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CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
REVENUES
OF
I R E L A N D.

SHewing,

The RIGHT, JUSTICE, and NECESSITY, of
now applying the DUTIES granted there for
guarding of the SEAS, to NAVAL SERVICES;

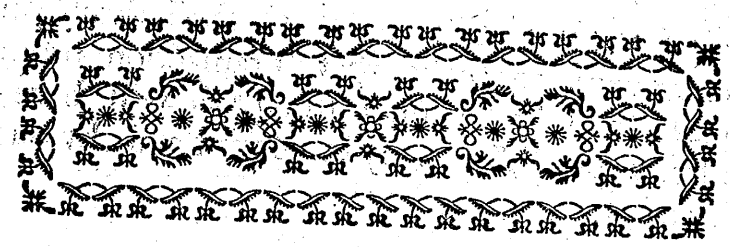
BY WHICH

IRELAND will be certain of frequent Meetings of
Parliament, without paying 150,000*l.* a Year for
them as a Favour.

L O N D O N:

Printed for M. COOPER, in *Pater-noster Row.*

MDCCLVII.



CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
REVENUES
OF
IRELAND.

*I*RELAND was lately not sufficiently complaisant to furnish out all Calls for Ministerial Bribery; to obtain which, the Measures they took roused the antient Spirit of Liberty there, against some very extraordinary Designs, and unprecedented Extensions of Prerogative. As this is a Matter little known, less understood, or attended to in *Great-Britain*, tho' so connected with the System
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of the late Administration, I shall therefore endeavour to make that Transaction more clear, and better understood, as will hereafter appear, for many important and obvious Reasons.

Little now is known, and that not material, of the antient Revenues of *Ireland*, till the Time of Lord *Strafford*, under *Charles* the First; when the Scheme begun by Means of the Power and Strength of that Country, to establish an absolute and arbitrary Government here. The Means were, the Increase of the Public Revenues. The Letters that are now published, will give some Light in this Affair, though not quite so much as may be wished. In his Letter to the King, the 5th of *July* 1638, he says, "He had advanced the Revenues there from Forty-three Thousand Pounds a Year, to Eighty-eight Thousand."

Many of his Letters shew, how constantly a Part of those Revenues was remitted hither, for furnishing Ships for the Guard of their Coast. I will mention only one, in his Letter to *Christopher Wandesford*, Esq; from *London*, the 25th of *July* 1636. It says, (speaking of *Ireland*) "The Ships for the Guard of that Coast, which cost
" Us

" Us Seven Thousand Pounds a Year, by Estimate, and is so much yearly returned in Specie, into the Exchequer here." This Letter is dated two Years before the above, in which the Account is given of the great Increase. But, considered only in regard to the greater Sum, we see a proportionable Application of a Sum, for Services for which the Revenues were given to the Crown.

After the Restoration, many Things might be taken Notice of, but the following Quotation from *Carte's* Life of the Duke of *Ormond*, (Page 472) of what passed in the Year 1678, is fully sufficient: "The Farmers were glad to enter into a new Contract, and to raise their Rent to 300,000*l.* a Year. When he found the Revenues would answer the Charge, he agreed to the Augmentation, which the King desired might be made of the Forces. They consisted of eighty-eight old Companies of Foot, to which fourteen new ones, and the Regiment of Guards being added, they made six thousand four hundred Men. It was thought proper to make an Addition of thirty Men to each of the old Companies, and of ten to each Company of the Guards, and to fill up twenty-four Troops of Horse, to sixty Men and
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" a Trumpeter in each Troop ; so that the
 " Army consisted of nine thousand one hun-
 " dred and twenty Foot, and one thousand
 " four hundred and sixty-four Horse. The
 " Revenue held out to support not only this
 " Increase of the Military List, but also the
 " two new Establishments made after his
 " Grace took on him the Government,
 " of 36,000*l.* for Shipping to secure the Coast
 " of Ireland, and of 44,000*l.* for Tangier.
 " But it was too hard loaded, when this
 " last Article was raised to 61,000*l.* and
 " *Dunbarton's Regiment* being called out of
 " foreign Service, was sent into that King-
 " dom."

Can any one but observe, that out of a
 Revenue of only 300,000*l.* a Year, *Ireland*
 paid 36,000*l.* for Naval Service, and 61,000*l.*
 a Year for keeping of *Tangier*, amounting
 in the Whole to 97,000*l.* almost one Third
 of their whole Revenue, and yet kept an
 Army of Men, of very nigh the same Num-
 ber as at present : And though these very
 identical Revenues, then granted for those pub-
 lic National Services, now produce 410,000*l.*
 a Year, yet now nothing can be spared to-
 wards the immense Increase of our Naval
 Charge, since that Time ; or the more ex-
 pensive Support of *Gibraltar*, formerly *Mi-*
norca,

norca, and our Plantations, however more
 beneficial and advantageous they are to *Ire-*
land, than *Tangier*.

The Views, the Motives of an *Irish*
 Army, under *Charles* the Second, and *James*
 the Second, the Whigs loudly proclaimed
 against and detested : But since, the very
 Nature of an Army is changed ; it is
 a Parliamentary Army, and they are to
 protect the Liberties of the People, and
 the Independency of Parliaments against
 the Crown. However, now and then they
 contributed a little Ease to the immense Ex-
 pence this Nation was at, for the Benefit of
 the Whole ; I mean, when we employed
 the Regiments on the *Irish* Establishment,
 we only paid the Difference of their Pay, to
 make it up to our own ; and this was the
 constant Practice, before the Demise of his
 late Majesty. From that Time, a new *Æra*
 of OEconomy commenced.

It appears from the late Disputes and Con-
 tests in *Ireland*, on the Part of the Admini-
 stration, that the Savings on the Military Estab-
 lishment, from *Lady-day* 1739, to *Lady-day*
 1751, were 455,909*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* A Sum accumu-
 lated at a Time, when we were exhausting our-
 selves in every Shape, and creating a new
 Debt of thirty-four Millions. But the Dis-
 position

position of the Surplusses of the Funds in *Ireland* alone, became a great constitutional Object, ably supported and artfully managed, by those, whom Time has shewn, considered only their own Ambition and Avarice. All that passed on Occasion of that Dispute; its interested Accommodation, and Application of the *Irish* Revenue, to a corrupt Influence; deserves another Consideration from an *Englishman*, to whom it has been of no other Service, than Knowledge and Materials to prove those Revenues ought to be applied to better Purposes hereafter.

Thus *Ireland*, who instead of contributing to our Necessities, in Support of that ruinous War, had a rolling Fund of Savings, from their necessary Charges in Times of Peace; tho' *England* was at that Time at so great an additional Expence, to guard their Seas and protect their Trade; which by Law, ancient Custom and Justice, they ought to have paid themselves. Yet to them, the War was of infinite Benefit, and great Increase of national Wealth, not only from what was expended by our Fleet, sent to guard them, but from the Situation of their Ports, for Ships to come and remain, in hopes of Convoy; and the Advantages they had, over the Merchants of *England*, their Ships being in much

much less Danger of Capture, from their Situation. “ * They acknowledge themselves, “ that the overplus Revenues, which have “ been growing for a few Years, are plainly “ owing to the Increase of Wealth during “ the War, and the prodigious Imports they “ have made in every Article of Luxury.” In Page 16 it says “ Has his Majesty’s hereditary Revenue, and which may be called “ his *Privy Purse*, been straiten’d, or his *Assignments* on it refused? On the contrary, “ it is much greater by the Increase of Inhabitants, and consequently of Hearth “ Money; and *all Over-drawings are carefully comply’d with.*” From what Motive, from what national Views, could *Ireland* imagine she was to be so greatly cherished, by additional Burthens on *England*? What Predilection to our natal Air, more than to the Seat of Empire, could delude them. How could it be conceived, that while *England* was daily beggaring itself, in Support of absurd and contradictory Projects on the Continent; she should be further unnecessarily loaded, out of pure Love and Affection for *Ireland*?

* A Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Crisis of Affairs. Page 18.

The Account of the *Irish* hereditary Revenues, as published by an authorised Ministerial Writer, * is, upon a Medium, for the eight last Years, 460,000*l.* It enumerates every Branch, and its separate Produce; except those of Poundage and Tonnage; which therefore to compleat the Sum, must have produced 153,000*l.* a Year. This one Branch of the Revenue of *Charles II.* now produces above Half of the whole Revenue, at that Time. How this stands appropriated to public and national Uses, appears by the Act itself; for, after reciting the old Poundage, and establishing a Book of Rates, grants a further Subsidy of Poundage, and a Subsidy of Tonnage, "*For the better guarding and defending of the Seas, against all*"
 "Persons intending, or that may intend, the
 "Disturbance of his Majesty's Realm, and
 "for the better defraying the necessary Expences thereof; which cannot be effected
 "without great Charge."

The old Poundage in King *Charles the First's* Time, we have seen how it was applied to these Services. We have since seen how

* Considerations on the late Bill, for the Repayment of the Remainder of the National Debt. Pages 24, 25, 26, 27.

in *Charles II's* Time 36,000*l.* a Year was applied, according to the Appropriation of the Grant. What Part of this Revenue of 153,000*l.* a Year, pursuant to the Direction of the Law and constitutional Trust, has been applied to these Services, which *England* has been loaded with; while the Revenues there have been applied to more pious, and no Doubt, better public Uses. But the ingenious Writer already mentioned, because after those Words, quoted from the Act, it says, *and for Increase and Augmentation of his Majesty's Revenue*; and thence, from prerogative Sophistry, thinks it sufficiently proved, by these Words, that the Crown has a Right to dispose of it as it pleases, under the specious Colouring of public Uses, as Pensions, &c. Whereas the plain, obvious and undoubted Sense of the Act is, because the old Poundage, which was granted for that Service, was not sufficient to perform it; therefore the Act declares the Motive and Application of the Grant, to be in express Words; *for the better defraying the necessary Expences thereof, which cannot be effected without great Charge.* Therefore, for the Increase and Augmentation of his Majesty's Revenue, for performing that Service, they give a further Subsidy of Poundage, and a Subsidy of Tonnage.

Is it really possible, that any Man of Sense can form a Doubt upon this Act, as to the Grant, and, of Consequence, its designed Application? If any Doubts can arise upon the Meaning of an Act of Parliament, the best Way to know the Sense of it, is to see how it was executed, when it was fresh in their Memories; and we see then, that 36,000*l.* a Year was the Naval Establishment.

The like prerogative Sophistry, is urged on the Act for granting the Excise; where it is said, "How much it will concern the Peace, Tranquillity, and Welfare of his Majesty's Subjects, that some certain Revenue be established *for* and towards the constant Pay of the Army, *and for defraying other public Charges, in the Defence and Preservation of the Realm.*" And from these last Words, which confines it, to a common Understanding, to Military Charges and Contingencies only; he argues, that it is no Appropriation to those Services, but it is under the constitutional Trust, of applying it to public Services: Which Experience shews, that under these cant Words are meant, Pensions and such like public Services. I am obliged to dwell so long upon this Point, because the whole Force and

and Arguments of the Administration were founded on these two cant Words, to impose on all his Majesty's Subjects, *constitutional Trust*, and *public Uses*; and at the same Time producing Proofs of the Abuse of both.

It is the very same Sort of a prerogative, quibbling Dispute, as was in the Reign of *Charles the First*, where because the Crown, in Cases of Necessity, had a constitutional Trust in it; therefore, when it wanted Money, it might raise Taxes on the Subject, because he was Judge of the Necessity. In the present Dispute, it is, that as there are Revenues granted separately, and directed to be applied to three distinct Articles of Charges, the Government, the Army, and the Navy. But as there is no Punishment enacted by Law, for any Misapplication of them, therefore the Whole is in the Crown, under constitutional Trust for public Services; therefore the Crown alone can judge, what are public Uses and public Services, as *Charles the First* did, of what was Necessity. The only Difference is, that in his Case, the Nation was immediately made sensible of it by the Taxes they paid: Whereas in the present Case, it is to be supplied by future Taxes on the People.

Another Ministerial Writer, who seems sufficiently authorized, and furnished with all proper Materials, informs us, * “ That it “ has always been thought prudent by the “ *true Friends of Ireland*, not to be over- “ sparing of the Grants made by Parliament, “ for the Encouragement of Trade and In- “ dustry, and for the Improvement of the “ Country; *nor to look with so grudging an “ Eye*, on the Increase of the Military Esta- “ blishment, Civil Lists, and *other Expences of the State*, since they all *contributed to “ make it necessary to call frequent Parlia- “ ments*, which, perhaps, a more prudent “ OEconomy, and a more careful Attention “ to the Improvement of the hereditary Re- “ venue, would have rendered *unnecessary “ for the Service of the Crown.*” Need they tell the *English* Nation more? They show that those who are esteemed the true Friends of *Ireland*, are the worst Enemies of the *British* Subjects, and the Cause and Motives of a collusive Connection between the Ministers and the Parliament. Need they tell us now, why none of his Majesty’s Grants were ever refused by them, and that

* An Account of the Revenue and National Debt of *Ireland*. Page 20.

no

no Letter of the King’s for Money, in so long a Period of Time, has ever been rejected, though they are always laid before them, when they meet; and in other Cant Words here, are covered under *other Expences of the State?* Of all Expences of the State, (the most dangerous and fatal to *England*, and to *Ireland* at last, though temporarily influenced) are those that are applied to obtain a corrupt Influence over the Parliament of *England*. What a dangerous and destructive System must be carrying on, when an Administration prefers a corrupt, lavish Waste of the public Treasure, to a more prudent OEconomy, and a more careful Attention; which the *Irish*, at least their Representatives, seem to dread more than any Thing, for Fear they should not have frequent Parliaments. When People enter into a Partnership, though they may now and then grumble, and for once quarrel about the Share of one particular Article of Profit, yet their united Interest against all others, will not let them part.

But what does our Author mean, by talking of this Purchase of frequent Parliaments, when this has been in being above Twenty-nine Years? But true Friends ought never to part. In what profligate Colours does

does this knowing Advocate for Corruption, paint the whole *Irish* Nation? Can they still be blinded by the pitiful Offals, or the Ambition of disposing of them, that are not wanted for a corrupt Influence in Parliament here.

Surely the desperate and deplorable Situation to which we are reduced, ought fully to alarm every Subject, who has the least Notion of his Liberty and Independency. Can the *Irish* see how much they have contributed to it, in the amiable Light in which the Administrator saw them? and his Advocate has published to the World a most dreadful one indeed to the Public. Will it not rouse their Resentment, to see themselves thus exposed and ironically called *the true Friends of Ireland*?

If they have any other Notions of Liberty, than noisy, nonsensical drinking of Healths, to the immortal Memory of one who would not suffer them to have a Parliament, till the * Jealousies of the *English* Nation, on that Account alone, forced him to it; they must shew it by their future

* The Crisis of Affairs in that Kingdom. Page 19, 20, 21.

Conduct,

Conduct, and Support of their Fellow-Subjects, for the Preservation of this Nation, this Constitution, and their own, which so absolutely depends on it in every Respect, that they have other Notions of Liberty and Gratitude, than by supporting and maintaining a corrupt Influence over their own and our Parliaments, coloured there under specious Names, of the true Friends to the Interest of *Ireland*, and are so habituated to Profligacy, as without Shame, to avoid it, and plead a Merit from it. I have a much better and higher Opinion of the *Irish* Nation, of their real Love of Liberty, without which both are equally ruined; I cannot doubt, that we shall see, when next their Parliament meets; the Voice of the People will be as persuasive there for Reformation and Preservation, as it is now here.

We are obliged to the Author of the Revenues, for giving some other Light into these mysterious Transactions, than was desirably communicated to us. I know nothing of those Revenues, but what these Pamphlets have published; and it here happened, as it does sometimes, that Accounts fallaciously put together, to serve one Purpose, discover a Secret in another Light, and

and suggest something very proper to be attended to.

What is written with a particular View to serve one purpose, may discover greatly in another Light; yet it cannot be very exact, because of the different Mediums from whence the Accounts are made up, and in which are Materials for producing a strong and glaring Proof of the Whole.

* He informs us, that the unappropriated Duties, upon a Medium, for the twelve last Years, produced 149,865 *l.* a Year, and that *is all the Nation pays, for having the Benefit of frequent Parliaments.*

This Author, who appears to have a thorough Knowledge of the *Irish* Revenues, calls these unappropriated Duties: From whence it is plain, that all the hereditary Revenues are appropriated to the Services, particularly and expressly mentioned in the Grants. Enough has been already said of the cheap Purchase of frequent Parliaments, which he is so fond of any Opportunity to enforce.

* Account of the Revenue, &c. Page 23.

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The Increase of the Produce of the hereditary Revenues of late, are about 50,000 *l.* a Year, and the unappropriated 20,000 *l.* a Year; which together make the Sum of 70,000 *l.* a Year; and for ten Years, from *Lady-day* 1741, amount to 700,000 *l.* The total Debt of the Nation at *Lady-day* 1741, was but 336,609 *l.* and after all the National Services were performed, and which all come under the Heads of Military Establishment and Civil List, there appears to have been saved upon both these Heads, from *Lady-day* 1739, to *Lady-day* 1751, as this special Advocate endeavours to prove, the Sum of 469,501 *l.** which he says "by much exceeds the largest Debt ever due of this Nation, and has been all saved by the *gracious Favour of his Majesty towards this Country.* This one would imagine, ought to have received from his faithful Subjects, the warmest Acknowledgments of Duty and Gratitude, instead of ill-grounded Suspicions and Insinuations." Here is something remarkably glaring in this Passage.

He then proceeds in the same Page to a more round Assertion. There is a Difference

* Account of the Revenues. Pages 46, 47.

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in the Title of this Pamphlet printed here, from what it has in *Ireland*; being there called *Observations, &c.* which is fully answered in the Pamphlet entitled, *the Proceedings of the House of Commons of Ireland vindicated*; where, speaking of a Pamphlet entitled, *Observations, &c.** it says, “ in “ Pages 36, and 37, they apply their Doctrine to use and carry a List of all the “ Savings, which they make amount to “ 469,501*l.*” And in Page 38, have drawn from the Whole this notable Conclusion; “ that it appears, that the redundant Money in the Treasury did not arise, as “ some have vainly imagined, from Exceedings in the Aids granted to the Crown; it “ arose from Savings on the Military Establishment and Civil List, which amounted “ to above 100,000*l.* more than the highest “ Loan, and other Debts of the Nation ever “ was.” He then enters into a Deduction of Facts and Figures, and proves the Sum of 398,194*l.* thus pretended to be saved from *Lady-day* 1739, to *Lady-day* 1749, was but 17,959*l.* and even there, perhaps, he admits too much, because in the two last Years, the net Revenue was more than the Charges of the Government for those two Years:

* Vindication. Page 75.

Whereas

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Whereas in the other four Years, notwithstanding this pretended Saving, which went somewhere, the Charges of the Government exceeded the net Revenue the Sum of 56,898*l.*

But what particularly became of the great Saving, may be a little understood, from what this Writer says in another Place,* “ The Accomptants charge the Nation with “ the whole Establishment, and give them “ Credit for as much of the Establishment “ as was not full. *What Advantage hath the “ Nation by this? It cannot need much Proof, “ that it greatly redounds to the Profit of “ the Kingdom, to keep its Establishment “ full, though a greater Expence were to “ follow.*” The Parliament of *Ireland*, from Accounts laid before them, grant a sufficient Sum of Money to pay the Charges of Government for two Years, and notwithstanding that, we see the Revenue was increasing in its Produce, though there was a Saving from the Military and Civil Lists of 179,332*l.* for two Years, ending 1741. Yet the Charge of Government, above the Revenues, was 53,048*l.* for the same time: Which Sums amount to 232,380*l.* It must then be a Question,

* Vindication. Page 77.

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how this Sum was applied in those two Years.

The Produce of increased Revenues are 700,000*l.* the Savings upon the Military and Civil Lists 469,560*l.* together, 1,169,500*l.* From whence deduct the Payment of the Debt—— what is become of so great a Sum which did not remain in the Treasury of *Ireland*. Indeed they talk of King's Letters, and say, "*The true Friends of Ireland*" ought not to look with so grudging an Eye "on the Increase of the Military Establishment, Civil List, and *other Expences of the State.*" Is this great Sum to be accounted for, *under the sacred Head of Expences of State*, and designed originally to be saved for that favourite Application of it to public Uses, under the Constitutional Trust?

From this too we see the great Increase of Wealth and Trade in *Ireland*, from the proportional Increase of the whole Revenues, collected from very low Duties. To this must be added another Consideration, the vast Sums that in Proportion to the Taxes raised on them, which are applied out of these very Revenues, to local Improvements and Advantages. It must be par-

particularly remembered that great Sum last Year, while we are oppressed and overwhelmed with Taxes enacted for ever, for Debts that never may be paid. While *Ireland*, reaping the Harvest of our Distress and Misery, not only pays off all its Debts by it, but applies the very Surplusses to Improvements, without contributing to the Preservation of the Whole, or guarding the Seas; without applying any Part of that great Proportion of their whole Revenues, granted and directed to be applied to that Service only.

It must be remembered, that the Savings on the military Establishment for four Years, ending at *Lady-day* 1743, amounted to 289,505*l.* and that not long after a Motion was made in the Parliament here, for calling for an Account of it, which received a prudent Negative. These Savings being very properly applied, it became a regardful Eye to consider, how the Surplusses arising from the Benefit of the War, should be duly disposed of.

This Contest must still be considered, as to the amicable and advantageous Completion of it, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties,

Parties, not only as a Matter of Curiosity, but as it will give new Lights, Observations and Lustre to the Whole. The sacred prerogative Advocates place very justly the Commencement of it, under L— H—'s Government there. He stood in the most favourable Light; it was therefore absolutely necessary to remove him from that Situation, it was cunningly and prettily contrived to oblige him to resign the Seals. He was fully informed of all the Views and endless Wishes of our Continent Measures, but entirely ignorant of the pecuniary ones at home.

At the Meeting of the Parliament it appeared, that the National Debt was about * 378,500*l.* and there was then in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or their Deputies, a Ballance of 220,000*l.* To leave this Sum in those Hands, and to pay Interest, as they did, for the whole Debt, would have been the highest Absurdity and Injustice; and could have proceeded only from some latent View to future Applications: Therefore all Parts of the Administration unanimously concurred to apply Part of that Bal-

* Considerations. Page 6.

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lance to the Discharge of the National Debt. The Parliament therefore, according to their Constitution, rightfully drew up Heads of a Bill for that Purpose, which passed into a Law, as ratified here, which must have been by Approbation of the Privy-Council here. But something was soon after thought to be wrong and clashing, in this established and undoubted Precedent, relative to the future Disposition of the Surplusses, which might be applied like the Savings of the Military and Civil Lists. Upon the King's Return from *Hanover*, L— H— was disgracefully turned out. The Public was at a Loss, at that Time, to guess what unpardonable Crime he had committed.

The specious Name of Prerogative is a Cloak, that never will be worn out. Courtiers at all Times are ever ingratiating themselves, at the Expence of the Public, and those that are before them. No Wonder, a fallen Favourite, a banished Minister, since turned out, should share the common Fate. One therefore highly and eminently advanced, though not beyond his excellent Merit, a Lover of Mankind, though esteemed only in *Ireland*, as a busy, meddling ambitious *English* Priest, in Gratitude for past Favours,

Favours, undertook to recover as much as possible by an after Game. Therefore, at the next Meeting of the Parliament, they are acquainted, that his Majesty consents and recommends to them, the paying off Part of the National Debt. The Heads of the Bill for that Purpose *did not contain Words expressly acknowledging his Majesty's previous Consent*: Which, when transmitted here, had these Words inserted in it: *Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify, that you would consent, and do recommend it to us.* And then the Bill passed in *Ireland*, with those Words inserted in it. The low Cunning of the Words, and the overbearing Power which inserted them, glaringly discover for what Purpose they were designed, in respect of future Applications of the Surplusses for public Uses.

Can any thing be more excessively ridiculous, than their Pretences afterwards to support this Right in the Crown, according to their Intentions, by quoting Precedents from the Parliaments of *England*, not one of which they understood? But since they followed Precedents to establish that new Right in the Crown, why did they not then produce some one of those vast Number of
Acts

Acts of Parliament, that passed in *England*, in which the previous Consent and Recommendation of the Crown was first given? If ever these Words were inserted in the Act itself, such an Act would have been a Precedent indeed.

What Precedent can there be founded upon a Consent and Recommendation from the Crown to Parliament, but is in its own Nature, the strongest Proof, that the Crown could not do it without an Act of Parliament? The Disposition of all public Monies and Revenues, in either Case, whether it arises from the Parliament itself, or Consent and Recommendation from the Crown, they are all Proofs, that the Crown could not do it but by an Act of the Legislature.

The exulting Triumphs shewed upon the Success of this Fetch, and the Merit claimed from it, to the establishing their own Power, and the Profits that were to arise from it, with all the Circumstances
E con-

connected with it, soon became dreadful to those who were to be supplanted by it. But when the promised Benefit of this cunning Measure of theirs was to be performed, the Application of a very great Sum of the Surplusses in Hand, it occasioned great Consultations; by which the Secret of inserting here, the Words *Consent and Recommendation*, avowedly appeared; and the Use designed to be derived from them was immediately to be put in Execution. How sufficiently alarming and dangerous did this now appear, to those that would lose their Places and Power!

The Ministry had Consultations with the most eminent Lawyers there, who declared it would be illegal; and the determined Resolution of great Numbers, to impeach every one concerned in it, as soon as the Parliament met, obliged them to lay by their Design for the present. All the refractory ones in Employment were turned out, and more complying ones filled their Places; and they did not doubt, but before another Meeting of Parliament, the House, by their Power and Influence, would be

re-

reduced, and formed to a proper, complaisant Temper.

Therefore, in that present Session, since there was so great a Balance as 205,173 *l.* they submitted to pay off 77,500 *l.* which was all the National Debt. The remaining 127,673 *l.* was their own; and, that there should be no more Doubt of their Right to it hereafter, they would insert in the Act again the Words *Consent and Recommendation*; which, from the now avowed Sense, and designed Application, in Consequence of those Words, before once inserted for that very Use, would afterwards sufficiently authorize and indemnify them, for that very same Disposition of the public Money; since, if it should again be passed into a Law, with this avowed Meaning, it would be a Sanction, if not a Direction of the Legislature there, for the Application of the Remainder to those very contested Uses.

However ridiculous it did appear here, and may hereafter, the Contest about these

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two absurd Words, in Reality, as to the Consequence in the Bill, which with or without the Words, was the strongest declarative Proof, the Crown could not dispose of that Money without an Act of Parliament. But a right laudable Opposition from the real Patriots of *Ireland* became absolutely necessary, to preserve the great fundamental Part of their Constitution; since the admitting those Words once more to be inserted in the Bill, would have been betraying their Country, and acknowledging that, hereafter, the designed Application of the Remainder, as well as all future Surplusses, were extended to those sacred Uses. But in what a dreadful Light must now appear that very extraordinary Exertion of the Prerogative, where the Motives of the Contest were no Secret, that directed the 77,500 *l.* remaining of the National Debt to be paid, notwithstanding the Negative put on it by the Parliament; when in the very Act for doing it, from thus insisting upon putting in the Words, *Consent and Recommendation*, are at the same Time the strongest Proof in Nature of an Acknowledgment from
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the Crown, that it could not apply the Money to those very Uses, but by an Act of Parliament there.

From hence the low cunning Advisers indulged themselves again with their having now, at last, established their Power and Favour; since, by this extraordinary Act of Prerogative, it was determined, that the Crown had a Right to direct the Application of all Surplusses for the future, according to its own Discretion.

The melancholy and dreadful Consternation, which this from its Consequences, affected all the People of that Kingdom in the highest Degree, roused the Apprehensions at last of this Nation, who well remembered, from past Experience, and what has been delivered down to them as a Maxim from their Ancestors, always to observe what is doing in *Ireland*, as a Prelude to what will afterwards be done here.

To

To meet the same Parliament again in *Ireland*, under all these connected Circumstances, would not have been very prudent; and to have called a new one at that Time, they might have lost many experienced *true Friends* upon all other Points; but the Contest for Power among themselves, and then would be as useful as they have been for near thirty Years. It therefore became absolutely necessary to accommodate Affairs with such useful old Partners, and to prevent, for the future, the very Cause of the Quarrel, the having of Surplusses to dispose of; considering the Ferment in that Nation, who were now made sensible of their real true Interest, it required great Address to lay and accommodate the Whole, which at last was ably accomplished in that Respect. The contentious Members were restored to Places; and one, for whom so many patriotic Medals were struck, was highly ennobled, and well pensioned. Their Opponents, who had so effectually brought their Scheme of Power to bear, were displaced and disgraced.

graced. The Balance that was otherwise designed by them, was, with what accrued for two Years since, most properly applied to soften the enflamed Minds of the People; by local Distributions of about 230,000 *l.* and for others, a most plentiful Creation of Peerages; no mighty Boon from a Minister, who never can have any Occasion for them in that legislative Capacity.

This Contest, thus happily accommodated for *Ireland*; the Administrator, with his usual Prudence, was resolved to remove this hateful Cause of Dispute for the future; therefore grants so many Pensions upon the Revenues of *Ireland*, that there should be no more Surplusses to dispute about; which, by a bountiful Application of, together with one more Pay-master here, one more Vice-Treasurer of *Ireland*, and one Peerage obliged to bestow at last on the old Balance Master, gained almost another Year's Administration.

The last little palliative Correction of the Abuse of a corrupt Influence here, excluded

cluded from Parliament some whose Places required their Attendance in another Place, particularly the Commissioners of the Revenues in *Ireland*; but it did not extend to those that had Places there, and nothing to do but to take Care of their Remittances, and a due Attendance in Parliament here: And now, instead of the Commissioners, there may be a Treasurer with nothing to do; six Vice-Treasurers, with nothing to do; and six Vice-Treasurers Deputies: This is infinitely more ridiculous than *Trinculo* Vice-Roy over all his Vice-Roys. That we have not already had the whole Set, has been because it was reckoned too small a Gratification for such Numbers of considerable Men; since it would not have been much above 1000*l.* a Year a-piece; but Hard Times will come.

In this Respect, we are highly obliged to the wise and prudent Conduct of *Ireland*, who sets us a Precedent, that we have yet been in too rich and flourishing a State to consider and imitate; for they, after specifying

cifying the several Heads of their additional Taxes, *grant to his Majesty, as a further Aid, the Fees of Six-pence a Pound, payable to the Vice-Treasurers, out of the additional Duties.*

Having thus shewn the unreasonable Burthens laid on *England*, the Motives and Application of the *Irish* Revenues, which should have borne Part of those Burthens, and for what Uses the Savings accruing from it were designed; it must now appear how absolutely necessary it is, for the mutual Interest and immediate Preservation of both Kingdoms, to reform so great and so oppressive a Conduct. Justice and mutual Protection, therefore, require for the future, that all the Produce of the Old Poundage, New Poundage, and Subsidy, granted for, and directed to be applied for guarding the Seas, be constantly and annually applied for those Uses, as their Proportion for the Benefit and Protection from our Expences of naval Services.

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Nor let it not now be forgot, the 50,000*l.* a Year Quit-Rents, which make Part of the Revenues, were bountifully given by the Parliament of *England* for the Charges of their Government.

This Proposition, perhaps, will not readily meet with a gracious Reception from the *Irish*; but when they come coolly to reflect and consider, how they have been exposed by the Ministers, whose long Experience of them must be supposed to have a full and sufficient Knowledge of all the Motives and Causes, why the *Irish* have bestowed such very great Complaisance in Taxes on themselves; for the *true Friends* of *Ireland* are not to look with *grudging Eyes* on the *Expences of State*; and the granting 150,000*l.* a Year, additional Revenues, is a cheap Purchase for having frequent Parliaments: For then their Situation will be properly changed, to the establishing the Rights and Liberties of a free People, by the necessitating

cessitating of the regular and constant Meeting of Parliament, without being under the Necessity of taxing themselves, to furnish the Means of obtaining a corrupt Influence over the Parliaments of both Nations; nor need they then any longer dread what their Ministers have lately only threatened them with, *a due Attention to Oeconomy in the Revenues*; which would enable them alone to do, without having any Parliaments hereafter there.

The Situation of both Parties will be changed, and constitutionally placed where it ought to be; for then the Parliament and the People will have *the due Attention*, since they must then pay for the Want of it; and as the Ministerial Writers have not only declared the Hereditary Revenues might be sufficient for all their Charges of Government, by vainly threatening them with it; from whence it is allowed, and plainly appears, that no more Taxes need be levied on *Ireland*, than there are at present; and they will have established to themselves for ever the frequent

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quent Meetings of Parliament there, by an Assistance contributed to the mutual Guarding of the Seas, instead of purchasing the frequent Meetings for 150,000*l.* a Year.

For further Information, and to explain what has been already said, and clear up those absurd slavish Doctrines of both the late contending Parties in *Ireland*, from the fatal Consequences that must arise from either or both, from such habitual ways of thinking; I, who lament the childish, ridiculous Prepossession of this Nation in respect of them, who will conceive them to be the same wild *Irish* as in Days of yore? and whom, no repeated Experience will permit to attend to what is doing there, which tends to what is and will be done here, till the fatal Crisis comes. I shall therefore, for their sake as well as our own, whose Interest in it is inseparable, endeavour to clear up a little, the Nature of the Public Revenues, distinct from those that are the Property of the Crown.

By

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By the ancient Constitution of this Nation, there was a Property inherent in the Crown, for the Support of every Charge of Government, even Wars; the Subjects only giving occasional Aid: The Whole was vested in the Crown, under the Constitutional Trust. Favourites abused it; frequent Resumptions followed: But, in the long Run, the permanent Power of Prerogative in the Crown got rid of almost all its Revenues.

Necessity and Preservation established Supplies and Taxes of a direct opposite Nature; they were the Property of the People, raised and directed for their Uses; and the Crown, as the executive Power, was only Trustee to apply the Money, according to the Uses directed in the Act of Trust. Nor is there any Instance to be produced here of the Crown's granting any Pensions for a Number of Years, or Lives, on the Produce of Funds, raised and granted by a Statute Law, for declared
Uses;

Uses; but many, proving the Necessity of an Act of Parliament to enable the Crown to grant them.

What Power can there be in the Crown to extend the annual Produce of Taxes to annual Applications, beyond its own Demise? What the Property of the People to a long Term to private Individuals, when the Donor's Trust is expired? I am aware of Objections that may be made, but I shall explain them, and from thence enforce what has been already said.

The Hereditary Excise here was granted to *Charles* the Second, in lieu of the Court of Wards. It was a casual Revenue, the Property by Common Law vested in the Crown, but grievously oppressive, by bestowing the Wards, as Favours and Bounties to the Courtiers. The Right of the Crown to this therefore ought to be considered in another Light, than any other Statute Revenue.

The

The Post-Office was of a peculiar Nature; it was a beneficial Patent granted to the Duke of *York*, as a Subject, without any restrictive Law to oblige the Subjects to make use of it. It may be considered in the Light of that lawful Patent of *Wood's*, to coin Halfpence for *Ireland*, without obliging any one to receive them. Upon the Demise of *Charles* the Second, from the Property of a Subject, it became the Property of the Crown. Therefore, whatever Precedents can be drawn from Pensions then granted on those Revenues, they are nothing to the present Purpose.

The Revenues of *Ireland* are just and entirely of the same Nature, and under the same Restrictions, Distinctions, and Applications.

At the Time of the Restoration, the Revenues that were the Property of the Crown by common Law, and may be called

called the small Branches, produce now but 17,000*l.* a Year; the other Revenues were granted, for declared, specified Uses of Government and Security. The Hearth Money was given in lieu of the Court of Wards. The Parliament of *Ireland*, from the Experience that was learned in *England*, wisely put in a Clause, that no Pensions should be granted on that Revenue. Can any Man now think, that Clause was put in for so trifling a Consideration, as only to preserve a fourth Part of all the Revenues granted for public Services, and was public Money; and therefore the Remainder might be all granted away in Pensions? If there are any that, from habitual Prejudices, can conceive them so wild and absurd, let them consider what the Parliament of *England* did, for the very same Causes and Motives, followed that very Precedent set in *Ireland* before, for the very same Uses and Purposes.

The *English* Parliament, upon the Resumption of Grants of the *Irish* Forfeitures, enacted, that no Pensions should be granted
on

on the Quit Rents, which now produce about 50,000*l.* a Year. The obvious Reason was, because Forfeitures and Quit Rents to the Crown, were the Property of the Crown by common Law.

Is it possible to conceive now, that an *Irish* Parliament, that an *English* Parliament, could take such special and particular Care to preserve, for the Benefit of the Public, the Property of the Crown from being wasted away, and leave all the Property of the People to be lavished away in Pensions, by the Trustee, for other declared Uses, conceived accounted for under the Pretence of Charges of Government? Can they be Charges of Civil Government, Military or Naval, when a future Trustee is to apply Taxes to be raised on the Subject, for those future Uses only? How can they extend beyond the Life of the Person intrusted? since even his late Majesty, when truly informed, that the Pensions he himself had granted were too burthensome, he reduced them.

The Crown has an undoubted Right to dispose of its Property, of 17,000*l.* a Year there in Pensions. I submit it to the Consideration of the ablest Lawyers, what Defence can be made for those that pay Pensions there beyond that Sum? Pass'd abusive Precedents cannot be pleaded against a Statute Law, relative to the Application of public Money, for public Uses. Let them consider the long Series of abusive Precedents of the Crown, by Prerogative to imprison, or arbitrarily to raise Money on the Subjects, in the Reign of *Charles* the First; the Disputes too on Tonnage and Poundage, and Ship Money; all founded on abusive Precedents, though the Money raised by them was not misapplied to other Services. Can the national corrupt Doctrine of the pretended true Friends of *Ireland*, not to have a *grudging Eye*, be urged in Defence of it? Or that avowed prerogative Doctrine, that the hereditary Revenues of *Ireland* are his Majesty's *Privy Purse*? Which were the two opposite

sive Principles advanced, as distinct Parties in the late Contentions for Power there; which equally tended to purchase Favour, and subvert our Constitution.

F I N I S.



