, when they raise it, to special Uses; but of APPLYING the unappropriated Surplus remaining in the Treasury. For they represent it as the constant Usage for the Commons themselves to apply the several Surplusses;

'Surplusses; which would be to leave his Majesty no distinct Power of Application at all, and this is what these Gentlemen would not be thought to PRETEND, and would indeed be inconsistent with the present Constitution of this Kingdom, &c.'

Whatever *bad thing* this Word IT in the second Line signifies, you seem willing on your first setting out to acquit these two Writers, of any *bad Intention* concerning it; but this Candor and Sense of common Justice seems to have made their abode with you, but for a very little Space; for before you get to the End of this very Passage, after telling us, 'that this *bad thing* would not leave his Majesty any distinct Power of Application at all,' you immediately come in with an Expression as full of Malignity as it can hold, viz. 'and this is what these Gentlemen WOULD NOT BE THOUGHT to pretend.'

What Apology can an honest Mind form to itself for having thrown out so foul an Insinuation?

The Representation here given of those Gentlemen is not only in itself highly injurious, but it is hardly conceivable that you yourself should not have perceived it to be void of all Foundation; even when you were suffering such Strictures to flow from your Pen.

Was it possible for any Man who has looked into these Writers, to form the least Suspicion that either of them ever meant, 'to represent it as the constant Usage, or even the Practice in any one Instance, for the Commons themselves to apply the Surplusses?' To apply them, in the Sense in which you here want that this Word should be understood; which Sense is fixed  
by



by the Words that immediately follow, and for the sake of which Insinuation the whole seems to have been written; *which would be to leave his Majesty no distinct Power of Application at all.*

You knew, Sir, as well as you know the Intentions of your own Heart, that all that was meant by either of these two Gentlemen, in producing these Precedents, (produced separately, and without the least Knowledge of each other's Purpose,) was no other than to demonstrate from unvaried and unquestioned Custom and Usage, *First*, That the House of Commons claimed and exercised a Power, in virtue of a Right inherent in themselves, of calling for the national Accounts; rectifying all Mistakes which the Officers of the Crown appeared to them at any time to have committed in their Manner of stating them; censuring these Officers in Cases where it appeared to them that there had been Misapplications; and bringing whatever Ballance of the public Money formerly granted, and now in the Treasury, or in the Hands of the Collectors, as so much Money still remaining to the Credit of the Nation.

And, *Secondly*, That the House of Commons did likewise, in virtue of a constitutional Power inherent in themselves, claim and exercise the Right of *pointing out* to his Majesty such an Application of this redundant Money, when at any time they happened to find any such Redundancy, as appeared to them most conducive to his Majesty's Service, and to the Ease and Security of his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom, making not the least Difference, in the Exercise of this Right, between the Residue of the Money which had already been paid out of the Pockets of his Majesty's Subjects, and brought  
into

into the Treasury for the two Years that were passed, and the Money which was now to be brought into it for the two Years to come: Tell honestly then, Sir, do not the Precedents produced by these Gentlemen fully and irresistibly prove every single Article contained under these two Propositions? And tho' both the Propositions, and the Precedents brought to support them, may be but very little to the Purpose in regard to *your Sense* of the Clause, which probably was not, at that time, so much as once in the contemplation of those Writers, having appeared to them totally foreign from the real Question in Debate; yet surely you must allow that they are directly to the Purpose, in respect to the *Author of the Considerations, against whom they were writing*; who had set himself to defend and propagate a Doctrine, diametrically and confessedly opposite to every material Article in these Propositions? In what a State must your Mind then have been, when you wanted to make your Readers believe, that these parliamentary Precedents were not to the Purpose! or when you assert that 'these Precedents would prove, that the Commons have not only a Right, but the sole Right not only of raising the Money, and appropriating Part of it, when they raise it, to special Uses, but of applying the unappropriated Surplus remaining in the Treasury. For they (that is, these Writers) represent it as *the constant Usage* for the Commons *themselves* to apply the several Surplusses.'

These, Sir, are your own Words: Would to God they were not!

Thus much, Sir, concerning the Morality of this remarkable Quotation; now a few Words more in regard to the Sense. You tell us that  
G these

these Precedents on which the two Writers lay so much Stress, would prove 'that the Commons have not only a Right, but the sole Right, &c.' Pray, Sir, are they not real Precedents, or authentic Records of former Transactions of the House of Commons, fairly and faithfully quoted? Were not these Transactions, public parliamentary Transactions; never called in Question, but fully and invariably approved of, as truly constitutional, by the Crown and the Ministry, and all Parties concerned? How then can the bare quoting of these prove any thing beyond what was the real Meaning of the respective Transactions of which they are the Records? especially, how can the quoting of them be said in any Sense to prove that the Commons claimed the *sole Right of raising, and appropriating, &c.* so directly inconsistent with the Constitution of this Kingdom? Surely, Sir, nothing short of Repentance and Conversion can procure such complicated Offences against Candor and Sense to be blotted out.

Again, Sir, what possibly can be said for your so strenuously exerting your Talents in Argumentation, p. 40, and 41, in order that the clandestine and anticonstitutional Transaction in the Year 1751 should yet be received into the Class of legitimate Precedents? However consistent you may possibly think it with orthodox Divinity, yet surely you must acknowledge it totally repugnant to the first Principles of Morals, that any Action should be imputable in any other Proportion than that in which it appears to be voluntary; and whether the House of Commons passing the Bill in the Session 1751, as it came altered from *England*, did not abundantly appear to be fore against their Will, let all the World judge!

But

But if you have happened to read over what the Writer of the *Remarks* has urged upon this Head, in his 4th Number, from p. 43, to the End of the first Paragraph in p. 48, and are not yet convinced that the Precedent is so spurious, as to render the insisting on it infamous, nothing that is in the Power of your old Acquaintance farther to suggest, would be able to make any Impression; the utmost he can do, is earnestly to recommend it to you once more to review the latter End of that Number.

It remains now only to take some Notice of your singularly preposterous Attempt to get rid of that truly legitimate and incontestable Precedent, taken from the parliamentary Grant in the Reign of *Charles II.* of the Sum of two thousand Pounds to *Sir Henry Tichburn*, urged at the Conclusion of the third Number of *Remarks*.

It is not denied by you, that the House of Commons, without any Leave, or any previous Notice whatever from the Crown, were the first Movers in regard to the Application of these two thousand Pounds, out of a Fund, granted to his Majesty some Years before; and therefore, in its obvious Sense, the whole of this Transaction would appear to be a full and direct Proof of what it is adduced for, namely, 'that the House of Commons, even at that Time, when Notions of Prerogative ran so very high, had not the least Doubt of their having an inherent Right to point out to his Majesty, by Heads of a Bill, such Applications of Money formerly granted by Parliament, as appeared to them necessary or expedient for the Uses of Government.' No, say you, this Instance is not to the Purpose; 'The Hearth-Money was granted to the King in lieu

‘ lieu of the *Profits* of the *Court of Wards*, but  
 ‘ in the original Act by which the *Hearth-Money*  
 ‘ was granted to his Majesty, the Crown was  
 ‘ expressly precluded from charging it with Gift,  
 ‘ Grant, or Pension;’ and that therefore the  
 Crown had no Power to grant Sir *Henry Tichburn*  
 two thousand Pounds, or, in Truth, to pay him  
 a just Debt, unless enabled by the whole Legisla-  
 ture to do so, out of this Tax.

See now, Sir, what it is to meddle with a  
 Matter which you either know nothing of, or  
 which you were obliged most absurdly to misre-  
 present, before you could pretend to invalidate  
 its being a direct Proof, ‘ that, as far as Prece-  
 ‘ dent can be a Proof, the House of Commons  
 ‘ under King *George* ought to be allowed the same  
 ‘ Right over the public Money, that was mani-  
 ‘ festly claimed, practised, and recognized, as  
 ‘ their inherent Right under *CHARLES the second*.’  
 In Earnest, Sir, could you really mean, that  
 King *Charles* was wanting to do Justice to Sir  
*Henry Tichburn*, but had no Way of doing it,  
 without Leave from his Parliament? Alas! Sir,  
 it is evident from the Whole of this Transaction,  
 that it was with the utmost Difficulty the House of  
 Commons could obtain Justice to be done to this  
 honest Gentleman: Could it ever enter into your  
 Head, that because the King was restrained from  
 granting Gifts or Pensions so as to lessen this Fund  
 for the Support of the Crown in the Hands of his  
 Successors, therefore he could not apply any Part  
 of it to pay a just Debt, nor spend the present  
 Income arising from it in the same Manner in  
 which he spent the Profits of the *Wards and*  
*Liveries*, in the Place of which this Tax was  
 granted to him. How could you conceive it  
*possible* that he could be under any Restraint in  
 Regard to the *Use*, after he had got the Money  
 actually

actually into his Coffers? There is, in Truth, so  
 much Folly mixed with the little Conceits of a  
 pettifogging Attorney in what you have written  
 on this Subject, that your old Acquaintance cannot  
 help suspecting, that a very undue Influence of  
 Folks, of much less Sense, and still of far less  
 Honesty than yourself, has betrayed you into Mea-  
 sures, where it has been impossible for you to take  
 one Step without doing Dishonour to the Powers of  
 your Understanding, or to the Qualities of your  
 Heart: — The invidious Insinuation in the Close  
 of what you have written on this Article, *p. 34.*  
 after what you had read over and over in the  
*Remarks*, is past all Excuse.

It would be endless to point out every Thing  
 truly exceptionable that is to be found in this  
 ill-judged Production; what has already been  
 said, it is hoped, may be sufficient to rouse you  
 to the free Exertion of the native Bent and Prin-  
 ciples of your own Mind; in which Expectation  
 your Acquaintance takes his Leave, with an af-  
 fectionate Recommendation of the Example of the  
 immortal *Chillingworth* to your future Imitation.

You are not ignorant, that this excellent Per-  
 son, from mistaking the Nature of the *Protestant*  
*Religion*, hastily delivered himself over to the  
 Superstition of *Rome*; but soon coming to discern,  
 that first, in regard to his new Leaders, all was  
 Insolence or Craft, Imposture or Domination;  
 and that, in regard to the Herd of their Follow-  
 ers, instead of any Symptoms of a rational free-  
 born Spirit, nothing was to be found, nor would  
 any thing else be endured, but an implicit and  
 abject Resignation of themselves, and of all their  
 Faculties, to the absolute Directions, either of  
 their primary, or delegated Conductors; these  
 unhappy and most degenerated People, at the  
 same

same Time, making the loudest Pretensions to the Denomination of the only true and untainted Disciples of a Master, who had, in most express Terms, insisted with all his Followers, that they should quit themselves like Men, and judge for themselves: It was no Wonder, that the sound Understanding of *Chillingworth* quickly caused him to break off all Manner of Connexion with such a Confederacy; a Confederacy formed from Policies totally repugnant to the original generous Bent and Principles of his Mind: And having, by this Time, come clearly to perceive that the native Principles of Sense and Honesty, together with a few *plain Records*, 'void of all *artificial Com-ments*,' contained in the *Bible*, were in truth the only Foundation of the Religion of *Protestants*; all the World knows how distinguished a Champion he afterwards became in that glorious Cause, which, through Misapprehension of its real and intrinsic Merits, and some other Infelicities, he had before, for a Season, been led to desert.

But it is now high time, in order to complete the Design of this Paper, to proceed to the other Article proposed, namely, so far to take notice of *the Defence of the Considerations* as will be sufficient to shew, that the Author in this second Performance which he calls *An Answer to the Proceedings*, &c. has intirely given up the principal Points in Debate: Given them up, not as the First-fruits of an honest Repentance, from an ingenuous Sense of having been in the wrong; but in all Appearance, first, because the real Doctrine intended by his Patrons to have been established in this Country, had the Question been carried in favour of the Bill, has been set in a Light, in consequence of his own Explanation of it, which few even of the Leaders, and much fewer of the

the Gentlemen of this Country, who were for supporting the Clause, would probably at present care to avow; now that the Design has, through the inflexible Virtue of the Patriots of this Country, been for ever defeated. And secondly,

Because the Author would seem to congratulate with himself not a little, that at the same time he was thus extricating himself and his Patrons from infinite Reproach, by denying or softning every odious Consequence of the Doctrine he had, in virtue of their Authority, been labouring to establish; he had found out a Trick by which he should be still able to make his Readers believe that his original Doctrine remained intire and unshaken, and that nothing was given up: A Trick which had cost him but little Labour of Invention, as it was no more than flatly to deny, what he had before in express Terms affirmed; to affirm, what he had most expressly denied; to persist in denying what, to his own Eye-sight, had been exhibited to be Fact; and then to round up the whole, by an Appeal to his candid Reader, 'whether his Book of *Considerations* did not remain UNANSWERED?'

That this is the Game which our Author has been playing in his second Production, will not require much Labour to demonstrate: But *first*, it is most carefully to be remarked, that the Difference is immense, in Point of Importance to the Public, between this Author's original Production, and what he has since published to the World as his Defence of it.

*The Considerations* were published under the Sanction of no small Authority, and zealously propagated, and distributed *gratis*, for his Majesty's Service; the Doctrine therefore therein laid down, is for  
ever

ever to be considered as the real and unalterable Doctrine which the Leaders of the Party and Patrons of the Book were wanting to have got established in *Ireland* by passing the Clause; and that, as these Gentlemen are in no Sort answerable for the Author's Follies or Falshoods in his latter Production, so neither are they to derive any Benefit from the Hardiness of his Assertions, or the Ingenuity of his Chicaneries and Legerdemain.

What the real Doctrine is, which was laid down in the *Considerations* concerning this Article, the most interesting, perhaps, that ever came under parliamentary Consideration in this Kingdom, the Writer of the *Remarks* has most distinctly set forth in a few short Propositions in the tenth Page of his Supplement, to the following Effect. 'That the Parliament of *Ireland* should be obliged to make an authentic Acknowledgment, in regard to all Applications of public Money remaining in the Treasury, that the King, in Virtue of an ancient Right, is the sole Judge of the proper *Occasion*, the *Time*, and the *Sum*, in all Instances of such Application, and that no other Power in the Constitution can have the least Pretence or Shadow of Right to point out, or, in any Manner, to intimate their Wishes in Regard to any Application of this Sort, without having first obtained his Majesty's Leave to propose such Application.'

In proof of this, see the Author's express Words in p. 18, 'His Majesty, under the constitutional Trust, must be THE Judge of the *Occasion*, the *Time*, and the *Sum*, for he solely has the executive Power, and knows the various Exigencies of Government, and which of them ought to have the Preference in the Application. Consequently when

'an Application shall be proposed, by any other Power, his Consent must be obtained previous thereto,' that is, previous to the making any such Proposal. The same Doctrine is laid down, still at greater Length, in p. 34, and 35, concluding with this Paragraph,

'If such Trust be in the Crown, the King's Consent is necessary previous to PUBLICK DELIBERATIONS on the Application; otherwise such Deliberations thereon, might lay the Crown under great Difficulties, and be attended with bad Consequences to Government.'

Here it is, as express as Words can well make it, that the Parliament is so far from having any Right, either by Bill or by Address, to point out any Application to his Majesty of this redundant Money, that they are not so much as at Liberty to make it the Subject of their Consideration, or to take the least parliamentary Notice concerning it, till his Majesty shall first be graciously pleased to send his royal Permission; and if such Permission should happen not to be sent, then must it be much the same thing to the Parliament, whether there be, in Fact, any such redundant Money in the Receipt of the Treasury, or not.

The second Proposition into which the *Remarker* reduced the Doctrine of the *Considerations* is as follows.

'That the King, it is true, ought to apply all this redundant Money for the Ease of the People, and for the public Service of this Nation; but that there is no Power upon Earth that has a Right to call for an Account, whether

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\* ther this Money has been in Fact applied  
 \* agreeably to this constitutional Trust or not.'

The third Proposition is in these Words :

' That the Parliament, it is likewise true, has  
 \* a Right to punish those who shall wickedly  
 \* advise such ACTs as would be a Breach of this  
 \* public Trust, but that they can have no Power  
 \* of coming at the Knowledge whether any  
 \* Persons had given such wicked Advice or not,  
 \* unless the Persons who were guilty of the  
 \* Breach of Trust, in Consequence of this Ad-  
 \* vice, shall graciously condescend to suffer the  
 \* necessary Evidence to be laid before them.'

The fourth Proposition.

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

That these three Propositions, together with  
 the first, the Proof of which has been already  
 pointed out, contain a Doctrine much more  
 malignant to the Liberties of this Country than  
 any thing that was ever advanced in the Time of  
 Lord *Strafford*, no Man, who gives his Atten-  
 tion, can possibly dispute; and that these three  
 Propositions are capable of equally strong Proof,  
 from this Author's express Words, with what  
 has been produced for confirming the first, shall  
 now

now be made evident from the following Passage,  
 p. 40. of the *Considerations*.

' *The principal Objection is, that the Produce of  
 \* the several Funds is ACCOUNTED FOR TO PAR-  
 \* LIAMENT; and from thence it has been inferred,  
 \* that it is public Money, subject to parliamentary  
 \* Application, without other Consent, than what  
 \* is given by the Royal Assent to the Bill, when  
 \* passed into a Law.*

No bad reasoning this, if the Fact be really  
 true, that the Produce is accounted for to Par-  
 liament in Virtue of the Parliament's Right to  
 require such an Account; and this our Author  
 plainly confesses, when he calls this a principal  
 Objection, but still more strongly, when, as the  
 only Means to get rid of this Objection, he finds  
 himself forced flatly to deny that the Parliament  
 had ever any such Right; for thus he goes on,  
 ' *This seems founded on a Mistake, as to the Reason  
 \* and Manner of laying the public Accounts before  
 \* the House of Commons.*

' *No Account of the Disposition of the King's  
 \* Revenue was laid before Parliament till the Year  
 \* one thousand six hundred and ninety two, when  
 \* the Crown wanted farther Supplies; 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;  
 \* and, for the same Reason, they have been every  
 \* Session since brought into Parliament: so that, in  
 \* Truth, were not Supplies demanded, such Accounts  
 \* would not have been tendered; and the going  
 \* through*

' *through the Accounts, is ONLY to enable the House to judge what may be the Measure of the Supply, not to appropriate the Ballance, if any there should be, for that remains as Money already vested in the Crown for public Services.*'

It is no Part of the immediate Design to take any Notice of the Contrast between what is peremptorily denied in this Quotation, and what is as strongly affirmed in this Author's second Production, though no Reader but must instantly perceive that the Terms are as opposite and contradictory the one to the other, as if they had come from the Mouths, or the Pens, of two most determined Adversaries: What this Passage has now been produced for, is to prove that every Thing contained in the Propositions just above quoted from the *Supplement to the Remarks*, is fully and undeniably warranted by this *authoritative* Author's own Words;

For *first*, though he all along acknowledges, that the *King* ought to apply all this Money for the Ease of his People and the public Service of the Nation; yet he, in the strongest Terms, in the above Passage, denies that the Parliament *can call for the national Accounts as their Right*, though these are the only Means whereby it can be known, whether this Money has in fact been applied, by his Majesty's Servants, agreeably to this constitutional Trust or not; and consequently, that whatever Right the Parliament may have to punish those who shall wickedly advise such Acts as would be a Breach of this public Trust, yet are they absolutely divested of all Power and Means of coming at the Knowledge, whether any Persons had given such wicked Advice or not, unless the Persons guilty of the Breach of Trust, in consequence of this  
Advice,

Advice, shall graciously condescend to suffer the necessary Evidence to be laid before them: Nay, he very strongly intimates that this Condescension was never to be expected; the Sentence is very remarkable, ' *So that, in Truth, saith he, were not Supplies demanded, such Accounts would not have been tendered.*'

Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius!

And is it in Truth come to this! That under a legal Government, an Advocate for the Crown shall be careffed, and his Doctrine propagated, by Folks of the first Authority, for publicly proclaiming that the only Reason why the Nation has been hitherto indulged the Satisfaction of knowing how the Money that was raised out of their Pockets has been employed, was, only to get more; and from the Moment that other Means can be fallen on in order to obtain future Supplies, the Nation is for ever after to go without the Satisfaction of knowing, in any other Way than by their own feeling, whether their Money has been applied to their Ease or to their Oppression, to the Service of the Public, or towards the total Destruction of its most inestimable Liberties? — If our Author, in the true pettifogging Spirit, meant to provide a Subterfuge for himself by making use of the Word '*tendered*,' when the proper Word was '*rendered*,' it can stand him in no stead, as every Reason that will justify the not tendering, will likewise justify the not rendering any such Account.

Behold now, courteous Reader, of whatever Denomination, Country, or Party! behold what accumulated Mischief was avowedly intended to have been brought down on the devoted Head  
of

of this poor but most loyal Kingdom, if this Clause had passed into a Law; and that those who avowed the Intention, or Men of the same Spirit were to be the Executioners! but above all, behold, ye Sons of Liberty, what a glorious and critical Deliverance has been wrought for your Country, by the impregnable Virtue of your generous Patriots, who at the Expence of putting to Hazard every Emolument or Advantage that was peculiar to themselves, rescued the Liberties of *Ireland* by rejecting the Clause, the greatest parliamentary Deliverance which ever was wrought for this Kingdom; and let your Eyes and your Hearts, with suitable Confidence and Gratitude, be fixed on those Patriots, who, by working this great Deliverance, have given you the surest and most infallible Pledges of their truly liberal Loyalty to their Prince, and their invariable Fidelity towards their Country; Affections inseparable, in the Breast of every Subject who relishes the inestimable Blessing of living under a legal Government, and in a Land of Liberty.

And, on the other Hand, be it always remembered, that it is they, and they only, who make no Distinction in their external Subjection, between the Father of his People and the Man who wants to be their Tyrant; or between the Prince in his own Person, who is known invariably to mean well to the Interests and Liberties of his Subjects, and such Delegates of his Power as through selfish Views, or petulant Passions, proceed to Violences tending unavoidably to break down the liberal Spirit of an affectionate People: It ought never to be forgotten, that it is Spirits of so slavish and degenerate a Cast, who have at all Times been the principal Bane of the Liberties of every Country in which they had Influence.

Having

Having thus shewn, with such Precision and Exactness, as it is presumed cannot well admit of any Cavil or Reply, what the real Doctrine was which the Leaders intended to have got established by passing the Clause, and which this Author, warranted by these Leaders, has expressly set forth as the Doctrine imply'd in the Clause; it is next to be shewn, that our Author, in his second Production, abandons this Doctrine in its two fundamental Principles, and at the same Time throws away all Reputation for Truth or fair Dealing, in order, if possible, still to be understood, as having vindicated the very Doctrine he is forced to abandon.

The two fundamental Principles of the real, and now unalterable Doctrine, are these, first, 'That the public Money redundant in the Treasury is so absolutely vested in his Majesty under the constitutional Trust, that the King's Consent is necessary previous to all *public Deliverations* in Parliament, concerning the Application of any of this Money:' The second Principle is, 'that the Parliament has no Right whatsoever to call for the public Accounts, which contain the Application of this, and all other Money that goes into the Treasury.'

The first of these Principles is totally given up, by our Author's expressly admitting, that the House *may offer their Advice* concerning Applications of the public Money. Now, unless this Writer can shew, that the House may offer their Advice without entering into any Deliberations, then is this first Principle absolutely renounced, and the very Reverse of it here positively affirmed; but affirmed in a Manner which does no great Honour to our Author's Regard for Truth;



Truth; his Words are, *for that the House may offer their Advice is not controverted.* The only Ways which the House usually employs in offering their Advice, are, either by Heads of a Bill, or by an Address; and should our Author be pressed on this Subject, it is much to be doubted, that, now he has got into the Humour of retracting, he would find it rather more to his Purpose to admit the Liberty of offering their Advice by the former than by the latter; it is true, that the Author seems to point at the latter, by saying, *that this hath never been thought conclusive;* but surely a Moment's Recollection would satisfy him, that neither is Advice offered by Heads of a Bill conclusive; and as the Reason he gives, when he was against the Parliament's presuming to give any Sort of Advice, why they were not to enter on any Deliberations whatsoever concerning such Application without the King's previous Consent, is expressed in these Words, *otherwise such Deliberations thereon might lay the Crown under great Difficulties, and be attended with bad Consequences to Government;* this Reason will still hold much stronger against offering Advice by *Address* than by *Heads of a Bill*; by the former, it is obvious, that the Crown must be laid under much the greater Difficulty, if the Matter should not be acceptable, because the Application is made directly in Person to the King, and the Refusal must appear to come immediately from himself; whereas there are several Ways of avoiding a Compliance with the Advice given by Heads of a Bill without his Majesty's Regard to the Council of his faithful Commons coming in the least into Question.

But be this as it will, manifest it is, that the first grand Principle of the original Doctrine is here

here plainly given up: By the Doctrine, not so much as any Deliberation was permitted to the Commons, and here they are expressly allowed to have a *Right to give Advice.*

The second fundamental Principle in the Doctrine laid down in the *Considerations*, is, *'That the House has no Power whatsoever to call for the Accounts in their own Right\* ; so that the Accounts were not called for as a Right ;'* but in the second Pamphlet, when the Writer is no longer under the Direction of his Patrons of Authority, he readily admits, that the House had a *Right to call for Papers, Persons, and Records*; and tho' this supercilious Manner of Expression is not very suitable to the Respect which is due to this great Council of the Nation; yet what is comprehended under the Word *Papers*, is sufficiently explained by what he says in p. 26. where he tells us, *'That according to the Principles laid down in the Considerations, the Point was, NOT about the GENERAL RIGHT of calling for the ACCOUNTS, or any other Papers.'* Here again, every one must be sensible, that the essential Principle of the Doctrine of the *Considerations* is hereby expressly given up, and given up at the Expence of asserting a Falshood directly contrary to Eye-sight.

But these are only *Specimens* of the Nature of that Candor which our Author professes in p. 3. where he tells us, *'that had the Proceedings given the Writer of the Considerations cause to alter his Opinion, he would have made no scruple of publicly retracting it.'* — Let us next look a little into his Reasoning.

I

What

\* See *Considerations*, p. 41.

What this Gentleman could mean by insinuating, p. 7. that the Author of the *Proceedings*, was unwilling to admit of the King's *Right of applying* the public Money under the *general Trust* is not easy to be conceived, as that able Writer doth most explicitly admit this Right in the very Place to which he refers, p. 41. when after quoting the following Passage from our Author, viz. '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 PUBLIC Services,' he immediately expresses himself thus; 'It is very surprizing, that Contention about this Matter should longer subsist, when both Sides agree in Principles.' In Reality, how was it possible, that any Man could be suspected to have any Difficulty concerning so self-evident a Principle? For if the King had not a Right to apply the public Money under the Trust, how would it be practicable for the King, in whom the executive Power is lodged, to administer the Affairs of Government?

But whatever the Author may have had in his Eye, by throwing out so foul an Insinuation, it may be proper here to point out a Falacy which seems to have done no small Mischief in this Controversy, contained under the Phrase of the GENERAL TRUST: In Strictness and Propriety, there is a two-fold Trust vested in the Crown; the one, an *essential Constitutional*, the other, a *variable Parliamentary Trust*, in regard to the Application of the public Money: In virtue of the First, which arises from the Nature of our Form of Government, the King, as the

the executive Power in the Society, must of Necessity be vested with a Trust of applying such part of the public Money as he shall upon any Emergency find necessary, for the Safety of the State; without having any Respect to *Deficiencies* that may, by this Means, be occasioned in any of the necessary Branches of the Establishment; and as the Father of his People he is likewise always obliged to administer this Trust, let the *Redundancy* that may remain behind be ever so large, so as will most effectually conduce to the Ease of his People, and the public Service of this Kingdom: This *general constitutional Trust*, resulting from the Nature of the Relation which the King stands in to his People, it is evident, has nothing to do either with *Deficiencies or Redundancies* in the *Treasury*; if the Uses to which this Money has been applied, shall be found by his Parliament, to have been proper Uses, and necessary for the Safety of the State, and for answering the Emergencies or unforeseen and unprovided-for Exigencies of Government, the Parliament will doubtless, agreeably to their Duty, let the Deficiencies in answering the usual Expences of Government have been by this means what they will, make proper Provision for the seasonable Supply of them; and on the other hand, when at any time, after all the ordinary as well as these extraordinary Expences of Government, have been discharged, there shall remain Part of the Money of the Public still to be disposed of, can there be an Objection in Nature, why the House of Commons should not either propose an immediate Application of this Money towards making good those former Deficiencies; or should these have been already answered, then to consider it as so much Money already raised off the

People towards answering the usual necessary Expences of Government for the two Years to come? Thus from the Nature of this *general constitutional Trust*, it would seem, that instead of *the Parliament's* having nothing to do with Redundancies in the Treasury according to the Doctrine of the *Considerations*, it matters but very little to *the Crown*, especially in the Time of Parliament, whether there be any such Redundancies or not; seeing the King may be always assured of being seasonably supplied both for the ordinary and the eventual Exigencies of Government for the two Years to come, whether the Treasury happened to be redundant or deficient at the Close of the two Years immediately preceding or not: In regard to this primary and constitutional Trust, it only remains to be observed, that so long as the Prince continues to act as the Father of his People, there can be no great Hazard of any captious Inquiries of his Parliament concerning the Exercise of this indefinite Trust; but still there is a most evident and absolute Necessity, that the Parliament should have it in their Power carefully to look into the national Accounts and Disbursements, and to be at Liberty suitably to express either their Approbation or their Censure concerning all such royal or ministerial Applications.

Distinct from this general, essential, *constitutional Trust*; there is likewise a specific, variable, *Parliamentary Trust* reposed biennially in the Crown; whereby the House of Commons, after having computed from Estimates, that a Sum, not exceeding a certain-mentioned Sum, will be sufficient, together with the hereditary Revenue, to answer the current Services of Government for two Years to come, vests certain Duties in the Crown, the Produce of which according to  
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their Expectation would amount to this Sum; and being sensible that should Matters fall short of their Expectation, all Deficiencies must be made good by them out of the Pockets of the People the following Session of Parliament, and therefore in Case of Redundancies, knowing that this Redundancy is still the People's Money, they proceed without hesitation to place such Redundancy to the Credit of the Nation; and generally place it as the first Article to be applied to the current Services of Government, then to be provided for the two Years to come.

It must be evident to Sense, that these Services thus to be provided for, must be taken out of that *vague Universality of public Services in general*, otherways no Estimates could be properly formed concerning them; accordingly, we find, that the Commons, in order to their fixing the *Quantum* of the Supply, always reduce these Services under distinct and determinate Articles, and then form Computations of the Expence that will be requisite in regard to each of these Heads; nay, we sometimes find them specifying these Heads in the *Act of Parliament* granting the Supply; thus in the Sixth of King George the First, the Preamble runs, 'for the better Support of the necessary Expences of the Public, and for securing THE REPAYMENT OF THE DEBT,' and in the next Session, the Words are, 'making good the necessary Branches of your Establishment, and securing the Repayment of the Debt.' Judge now whether the learned Author of *the Proceedings* be not hereby perfectly justified, in making use of the Word, *appropriated*, when he is observing in p. 51. 'that the Sum in Credit, whatever it hath been, was ever appropriated to the current Service of the  
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‘ the next Term, for which the Supply was granted.’ Yet our wonderful Critic tells us in p. 15. That ‘ *this carries an Absurdity on the Face of it, for an Appropriation is an Application to a special Purpose!*’ — That there is an Absurdity somewhere, no-body will deny; but whether imputable to the Author, or to the Critic, let all the World judge.

Thus, tho’ the Parliament never meant to controul the constitutional Trust so essential in its nature for the Safety of the Community, yet it is as plain as Words and Facts, and as the Nature of the Thing can make it, that the biennial Supplies are not granted vaguely for public Services in general, but intended for determinate Services, which for a Course of near forty Years, have been invariably specified by the Commons in their Resolutions for the Supply under the Heads of *Payment of the national Debt, and supporting the necessary Branches of the Establishment.*

So far therefore as applying the redundant Money in the actual Receipt of the Treasury, along with the current Supplies, to these specific Services, partakes of the Nature of an Appropriation; or ‘ *of taking the Money out of the Treasury, and from the general Trust, and applying it to a particular Purpose\** ;’ and so far as any of the *Sums brought to the Credit of the Nation* at the Close of the former Year’s Accounts, was Money at that Time in the actual Receipt of the Treasury, or certainly to come into it, in a little Time after, so far it is as evident as Demonstration can make it, ‘ That it has been the  
‘ Practice,

\* See p. 2, 3.

‘ Practice, and the acknowledged Right of the Commons, to propose Appropriations of the surplus Money in the Treasury, without any previous Leave or promised Consent from the Crown.’

This our Author would seem to have been sensible of, and therefore, in order to get rid of it, he finds himself forced, first flatly to deny that any of these *Sums of Credit* were Money in the actual Receipt of the Treasury; and next, intrepidly to assert, That if these Sums or Ballances should be admitted as Money in the actual Receipt of the Treasury, yet would the proposed Application of them be nothing to the Purpose, because, this was only appointing them to make Part of the ensuing Supply, and in no sort taking them out of the general Trust; for the Supplies themselves were granted solely under the general Trust, and not for any specified Purposes! — In Reality, one would be apt to imagine, that this Author considered these Words, of a ‘ general Trust,’ not as denoting an abstract Idea applicable to a Variety of external real Purposes in Government, but as an external real Existence of itself, or what the Schools foolishly called an *universale a parte Rei!*

But his being a bad Logician is not the worst of it: It has just now been proved to the Conviction of Eye-sight, that these biennial Parliamentary Supplies are granted, not only according to the invariable Form of the Resolutions of the House, at the Times they were granting them, but likewise by express Words in our Acts of Parliament, for the determinate Purposes of ‘ making good the necessary Branches of his Majesty’s Establishment, and for secur-  
‘ ing

ing the Repayment of the national Debt.' Either, then, these Purposes must be admitted of the Nature of Appropriations, in which Case the whole of the Question is fairly and absolutely given up; or else the Discharging the national Debt, for Instance, must be considered as constituting a specific Article under the general Trust, to which the Commons, *without any previous Leave*, have explicitly pointed out, for a long Course of Years, an Application of Part of these biennial Supplies; and then, it must be palpable to Sense, *That* the House of Commons, in proposing to the Crown, in their own Right, an Application of the Money redundant in the Treasury towards the Discharge of the national Debt, did no more than what had been their constant Practice and their acknowledged Right to do, in pointing out the Application of the usual Supplies, in which was often comprehended, Money already in the actual Receipt of the Treasury; a Practice that had continued without the least Interruption for a Course of near forty Years.

The only Article in the whole of this Argument which can possibly stand in need, or even admit of any fuller Proof is, *That* the Sums brought in any Instance to the Credit of the Nation, and set apart by the Commons, as the first Article for the future Supply, were Money actually in the Receipt of the Treasury, at the Time that the House were settling the Ways and Means for answering the Supply; and tho' this has been already as fully set forth, both in *the Proceedings*, and in the fourth Number of the *Remarks*, as Words and Figures can express it, yet as our Author, in his intrepid Manner, has, in the following Passage, p. 16, most expressly denied it, an Instance or two shall again be repeated; our Author's Words, are,

*Besides,*

*Besides, the Reader is to be apprized, that these Sums in Credit, are NOT the Ballance of Money in the Treasury, and consequently no way relate to the present Question, which arises on the Application of a Ballance in the actual Receipt of the Treasury,* he goes on, *The Author of the Vindication did not find it for his Purpose to take Notice of this Distinction, altho' pointed out in the Considerations; but it is of too much Consequence to be omitted in the Discussion of this Question.* Again in p. 18. *But until the Author of the Proceedings can shew, that the Ballances struck by the Accomptant-General, induce a Charge on the Treasury, which he hath not been, nor will be, able to do; this Circumstance is of no Weight in the present Case.* Immediately after this, comes an astonishing Paragraph; *But to descend into a more particular Examination of this Writer's Proofs — In 1703, the Committee of Ways and Means resolved it to be their Opinion, that such Debt as should appear due to the Nation (great Part whereof was outstanding) should be taken and reckoned as Part, and that the Duties to be granted, being rated and valued at certain Sums should be taken as the Rest of the Supply voted: to which Resolutions, the House agreed.* Mark here the Parenthesis, (*great Part whereof was outstanding*) is not this, in the strongest Terms, to acknowledge that *Part was actually got into the Treasury, or into the Hands of the Collectors of the Revenue?* and is not this a direct Contradiction to what he had asserted just before, *That none of these Sums of Credit were a Ballance of Money in the Treasury, and that none of the Ballances struck by the Officer, would induce a Charge on the Treasury?* Nay, he immediately after, gives up the Distinction, which the Moment before he had accused the Author of the *Proceedings*, for omitting

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ting to take notice of, and which he then insists to be of too much Consequence in the Discussion of this Question to be overlooked; for thus he goes on, 'all that can be inferred from hence is, that the House computed what Sum would be necessary for the publick Service until their next Meeting' (by the Way, how could this Computation be made, if it was meant for public Services in general?) 'And by the additional Duties they granted so much, as together with THE BALLANCE, would, in their Opinions, make up that Sum: But they did not APPROPRIATE either THE BALLANCE or THE DUTIES. Both were left under the CONSTITUTIONAL TRUST for PUBLIC SERVICES IN GENERAL; which is as much as to say, that had this Ballance and these Duties been in any Sense appropriated, the Whole must be given up; and that the House had A RIGHT of appropriating this Ballance, and these Duties, or at least an indefinite Part of them, is expressly acknowledged in the Considerations; 'In the Acts granting these additional Duties, some Appropriations are generally specified,' p. 32. and in many other Places: But how easy is it for this Author, by a few bold Affirmations or Negations, to rid himself at once of all this Inconsistency, the Article of Truth being a Circumstance with him quite foreign to the Subject; for

*Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

The Instances just now promised, may be taken from the Journals of 1747 and 1749. In the former, the Committee reports, that the Ballance due to the Credit of the Nation at Lady Day 1747, amounted to 17682*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* this Sum the Committee of Accounts, in the Year 1749, adds to the neat Produce of the hereditary

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and additional Duties for the two Years last past, and to a Sum of 58,500*l.* which had been paid into the Treasury on Account of the last Loan, the whole amounting to 1,084,176*l.* 11*s.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , out of which they deduct the Expences of the civil and military Establishment, and all other Government or parliamentary Expences for those two last preceding Years, making in all 905,972*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* and thus strike a Ballance of 178,203*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , as the exact Sum remaining in Credit to the Nation at Lady Day, 1749. Now I would ask any intelligent Reader; must not this Money, or, at least the greatest Part of it, have been Money in the actual Receipt of the Treasury, especially when one hundred and twenty-eight Thousand, five hundred Pounds, were, by Act of Parliament, that same Session, ordered to be paid out of it, towards the Discharge of the national Debt?

And, now to bring this Argument to a Conclusion, an Argument which it is hoped will answer still more extensive and useful Purposes than merely to detect the Falshood and Fallacies of our Author, and thereby secure the Public from being farther imposed on by his Writings; — seeing it is the acknowledged Right, and has been shewn to have been the undeniable Practice of the House of Commons to blend the redundant Money, which they at any Time found remaining in the Treasury, along with the Money that they compute will be brought into the Treasury in Consequence of the Duties they are then preparing to grant for the ensuing biennial Supply, doth it not follow with all the Force of the strictest Demonstration,

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' That

‘ That so far as it has been the acknowledged and undoubted Practice and Right of the House of Commons of *Ireland*, without any previous Intimation of the Royal Consent, to point out to the Crown, by Heads of a Bill, an Application of Money intended for the biennial Supplies, to any specific or determinate Uses, so far it must of Necessity have been their Practice and their Right to point out an Application of the *redundant Money in the Treasury*, which they had thus blended with these biennial Supplies; to the same specific or determinate Uses.

‘ But it has been the acknowledged and undoubted Practice and Right of the Commons of *Ireland*, without any previous Intimation of the Royal Consent, to point out to the Crown, by Heads of a Bill, an Application of these biennial Supplies, to a Variety of specific or determinate Uses, particularly, for a Course of near forty Years, towards the Payment of the national Debt :

‘ Therefore it is the undoubted Right, and has been the acknowledged Practice of the Commons of *Ireland*, without any previous Intimation of the Royal Consent, to point out to the Crown, by Heads of a Bill, an Application of the redundant Money which they found in the actual Receipt of the Treasury, to a Variety of specific and determinate Uses, and particularly *towards the Payment of the national Debt*.

Thus, in the Manner in which the Facts and Circumstances relative to this parliamentary Trust happen in Reality to turn out, there evidently results from them, a Demonstration, even in Terms,

That

‘ That the House of Commons had an acknowledged and incontestable Right, to point out to his Majesty, in the very Manner they did last Session of Parliament, AN APPLICATION of the Money lying in the Treasury, FOR PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT; a Right in themselves, independent of any *previous Recommendation* from the Crown, and which they were by the Constitution, equally warranted and authorized to exercise, whether there had, or had not been any Intimation beforehand, that *his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give his Consent*. — And this, if the Writer mistakes not, doth most fully comprehend, and as fully decide in Favour of the House of Commons, every Article and Circumstance, which had any material Relation to the great Question in Debate, this last Session of Parliament; and therefore must for ever remain a complete Demonstration of *what was to be proved*.

But what Man of Sense is there, who doth not clearly perceive, that tho’ the *parliamentary Trust* had been differently expressed, and that the Commons had in Reality satisfied themselves with vesting the public Money by *general Terms* in the *Royal Trustee*, to be made use of for the Ease of the People, and the public Services of this Kingdom; even on this Supposition, what Man is there, who doth not instantly see that the real Nature and Justice of the Case would have been exactly the same?

Is not the Money redundant in the Treasury still acknowledged to be the Money of the Public? Is not the *Payment of the national Debt* acknowledged to be comprehended within the  
Terms

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Terms of the *general Trust*? Can there then be any possible Reason, why the Representatives of the People, who *vested* this *general Trust*, should not be at Liberty to point out any one of the particular Purposes which they knew, and which is expressly confessed, to be comprehended within the Design of this Trust, which they themselves had vested? Especially when it is farther considered, that these Representatives of the People, are, and must be acknowledged to have a Right, an inherent Right, not only of pointing out in their Bill of Supply, an Appropriation of such Part of said Supply, as they think requisite for certain particular Purposes specified in the Bill, but at the Time of forming the Estimate of the *Quantum* to be granted for the Supply, to govern their Discretion, by the State of *Redundancy or Deficiency* in which they find the Treasury at the Time of making the Grant: For can there be the least conceivable Difference, in Reason and Sense, between proposing, for Instance, an Appropriation of seventy-seven thousand Pounds out of the Money already in the Treasury, for the Payment of the Residue of the *national Debt*, and their taking in this redundant Money in the Treasury, as the first Article of their Estimate or Computation towards the ensuing Supply, and then pointing out in their Bill, an Appropriation of seventy-seven thousand Pounds out of this Supply, to be applied to the Payment of this same remaining Sum of the *national Debt*; which it is admitted by their greatest Adversaries they had a Right to have done?

In Truth, so long as this Money continues to be acknowledged the Money of the Nation, committed to his Majesty, *only in Trust*; it must be impossible to put such a Construction on the Nature  
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of this Trust, as to preclude the *Representatives* of the People out of whose Pockets the Money was raised, the very Persons who *vested this Trust*, and who at the same Time are his Majesty's properest Council in Matters of this Sort, to preclude these, from pointing out and recommending to his Majesty such an Application of this *trust Money* as they think most conducive to answer the Ends, and which they *certainly know to come fairly within the original Purposes* of this general Trust.

Take the very Allusion of our Author; where he compares this *Trust*, at the Bottom of p. 8, to a *Gift to be disposed of generally in Charities*: A charitable good Lady being obliged to change the Place of her Residence, commits a Sum of Money into the Hands of the Minister of the Parish, to be disposed of in Charities; at some Distance of Time, upon her Return, she is informed, that Part of her Bounty remained still undisposed of; and perceiving at the same Time, that there was an immediate Opportunity of applying this Remainder to an excellent Purpose, which both she and her Trustee, knew perfectly to have been comprehended among the principal Objects of the original Trust, she instantly writes a Letter to her Trustee, recommending, that the Residue of her Charity might now be apply'd to this distinguished good Use; would it not be wondrous strange, if the Minister should send back the Letter, acknowledging, that the Use was indeed extremely proper and good; but peremptorily insisting, that, before he would comply with it, the Lady must acknowledge under her Hand, and in the Body of the Letter, that she had no Kind of Right so much as to mention it to him, till he had first given her Leave!

But



But to go on a little further with this present Allusion: As this Bounty of the Lady's was intended to be renewed, to what Purpose, not to comply with the Lady's acknowledged most proper Recommendation? seeing she had a confessed and an unquestionable Right in regard to the ensuing Season's charitable Supply, to point out Applications of such Part or Portion of it as she should see requisite, as well for answering the Charity she had formerly recommended, as for any other particular good Purposes that since had occurred to her.

In all Cases of this Sort, it would seem most natural to imagine, that the Minister, who knew himself to be only a Trustee, should earnestly wish, that it were convenient for the Lady to reside oftener in the Parish, in order that he might enjoy more of the Benefit of the Council of so suitable an Adviser; but surely something very extraordinary must be the Cause, that, at the very Time, when the Lady happens to be actually resident, the Minister by some Means or other, is brought to insist on wondrous, new Measures of Delicacy and Subordination, some of them deemed directly inconsistent with the Dignity, and manifestly injurious to the Rights of the Lady, before he will so much as *permit* her to offer *her Advice!*

What has already been pointed out, it is presumed by the Writer, must prove at all Times sufficient as an Antidote against whatever Poison our Author, by his Arts in Writing, shall for the Future attempt to insinuate into the truly well and rightly affected Minds of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects in this Kingdom; and, which  
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is of still greater Consequence, it is likewise presumed, that these honest and free-born Subjects will, by what has been set before them in the Course of this Paper, the more clearly discern, *That* however various the Intention might have been in urging this **CLAUSE**, and however uniformly in Words, the Friends of it, had it been past, might have continued to assert that the redundant Money would be still as much as ever the Money of the Nation, yet all rational Security would have been in Fact taken away for preventing the greatest Part of this Money from becoming for the Future, not in name, but in thing, Money lying at the Mercy of the Ministry or Minister.

God forbid, then, my worthy Fellow-countrymen, that ever you should suffer yourselves to be betrayed into the unnatural Guilt of such monstrous Ingratitude, as not invariably to hold the Men and their Memories in the most lasting and grateful Remembrance, who, negligent of all peculiar Interests of their own, so critically vindicated and maintained to **THIS NATION, THE RIGHT OVER THE PURSE**, that only valid Security, for all the other Rights and Liberties of this Country!

It remains now, only, to take a little Notice of an Art still more insidious than those yet exposed, an Art seldom thought fit to be committed to Paper, but practised with great Address and Assiduity in the Course of Conversation.

How often will you hear the Men who value themselves, particularly, on their Knowledge of the World, cry out upon the Public as a Parcel of Fools, for ever troubling their Heads about  
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Matters of the present Nature and Sort; asking with an Air of superior and peremptory Decision, doth not every Man of Sense very well know, that all this is nothing more than a Quarrel between a few of our great Men contending for Power; and what matters it to the Nation which of them prevail?

That most of the Struggles and Convulsions which happen in a State, may in some Sense be properly enough termed Quarrels among great Men, no-body will dispute; but surely it is a strange Leap from thence, instantly to conclude, that therefore the Public is no way interested in them!

The Revolution has often been called a Quarrel between the Prince of *Orange* and King *James*; but were not the Liberties of *Britain* and *Ireland*, nay the Liberties of *Europe* manifestly depending on the Issue of that Quarrel? Is not this present Language, the very Language which was used on the Change of the Ministry in the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*? What, used these deep Politicians at that Time warmly to urge, What was the Public concerned, whether *Godolphin* and *Marlborough* on the one Hand, or *Oxford* and *Ormond* on the other, were the Servants of the Crown? and yet every one knows, that had not the Providence of GOD most critically interposed, either the *Pretender*, or a bloody civil War in behalf of the *House* of *Hanover*, and for securing a legal Government in these Kingdoms, must have been the necessary Production of that fatal Change!

Would these deep Politicians have the Public in earnest believe, 'That it no way concerns them,

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them, whether the principal Administration of the internal Interests of this Kingdom be committed into the Hands of Men, who, it is demonstrable, cannot so much as hope to maintain that unnatural Pre-eminence to which, by a Concurrence of various Means, they have happen'd to be exalted, without for ever continuing to do Violence to *the Rights*, till they have effectually broken down the *liberal Spirit* of the Protestant Inhabitants of this Country; or whether this Trust be committed into Hands where the People have all the rational Foundation of Confidence, which the Nature of such Things can afford, that the *general Interest* and *national Rights*, must be effectually cared for; seeing otherwise these Men can have no reasonable Security for the safe Possession and permanent Enjoyment of their own: — Is there a Man of Sense in this Kingdom, who can set his Face to it, and assert, 'That it no way concerns the Public, Whether the Men who feel themselves under no other Obligations, than those which arise from Humanity and Justice, to wish well to the Liberties and legal Government of this Kingdom, and who may possibly be under the outrageous Impetus of a spurious Ambition from within, and of various powerful Temptations from without, to set at nought these Obligations, whether such Men as these, or Men who are under every Obligation both of Duty and Interest, that can influence the human Heart, to continue invariably faithful to their *general Trust*, and have actually given Proof of this their stedfast Fidelity, BE THE MEN, to whom the principal internal Guardianship of the general Liberties, Rights and Prosperity of this Country shall in Fact be intrusted?

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But

But those Gentlemen who are so fond of resolving all our public present Appearances, into private and personal Quarrels, would do well, not only to point out distinctly who these turbulent great Men are, but to whom or to which Side it has been owing, that so many singular and mischievous Occurrences have happened to this Country during the Course of the present Administration: To whose Charge, for Instance, is it to be laid, that so perfectly new and alarming a Language was introduced into Parliament in the Session 1751, relative to the *previous Consent of the Crown*, in regard to the Parliament's proposing an Application of the public Money, already raised by the Parliament, for the public Uses of this Kingdom?

To which of these Men, in the next Place, was it owing, that so fatal an Alteration was made in our *Linen Bill*, in the Course of that Session, at least to which Side was it owing, that after the Government had notice of this Alteration, all the Circumstances of the Alteration were so industriously concealed? concealed at the Expence of the grossest Misrepresentations of Facts; Misrepresentations, gross as they were, which had they not been seasonably, or rather critically detected, must have plunged this Country into a desperate State of Wretchedness before they were in any sort apprized of their Danger; and long after the Nature of the Alteration had been detected, was it not principally owing to the Wisdom, particularly, and resolute Zeal of ONE EMINENT PATRIOT, at the beginning of this last Session, equally eminent, whether you contemplate his Abilities, his Services, or the Severity of his Sufferings in the Cause of his Country, that Measures

were prevented in regard to this Bill, which had they taken place, must in all Probability have either quickly occasioned the total Destruction of this national Support; or else, for the Sake of prolonging its precarious Existence, must have brought this Country into a State still more wretched, because ignominious, 'to crouch and lye down, at the imperious Nod, of every Deputy of a Deputy, of a first Minister's Deputy.'

These wondrous Adepts in the Knowledge of the World are still farther requested to explain, to which Side we are indebted for that matchless political Letter, by which the *Commons of Ireland*, are magisterially required, with the Iron Rod of Power, pretendedly held over their Head, totally to renounce their own Understanding, and implicitly to give themselves up to the Conduct of whatever Leaders it shall please the *personated* Writer of the Letter to honour with his Confidence; what matters it, however courtly the Language may be thought, or however well imitated the Style; surely there is not a Man of a liberal Spirit in the Kingdom, who will not readily acknowledge, that the MEANING was only fit for the Heart and the Mouth of the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, or his Master, King *Jamas*, to his *mock Irish Parliament*.

Last of all, these Gentlemen are requested candidly to pronounce, whether, in sad sober Earnest, it ought to be a Matter of Indifference to the Public, to which Side it was owing, that the Parliament was so critically rescued from giving up its *Paladium*, or Power over the Purse, which must have quickly degraded the *House of Commons of Ireland*, below the meanest *Grand Jury*, to be found in the Kingdom.

That

That these were among the principal Occasions of the present national Agitation no-body can deny ; and should it, upon the strictest and the most impartial Inquiry, the more clearly turn out, that the principal Ferment has been occasioned by the boundless Ambition of any one Person, who, without having any visible Connexion, in point of Interest, with the national Interests and Liberties of this Country, but demonstrably the Reverse, has already got an unnatural Share of the Power of this Country, a Share without Example, into his Hands, and is incessantly grasping at more ; or if it should likewise, partly be owing to a threatening Lust of Power in another, where, by having already acquired an overgrown Property, and an Influence inseparable from it, throughout the Country, the Possessor may naturally be led to flatter himself, that by a temporary Compliance with the Ambition of the former, he may the sooner be enabled to acquire in the Issue, the real Pre-eminence, and to lay a permanent Foundation for a more extensive Domination, for himself and his Family ; should these Articles turn out to have been in truth and demonstrably the principal Ingredients in the Cause of this Quarrel, will it the more readily follow from thence, that therefore the Public are in no sort concerned in the Success of this Struggle.

Countrymen, let no Men deceive you out of your Senses ; no Person can possibly be supposed to intend honestly towards the Inclosure, who is for ever lending his Hand to break down the Hedge.

F I N I S.