



Mr. G R A T T A N ' S

S P E E C H

O N

T I T H E S,

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1788.



Houses of the Oireachtas

S P E E C H

OF THE

Rt. Hon. HENRY GRATTAN,

ON THE

RE-AGITATION

ON THE SUBJECT

OF

T I T H E S,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1788.

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OF THE
LAW OF THE

ON THE
RESOLUTION

ON THE SUBJECT

T. H. F. S.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1832.

DUBLIN: PRINTED BY LONDON, 1832.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
HAS ORDERED THAT THIS REPORT
SHOULD BE PRINTED.

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[Price One Shilling and Six-pence]

Houses of the Oireachtas

Mr. G R A T T A N ' S

S P E E C H

O N

T I T H E S.

MR. SPEAKER,

I SUBMIT to you certain great principles as propositions to the church—to stand the foundation of future bills, to stand the sentiments of the Commons, and to be (if these sentiments are resisted by a right reverend bench) our acquittal and justification to the public.

THE first resolution relates to barren land.

Resolved, That it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren lands in Ireland, if said lands, for a certain time after being reclaimed, were exempt from the payment of tithe.

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THIS is a maxim of politics, and requires nothing more for its adoption on the part of the church but the exercise of Christian charity and common sense. This is the law of England—and true in the wilds of America, as well as in England, a principle which barbarity and civilization equally proclaim,

THIS does not ask any thing from the clergy except the use of their understanding—that they will restrain an un-reasonable appetite—postpone a premature voracity. That they will on this occasion indulge themselves in a sagacity superior to that of the fowls of the air who devour the seed, and equal to the wisdom of the hind, who waits for the harvest.—Have mercy on the infant labours of mankind; respect the plough, and instead of dogging its paces as a constable would a felon, imitate the barbarous, but in this instance more civilized Persian monarch, who began his reign by taking the plough in his royal hand, and did homage to that patient instrument which feeds mankind.

To say that the bill in question enriched the community at the expence of the clergy, was but a poor and uncharitable argument, the result of hot counsel, and crabbed sentiments. If it does enrich the community, it must finally enrich the clergy. It does enrich the community—true—but not at your expence—you give nothing. What! will the eagle come down that you may tithe him, and the stag of the mountain stop at thy bidding? You give nothing except to yourselves and your successors the chance of getting

ting something from that which but for such an encouragement might remain to you and to us, to all eternity, wretched and unprofitable. Supposing therefore that the clergy were in no particular to make sacrifices to the good of their flock, that they were to get every law they asked for themselves, and to assent to none on the behalf of their parishioners—yet still should they accede to this measure—on a principle of enlightened selfishness—on a principle, not of piety, but of usury, and to resist it would argue an incapacity to see not only the public interest but their own.

ON such a principle of narrow and ignorant precaution had the laity proceeded, they would never have granted the premium on the inland carriage of corn, nor on the export of corn, nor on the export of linen, on the sale of woollen, nor the growth of flax, nor of rape: they would have check'd the growth of agriculture, and of manufacture, and of course the growth of tithe. Make the precaution of some of the heads of the church the folly of the laity—extend their principles to us, and we starve the community.

To suppose that the encouragement given to barren land would lay the foundation of law suits, is only to argue in ignorance of the law—has the law done so with respect to flax, done so with hemp or bog? and yet such laws have existed. Don't they know that the barren land bill was not an original bill, but an extension of the provisions of acts already in existence, from whence none of
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these consequences had flowed, and therefore this objection only proves the objectors to be, I won't say bad lawyers, bad husbandmen, but to be, I will say, in their knowledge of husbandry, and their knowledge of law, vastly inferior to themselves in the science of divinity; and while I excuse the errors of some of the reverend bench, I much honour the sense of those of their own order on that bench, who did most decidedly and explicitly differ from them; who saw that the clergy had a common interest in the country; that it was inconsistent in them to desire to partake of the growth of the kingdom, and to check that growth when the opportunity occurred; who saw the feeble policy of any thing like a little combination against the general sense; who thought the best method of preventing a faction in the laity, was to resist a faction in the church; and who also thought that the two Bills, the Hemp Bill, and the Barren Land Bill, recommended by Government, sent up by the unanimous sense of the House of Commons—proved to be useful by the example of Great-Britain, and espoused by public wishes, was not exactly the ground on which the Bishops should post themselves against the interest of the community.

I HAVE mentioned that this measure is supported on principles of Christianity.

ISAIAH makes two predictions—The one is a denunciation against such as oppose the kingdom of Christ; the second an annunciation to those who receive it, and he makes

makes the point of the curse that very sterility which the enemies of this measure would promote, and the point of the blessing that very fertility which the bill went to encourage: "The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall blossom as the rose."

I HAVE taken the prediction of Isaiah, and reduced its principle to a resolution, which I have already read, and which I shall have the honour to propound to you, and I put it to grave authority to verify their prophet.

IN the measure to which I refer there was a particular compact if report says true: three bills were brought in, two were to be rejected by the influence of Government in this House, provided the third should pass the Lords, without the opposition of the Church. Thus the public were to receive some benefit, and the excessive zeal of a certain part of the right reverend bench, was to be shielded by the hand of Government from repeated opportunities of exposing their principles.

THE compact was fulfilled on the part of Government; two bills were rejected in the House of Commons, by compact, and the third destroyed in the other House, in breach of compact. A minister is, I must suppose, a heretic, with whom holy men need not observe faith. To destroy this bill, the first method that occurred was petition; the petitioners very few in number, but certainly very respectable names, complain that they will be greatly prejudiced by the

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improvement

improvement of barren lands* ; they petitioned against it in the most unqualified manner, not against any particular clause, nor against the frame of the bill, but against the bill itself. The names are few, but if names alone, without reasons, could give weight to a petition, this petition has that weight I acknowledge. I should be sorry to offend against the interest or the apprehensions of the petitioners ; unable to reconcile both, and obliged to make a choice, I must advance their interest in defiance of their dispositions. Petition was not deemed sufficient ; another method of damnation was resorted to—amendment, and the amendment was a clause of *encroachment*—an encroachment of the worst kind, an extension of the power of the spiritual courts on the temporal ; the spiritual courts were to stand in the place of judge and jury. With what

* To the Right Hon. the LORDS SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL, in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of several of the CLERGYMEN of the Church of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and others of the said Clergy,

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners apprehend that the clergy of the said church in general, and your petitioners in particular, will be greatly prejudiced in their properties, in case a bill now depending before your Lordships, to extend the provisions of an “ Act “ to encourage the improvement of barren and waste land and “ bogs, and planting of timber trees and orchards,” should pass into a law.

Your petitioners therefore humbly beseech your Lordships to permit them to be heard by counsel against the said bill.

And your petitioners will pray.

what safety you will decide when I read you two decrees of the spiritual court of Cloyne, one excommunicating a countryman for refusing to pay tithe of turf against law, and the other excommunicating eight persons for the same illegal reason. The idea of their amendment was this—“No encroachment on fertility; no invasions of the plough on barren land, unless you will at the same time invade the boundaries of your laws.” This presumptuous amendment being most judiciously withdrawn, because it could not have passed, (for it could not have passed the House of Lords ultimately) another was introduced not equally mischievous: but I speak with the greatest deference to high authority—a little unintelligible—a little long—a little perplexed, and a little embarrassing—a clause in an old miscellaneous act is extracted to be applied to the case of barren land, to which in the English act it had no immediate reference. The above clause requires two witnesses on the part of the countryman, and gives to the parson double costs, and obliges the countryman to declare in probation, laying him under the difficulty of an action at law.

THE bill so loaded justly fell: those vigilant, but in this instance, most mistaken men, who destroyed it, will hereafter see the wisdom of adopting the bill without the first amendment, without the second amendment, and without any amendment at all.—One should imagine some characters took a pride in barren land; in this sentiment only have they resisted the bill, founded on the English act, enabling the Bishops to grant long leases—is it not enough that a 13th

part of the land of the country should be in the hands of ecclesiastical corporations? Is it necessary that such land should be as barren as possible? You need not ask which is church land in Ireland; you know it by the infallible traces of barrenness and misery; contiguity to a great town is not sufficient to give life and pulsation to this palsied part of the creation; one would imagine the estate was doing penance on earth, and that the inhabitants had laid up all their treasures in Heaven; or were here in a state of Purgatory under Protestant bishops. Strange, that the latter should object to a tenure which would enable them to make freeholders, and encourage the Protestant interest; strange that they should insist on keeping their estates on terms at once hostile to representation and conformity. The next resolution which I shall propose to you is one respecting flax: It is as follows:

Resolved, That a domestic supply of flax is an object to which all his Majesty's subjects of Ireland should contribute.

2. *That this House has greatly contributed to said object by various bounties, but that the linen manufacture has only flourished in those parts of the kingdom, where a total exemption from, or a small composition for tithe of flax have existed.*

3. *Resolved, That in order to extend the linen manufacture, said exemption or composition should be made general.*

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THIS too is a principle—the rudiments of manufacture should not be tithed—surely not of your staple, and above all, not of your only staple manufacture; to advance this has been long the speech from the throne, the echo of that speech your address, and the object of various and expensive premiums; to introduce it into the South has been long the wish of that province; to attend to it now has become your particular duty, because Russia has laid a duty of five per cent. on her exports to these countries, the treaty with England being at an end. Will any man in the South sow flax to pay 12s. an acre tithe, when in the North he pays but 6d. per farm? The despair of the southern provinces to grow flax in any degree, was admitted by a proposal to distribute the flax premiums into provincial portions, on an allegation that the North took a great proportion, and the South little or nothing; that is, the North does grow flax because it don't pay tithe; and the South does not grow flax, because it does pay tithe; and thus embarrassed by the tithe, the wretched expedient was to take the bounty from the North, in order to pay the tithe of the South.

HERE again I must do justice to Government; they did intend a modus for flax as well as for hemp, and one reason, perhaps, among others, was the late duty on Russian flax. This gracious and benign intention of Government was by episcopal interference rendered abortive; that same episcopal interference on which the nation is to charge the loss of the barren land bill, did, with the best intentions to be
 sure,

sure, but the worst effect, oppose both salutary measures—the modus for hemp, and the modus for flax.

THAT opposition to the Hemp Bill failed, because that Bill was deemed beneficial to the navy of England, and was an English as well as an Irish measure; but that opposition to the Flax Bill succeeded, because flax was only material to the Irish manufacturer, and was a measure purely Irish. The Hemp Bill, however, did not pass unmolested, and the same regard in holy men, for ties with a Minister, still operated; it was teized and persecuted by that same episcopal interference. This bill was to have been defeated by petition*. The petitioners complain of this bill in the same unqualified manner as in the instance of barren land; they are to be ruined by the extent of manufacture—petition was not relied on. This bill was also to have been defeated by amendment: that amendment, intended by way of preamble, set forth, that hemp was an article necessary

* To the Right Hon. the LORDS SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL, in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of several of the CLERGYMEN of the Church of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and others of the said Clergy,

S H E W E T H,

That your petitioners, conceiving that themselves and their brethren may be materially injured by a bill now before this House, intituled “ An Act for the better ascertaining the tithes of Hemp,” and which is committed for Saturday next, humbly beseech this Right Honourable House to permit them to be heard by counsel against the said bill.

And petitioners will pray.

fary for the navy of England, to which all his Majesty's subjects should contribute—a facility this in a reverend quarter to grant public money for new purposes, beyond the bounds of duty. This preamble contained three principles: first, an implied protest against the principle of *modus* in favour of *Irish* manufacture: secondly, an express assent to that principle, when it was in favour of the British navy: thirdly, a principle of supply to that navy, originating in the Lords, in breach of the privilege of the Commons, at the suggestion of the spiritual Peers; as the other amendments encroached on the temporal courts, so this encroached on the Commons.—This amendment being most wisely given up, because impracticable, as well as most improper, the whole repugnance to the bill ended in an idle resolution, declaring, *that a domestic supply of hemp may greatly contribute to the maritime protection of this kingdom,—an object to be promoted by the united exertions of all his Majesty's subjects: of which resolution the reverend petitioners have the most reason to complain; for it says, you petition against the manufacturing part of your own flock. There you are perfectly right, and we are with you; but your petition goes also against the interest of the navy of England. There you go too far: besides, this is a question of British Government, and we, on this point, not only leave you, but we protest against you, and have entered on the journals our resolution accordingly.*

So it appears as the business was mismanaged; but those who know the zeal, on this occasion, of some of the
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Right Reverend Bench, must be convinced that this never was their intention; on the contrary, they did most entirely approve of the petitioners and the petition, and had not perhaps confined their connection with the petition to the cold and languid office of mere approbation.

THE next resolution relates to the sustenance of the poor, as the two others relate immediately to their industry: it is proposed to put the poor of the South on the same footing with the poor of the North, East, and West, by exempting his potatoe-garden from tithe.—When we state that potatoes are the food of the poor, we understate their importance—they are more; they are the protection of the rich against a poor rate, and therefore invaluable to you, as well as to the peasant.

Resolved, That potatoes are the principal subsistence of the poor in Ireland, and are, in a great part of the kingdom, most fortunately exempt from tithe.

Resolved, That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the South of this kingdom, if the benefit of said exemption was extended to them; and if it shall be made to appear that the owners of tithe shall suffer thereby, this House will make them just compensation.

IN three-fourths of this kingdom potatoes pay no tithe; in the South they not only pay, but pay most heavily. They pay frequently in proportion to the poverty and helplessness of
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the countryman; for in the South it is the practice to crouch to the rich, and to encroach upon the poor; hence perhaps in the South the mutability of the common people. What so galling, what so inflammatory, as the comparative view of the condition of his Majesty's subjects in one part of the kingdom and the other!—In one part their sustenance free, and in another tithed in the greatest degree; so that a grazier coming from the West to the South shall inform the latter that with him neither potatoes nor hay are tithed; and a weaver coming from the North shall inform the South, that in his country neither potatoes nor flax are tithed; and thus are men, in the present unequal and unjust state of things, taught to repine, not only by their intercourse with the pastor, but with one another.

To redress this requires no speculation—no extraordinary exercise of the human faculties—no long fatiguing process of reason and calculation, but merely to extend to the poor of the South, the benefits which are enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects in the other parts of Ireland; it is to put the people of the South on a level with their fellow-creatures.—If it shall be said that such an exemption would cause a great loss to the parson—what a terrible discovery does that objection disclose! that the clergy of the South are principally supported by the poor, by those whom they ought as moral men to relieve, and Christian men support, according to the strictest discipline of the church.

To excite a certain quarter to this principle, perhaps the best method would be the stimulation of example.—I shall accordingly produce two examples, one example drawn from the country supposed to be the most bigoted in Europe, and the other from that man supposed to be the most prone to clerical avarice and ambition.—The first the kingdom of Spain, the latter is the Pope. In 1780, Pope Pius the 6th sends a brief to the King of Spain, enabling him to dispose of one-third of ecclesiastical estates and benefices in his presentation, to which no cure of souls was annexed, in charity; and further sets forth in this brief this reason, that the relief and succour of the poor was particularly incumbent on him. The King of Spain in 1783, pursuant to this brief, publishes his edict, reciting the brief, and appointing a commission to dispose of the third as above recited, in the support of the poor, and then he specifies the objects; endowments of all kind of retreats and receptacles for the poor, such as hospitals and houses of charity, foundations for orphans and foundlings.—The better to enforce the execution of the first edict, the King of Spain publishes another, commanding, in a peremptory manner, the execution of the first, and he adds a principle inseparable from the claims of tithe, that such charitable aids peculiarly belong to ecclesiastical rents, according to the most sound and constant discipline of the church.

HERE are the Sovereign Pontiff of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic King of Spain, distributing one-third of a part of the revenues of their church for the poor; and here are
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some of the enlightened doctors of our church deprecating such a principle, and guarding their riches against the encroaching of Christian charity; I hope they will never again afford us such an opportunity of comparing them with the Pope, or contrasting them with the Apostles.—I don't think their riches will be diminished; but if they were to be so—is not the question directly put to them. Which will they prefer; their flock or their riches? For which did Christ die, or the Apostles suffer martyrdom, or Paul preach, or Luther protest? Was it for the tithe of flax, or the tithe of barren land, or the tithe of potatoes, or the tithe proctor, or the tithe farmer, or the tithe pig?—Your riches are secure; but, if they were impaired by your acts of benevolence, does *our* religion depend on *your* riches? On such a principle your Saviour should have accepted of the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory, and have capitulated with the Devil for the propagation of the faith. Never was a great principle rendered prevalent by power or riches. Low and artificial means are resorted to for the fulfilling the little views of men, their love of power, their avarice, or ambition; but to apply to the great design of God such wretched auxiliaries, is to forget his divinity, and to deny his omnipotence. What! does the word come more powerfully from a dignitary in purple and fine linen, than it came from the poor Apostle with nothing but the Spirit of the Lord on his lips, and the glory of God standing on his right hand? What! my Lords, not cultivate barren land; not encourage the manufactures of your country; not relieve the poor of your flock, if the church is to be at any expence

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thereby—where shall we find this principle? Not in the Bible; I have adverted to the sacred writings without criticism I allow, but not without devotion—there is not in any part of them such a sentiment—not in the purity of Christ, nor the poverty of the apostles, nor the prophecy of Isaiah, nor the patience of Job, nor the harp of David, nor the wisdom of Solomon!—No, my Lords, on this subject your Bible is against you—the precepts and practice of the primitive church against you—the great word increase and multiply—the axiom of philosophy, that nature does nothing in vain—the productive principle that formed the system, and defends it against the ambition and encroachments of its own elements; the reproductive principle which continues the system, and which makes vegetation support life, and life administer back again to vegetation; taking from the grave its sterile quality, and making death itself propagate to life and succession—the plenteousness of things, and the majesty of nature through all her organs, manifest against such a sentiment. This blind fatality of error, which, under pretence of defending the wealth of the priesthood, checks the growth of mankind, arrests his industry, and makes the sterility of the planet a part of its religion.

As I have proposed three measures for the benefit of the people, I shall now submit a fourth for the benefit of the church. It is a resolution which is as follows:

Resolved, That this House will be ready to relieve the
 2 *owners*

owners of tithe from the necessity of drawing the same; and to give said owners a power of recovering the value of the same, in all cases, by civil bill, or otherwise, provided said owners of tithe shall conform to certain rateages to be ascertained by act of Parliament.

THE resolution will be best explained by a bill which I have drawn, and which I mean to propose hereafter—the brief of which I will now state to you. The bill enacts that every owner of tithe shall be relieved from the difficulty of drawing the same, by civil bill, for any sum whatsoever; provided said owner of tithe shall conform to certain rateages in the bill set forth—these rateages will be such as Parliament shall think proper, different, perhaps according to the different provinces, and the result of the enquiry of provincial committees.

I HAVE set forth in the bill for Munster, such a rateage as was nearly stated by learned authority as the average rateage of the richest diocese therein; the principal articles of which are,

6s. POTATOES, *the Irish acre.*

6s. WHEAT.

5s. BARLEY.

3s. MEADOW.

3s. OATS.

THE bill enacts, that in the neighbourhood of a city the tithe of meadow shall be increased; it further enacts, that

that the owner of tithe shall have a power, on due notice, to enter in order to survey: it enacts, that the above rates shall be estimated as worth so many stone of bread corn, which is every seven years to be valued by the clerk of the market, who strikes the averages for the kingdom; that septennial valuation of the corn, to be the septennial rates for the owner of tithe.

THE bill enacts, that all small dues shall cease, and that instead thereof, in parishes where small dues shall have been paid for these last ten years, a valuation shall be made of such by a person appointed in vestry; said valuation to be levied not off the poor, nor the particular individual, but generally after the manner of baronial charges. My idea and fixed intention being to relieve the poor of the South from the tithe of potatoes, and the North from small dues; an endeavour which, however opposed, will by perseverance succeed—it is rational, it is just.—The bill contains a proviso, which saves and confirms all kind of modusses or exemption; so that what has not hitherto paid, shall not pay now:—thus potatoes and other articles, where they have not usually paid, shall not become titheable.

THE next resolution is to compel residence: 'tis strange that such a resolution should ever have become necessary.

Resolved, That the better to secure the residence of the clergy, a moderate tax on non-residents would be expedient.

IN the long contest of the clergy on the subject of tithes, I don't find that residence has been much insisted on, as useful to the Protestant interest, though tithes has been thought indispensable. Provided tithes shall be paid, it seems what is done for the tithes, the preaching and the praying, is not material in the opinion of grave and reverend personages.—The army don't act by curate—the commissioners, the judges don't act by deputation. I have never heard of virtual redemption, salvation by remote and magnetical operation:—residence is required by canon, common, and statute law; by the canon law, a parson who left his living without leave was deprived—by the common law it appears residence was necessary, for when an action was brought against the rector of B. he pleaded that he was commorant in D.—the plea was overruled, because he had not denied himself to be rector of B. and his parish determined his locality necessary by several statutes. The acts of Henry 8th after 40 days non-residence imposes a fine; the act of Edward the 6th after 80 days absence, disables the parson from recovering on his own leases—the act of Henry the 6th subjects a parson who leaves the country to the forfeiture of his annual income—but though the law were silent, decency on this occasion is loud: what a cast and complexion are thrown on this question and those who so strenuously insist on the law for tithes, and so commonly transgress the body of law that requires them to attend to the duties of religion! In England residence is better observed and enforced; the practice of England has shewn a greater regard both for husbandry

bandry and prayer; and yet in England residence is not more necessary, because our lower people want more instruction, and our country can less afford any addition to the absentee drain, to which an absentee tithe, and absentee gospel are sad aggravations!—Talk not of a want of glebe house, or even of churches: has the presbyter a glebe house? has the priest a glebe house? does the latter preach the errors of the church of Rome from a straw built hovel, and do our clergy to preach the truth of the Protestant religion require a mansion?—had the first fruits been by the richer parts of their own order, and particularly the Bishops, faithfully and justly valued, and applied to the building of churches, and the increase of poor livings, the advocates for non-residence would want their voluptuous apology.—But it has happened that the first fruits by a remote and antiquated valuation, are rendered of no account,—they don't, by that valuation, which was made in the reign of Henry the 8th, produce more than 430l. at this day the bishopricks alone amount to near 70,000l. a year, the first fruit of which, without going farther, would be a great fund for building of churches and glebe-houses, and increasing poor livings. You see that in fact the first fruits are now a most miserable modus; and it is very remarkable, that the very men who object to any modus, however rational, in favour of the manufacturer, have themselves set up a modus against the church—a modus the most irrational and illiberal, against the poor of their own order, and the house of their own God! “We can't reside, because we have neither house nor church;” that is,

is, the richer part of your order have taken to themselves the funds of the church, and now you have no place to pray in.

BUT though I would compel residence, I would compel it by a moderate process; a moderate tax to commence after absence for a certain time. I would not leave the dispensing with residence to the bishop, because I would not put into his hands the talents and suffrages of the parochial clergy—I would not enable him to say, Sir, you have written too freely on constitutional subjects, you must reside; or, Sir, you have voted for the popular candidate, and must reside. — I would not make residence an instrument of undue influence, nor would I wish to make the parochial clergy mean and subservient to their bishop. — I would compel residence by a tax, and that should be moderate, with certain allowances; my principle with respect to the residence of the minister being this, his parish ought to be his home, but ought not to be his prison.

I have submitted the resolutions—I mean to put the House in possession of them—all I desire is that they may have a fair examination—of Government all I ask is impartiality—all I deprecate is predetermination—I do not desire that they should assent to either my facts or principles, but I desire a fair trial for both—I desire moreover, that in holding their deliberation they may not take into their cabinet the enemy—if these principles are false, they will die of themselves, without the interposition of Government; if right, they will

at last prevail, and then Government would be obliged to retract a resistance precipitately made.—As to the southern peasantry, all I ask on their part is *Peace*. If the White-Boys break out again, I give up this business.—I will be the first to support strong measures of coercion.—The gentlemen of the South should inform them, that if they had originally represented the oppressions they suffer under tithe by humble petition to Parliament, they must have been redressed; the parson and tithe farmer would not have chosen to have defended, or to continue demands publicly stigmatised for extortion and avarice. In a free country, the mere promulgation of injury, is the certainty of redress; but those desperate wretches had not the courage to apply to the Legislature, and had the despair to apply to outrage; the consequence was, as always must be, they consigned their bodies to the hangman, and left to their families a continuation of the grievances, and involved in their disgrace a great part of the peasantry who were equally oppressed, and entirely innocent.—The truth is, the tithe farmer had no case but the White-Boy, they both stood on the crimes of the other, and murder was a greater offence than extortion.

WITH respect to a right reverend bench, I mean a part of that bench, all I ask is *Temper*.—I stated several allegations—I am ready to prove them.—I stated that in some parts of the South the demands of tithe had exceeded the bounds of law; I repeat the allegation. I stated, that the proctor had in many places demanded and received a certain

tain *per centage*, called proctorage, against law and charity; I repeat that allegation. I stated that, in parts of the South, certain ministers, or their proctors, had been guilty of exactions which were unconsciable; and I stated also, that they had recently, and greatly, and unconscionably, increased their rateages: I repeat that allegation. I stated, that the tithe farmers did very generally, in the parts disturbed, oppress *the common people*, and had exceeded their legal powers, or had most grossly abused them: these allegations I repeat now—and am ready to go into proofs, whenever gentlemen chuse to give me such an opportunity.

I am not responsible for the precise quantity of every return stated to me.—Some of the statements are official, and can't be disputed, and are enormous; others come from the oppressed, and may be sanguine. I am not responsible for the precise quantities in such a case: but I am responsible for this allegation, that there exists *great oppression*—I repeat it again, *there exists great oppression*.

As to the resolutions which I now submit, and which next *session* I shall move, the Right Reverend quarter will consider that some of these propositions are in their principles already the law of England. With what justice can they attempt to deprive Ireland of the benefit of such laws? Ireland, a country requiring so much more encouragement, and paying abundantly more to the church.—A celebrated Bishop in England has calculated that the income of the church in England, including all bishopricks, and

even the estates of the universities, would, if distributed, amount to 150l. for each clergyman.—A learned Bishop in Ireland has calculated, that, excluding bishopricks and universities, the income of the church in Ireland would amount to 148l. for each clergyman.—Thus, by this calculation, excluding their great riches, I mean the bishopricks, the ministers of the Protestant church of Ireland have within 2l. as much as in England; and, including bishopricks, must have beyond all comparison more than in England, while the extent of the cures is incomparably less, even supposing our clergy were all to reside, and while this kingdom has two other orders of priesthood to support.—Such of our Bishops who come from another country, and have intercepted the views of some of the younger branches of our best families here, will naturally wish to make some compensation.—The laws of the country to which they owe their birth, they I suppose will not object to communicate to this country, to which they owe their situation.

SOME of the resolutions are not only founded on principles of husbandry, but maxims of Christianity; these, I hope, will not meet with inveterate opposition from any of the Right Reverend Bench.—Those of them the most adverse and inveterate, will soften, when they consider the Christianity of clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry; or rather, indeed, of suffering the naked and the hungry to feed and to clothe themselves, by encouraging their manufacture—giving certain privileges to their infant labours, and by leaving in their principal food the

poor unoppressed by avarice and exaction under any pretence whatsoever. However, if this shall not be the case, —if these sound doctrines, and these charitable principles are received by some of a certain quarter with hardness of heart, and their author with clerical scurrility, I cannot help it, I shall persist notwithstanding, making my solemn appeal against such men to their own gospel; which as it is the foundation of *their* power, so must it be the limits of *our* veneration.

T H E E N D.

supported by evidence and evidence under any pre-
 scription. However, it will not be the case
 that the land is held, and that the principle
 of the law is of a certain quarter with regard to
 the land. I cannot say that with regard to the
 law of the land, making my former
 law, which is of their own right, which is
 the law of the land, to make it be the law of

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