

XV

~~Where a court of summary jurisdiction is given or as any reason to suspect that any person, who not being amenable to any jurisdiction in lunacy, is notwithstanding by reason of habitual intemperate drinking of intoxicating liquor at times dangerous to him or herself or others, or at times incapable of managing him or herself, or his or her affairs, the court may remand the accused and require the opinion of the medical officer of the prison.~~

~~If the medical officer reports that in his opinion the prisoner is a diseased inebriate, he or she shall be dealt with as by law may be now or hereafter arranged for such cases.~~

~~N.B.—The Small Penalties Act above referred to gives power to dispense with distress of goods, and award imprisonment in default of payment of sums ordered.~~

V.—*The Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland. The Expenditure Account.* By Arthur W. Samuels, Q.C.

[Read Friday, 26th February, 1897]

THE majority Report of the Financial Relations Commission finds—

“That whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth.”

Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Bertram Currie report that—

“We find from the returns that Ireland's taxation contributed in the year 1893-1894 one-eleventh of the whole tax revenue of the United Kingdom, or £6,643,719 out of £82,439,755. If she had contributed in proportion to her suggested taxable capacity, she would have contributed not more than one-twentieth of the whole, or £4,121,987. In other words, she contributed about two and a-half millions more than she would have contributed if taxed according to what we believe to be her relative taxable capacity.” *

Sir David Barbour reports that—

“Ireland paid in 1893-1894 about two and three-quarter millions sterling more than she would have paid if the total revenue taken from her had been in proportion to her ‘taxable capacity.’” †

Mr. Childers, in his Draft Report, states that in 1893-94 Ireland contributed

“in round numbers about two and three-quarter millions in excess of that which she would have contributed if taxed according to her relative taxable capacity.”

The English Press, with a few notable exceptions, has urged that these findings should be put aside as “vitiated” and “one-sided,” and the outcome of the fact that the Unionist Government

* Final Report, page 45.

† Final Report, page 123.

Committee of 1890 was not reappointed, and that a change of Government having taken place in 1892—

“Mr. Gladstone announced his willingness, in connexion with the Home Rule Bill of 1893, to have the financial relations between the two countries investigated by the Commission.”

It does seem to Irishmen a strange charge to bring against Englishmen such as Mr. Childers, Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Currie that they are not to be relied upon by their own countrymen as having given an honest verdict because they were appointed by Mr. Gladstone to review, as between Great Britain and Ireland, the incidence and the effects of the financial policy of Mr. Gladstone. Their findings in this respect are against the fairness to Ireland of Mr. Gladstone's financial operations. These findings are based upon the evidence of every single one of the witnesses examined before them. To any one who has read the evidence it seems almost impossible they could find otherwise. The findings are findings of fact—as far as facts can be ascertained in dealing with any problems of finance. In all the assaults made in the English Press upon these findings of the Commission there has hardly been one serious argument adduced to show that they are incorrect, inaccurate, or unwarranted by the evidence.

But, strange to say—where, without further enquiry, they act not upon any detailed evidence or consideration, but merely adopt without criticism the Treasury Financial Relations Returns for the year 1893-94, which purport to show that Ireland does not contribute her fair share to “Imperial purposes,” then these same Lords Farrer and Welby and Sir David are each “a Daniel come to judgment—yea, a Daniel,” “a worthy judge,” and the “exposition hath been most sound.” Now, acting on these Treasury Returns, Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Currie find that the contribution of Ireland to “Imperial purposes” “has been steadily diminishing from £5,396,000 in 1860 to £1,966,094 in 1893-94;” and Sir David Barbour finds that—

“The total amount of revenue contributed for Imperial purposes by the United Kingdom in the year 1893-1894 was £60,634,486. If Ireland had contributed towards this expenditure in proportion to her ‘taxable capacity,’ the contribution would have been one-twentieth of that sum, or £3,031,724. In point of fact, she contributed only £1,966,094, and was therefore a gainer by £1,065,630.”

That portion of the English Press which has approached this subject in an argumentative, as apart from a vituperative spirit, very naturally rely upon the position taken up by Sir David Barbour as a complete answer to the Irish case. The very able article which has appeared in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*—an article which, in fairness of statement, contrasts most favourably with most of the English articles on this subject—summarises the English case in the following passage:—

“To determine whether the existing financial system is fair as between the two countries, we must look not only at the revenue raised in each of them, but at the amount of that revenue available for common expenses, after the exclusively local expenses of each have been defrayed. But the moment the question is regarded in this way the grievance of

Ireland vanishes into thin air. This statement can be conclusively proved by a very simple table. The figures are those adopted by the Commission for the year 1893-1894.

| IRELAND. | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| Revenue | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £7,568,000 |
| Expenditure for Irish Purposes | | | | ... | ... | £5,602,000 |
| | | | | | | £1,966,000 |
| | | | | | | |
| GREAT BRITAIN. | | | | | | |
| Revenue | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £89,286,000 |
| Expenses for British Purposes | | | | ... | ... | £30,618,000 |
| | | | | | | £58,668,000 |

Thus the contribution of Ireland to common purposes such as Army, Navy, and National Debt in 1893-1894 was only £1,966,000, or as nearly as possible one-thirtieth of the British contribution of £58,668,000. Had Ireland contributed to common expenditure in accordance with Mr. Childer's view of her taxable capacity, namely, one-twentieth of Great Britain, she would have paid not £1,966,000, but £2,933,000. So far from paying too much Ireland is, according to this principle, paying about £1,000,000 too little. Is this a fair way of looking at the matter? That is to our minds the fundamental question in the present controversy."

Mr. Arthur Balfour at Manchester, on 9th January, 1897, insists on the same reply.

"If you withdraw the £2,700,000 which would otherwise be spent in Ireland then I say the grievance is compensated and more than compensated by the Imperial expenditure on the other side of St. George's channel. If we take, as I think we ought not to take, the methods and arguments, the arithmetical argument, which in all its crudity has been adopted by the Commission, even if we accept that method, Ireland, so far from having to complain of the present system, is a great gainer by it."*

He adds it is true—

"Here I admit there may be some doubt as to the facts of the case, and very likely further investigation with regard to them would be desirable."

The terms of reference to the new Commission are based on the same view. It is to enquire and report

"How much of the total expenditure which the State provides may properly be considered to be expenditure *common to England, Scotland and Ireland*, and what share of such common expenditure each country is contributing after the amount expended on *local services* has been deducted from its true revenue."

and

"how the expenditure on Irish local services which the State wholly or in part provides, compares with the corresponding expenditure in England and Scotland."

The terms "common purposes" and "Imperial purposes" are admirably adapted for the purpose of obscuring the real point at

* *Times*, 11th January, 1897.

issue in the question whether Ireland gets back more than she gives. It is alleged that she does so. The question is is this true? It is a matter of cash balances, in this view of Government functions. If Ireland pays out in money £2,500,000 per annum too much, it is but little consolation to her when the contra account is presented to be told that if you look to "Imperial purposes" you have not paid enough, when almost all of this "Imperial purposes" cash is actually spent in England, and practically none of it in Ireland. This question of overtaxation and alleged over expenditure can (if we are to put questions of policy and the functions of Government out of the question) be considered only upon one rational arithmetical basis, namely, "where does the cash outlay in the United Kingdom of the revenue contributed by England, Scotland and Ireland, take place?" If there is a disproportionately great cash outlay by the State in Ireland, having regard to the amount she contributes in taxation to the whole revenue of the United Kingdom, then the reply of the English Press to the Irish demand will naturally sound a common sense one to English ears; but if, on the other hand, the question of the actual cash outlay of the revenue in Great Britain is to be left out of account as against Ireland, while such outlay in Ireland is to be taken into account as against her, as is done in the Treasury returns, then such a reply is no answer to the Irish demand, but is unjust in the extreme, and it is not unreasonable to hope that the English sense of fair play may consider it so.

If there is a *bona fide* desire to ascertain the true position of each of the three Kingdoms in reference to Expenditure and Revenue, the new terms of reference should also direct the Commission to enquire "*how much of the total expenditure which the State provides for purposes considered common to England, Scotland, and Ireland, is actually expended in England, Scotland, or Ireland respectively.*" If we examine the Treasury returns for the financial year 1893-1894 upon this practical basis we shall find that the case of Ireland does not "vanish into thin air;" we shall find that Ireland, instead of "being a gainer," as Sir R. Barbour finds her to have been to the amount of £1,065,630, contributed her full share to the "Common Expenditure," in addition to being taxed two and a-half millions too much.

The point is, where does the cash go to? Does England get back too much, or Scotland or Ireland, having regard to the amount they each pay in taxes? The reply to the Irish demand has been "too much money comes back to you, having regard to your contribution for '*Imperial purposes.*'" The Irish reply to this is, "*Imperial purposes*" in this connection means in reality money down paid to English Civil Servants, manufacturers or workmen. It is a question of cash, and into whose pockets does it go. On the Treasury returns, if the recipient happens to be a Civil Servant in Ireland his pocket is an Irish pocket, if he happens to be a Civil Servant in England, ten to one his pocket is an Imperial pocket.

The principle that because the taxable capacity of Ireland is one-

twentieth of that of the United Kingdom, Ireland should contribute one-twentieth to the expenditure of the United Kingdom would if followed out, lead to some strange results. It would revive the fixed contribution system which brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy between 1801-1817. If a contribution of one to seven and a-half was too high for Ireland, then, a contribution of one-twentieth now to Imperial expenditure would rapidly bring Ireland to ruin again were it not indeed for the happy result that she must be "a gainer" on this principle for every pound sterling she falls short, no matter how overtaxed of the one-twentieth contribution. It follows from the application in practice of this theory that the greater the expenditure for Imperial purposes the greater the "gain" to Ireland in proportion as she fails to meet the fixed contribution. Now, let us see how this principle would work out in practice. For the last three financial years the figures are given as follows in the Financial Relation returns of the Treasury :—

In 1893-1894—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Ireland paid in Taxes | £7,568,649 |
| Irish Expenditure was | 5,602,555 |
| <hr/> | |
| Balance for Imperial purposes | £1,966,094 |
| The total Revenue U.K. for Imperial purposes was | £60,634,486 |
| Ireland's one-twentieth | £3,031,724 |
| Ireland's "gain" or deficit | 1,065,630 |

In 1894-1895—

| | |
|--|------------|
| Irish Taxes | £7,690,345 |
| Irish Expenditure | 5,616,361 |
| <hr/> | |
| Balance for Imperial purposes | £2,073,984 |
| Total Revenue U.K. for Imperial purposes | 63,296,192 |
| Ireland's one-twentieth | 3,164,809 |
| Ireland's "gain" or deficit | 1,080,825 |

In 1895-1896—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Irish Taxes | £8,034,384 |
| Irish Expenditure | 5,938,755 |
| <hr/> | |
| Balance for Imperial purposes | £2,095,629 |
| Total Revenue of U.K. for Imperial purposes | £69,527,631 |
| Ireland's one-twentieth | 3,476,381 |
| Irish "gain" or deficit | £1,382,752 |

The strange result is that though Ireland last year paid with a smaller population by 25,000 nearly half a million more in taxes than she did in 1893-1894, and though she paid an Imperial contribution higher by £393,074, yet she is £1,382,752 to the bad on the Imperial account according to the Treasury returns, and "a gainer" to that amount on Sir W. Barbour's principles. Another result is that the richer England and Scotland grow, and the poorer Ireland, unless her relative taxable capacity is taken into account each year, the worse will be her position on the Treasury principles and the greater her "gain" on Sir W. Barbour's. I may remark in passing that Ireland is charged in the Treasury returns for 1895-1896 with about £165,000 advanced by way of loan, all of which is

repayable with interest at three to three and a-half per cent., and which ought certainly not to be put down against her as expenditure in the manner in which it is in the returns, but kept in a separate account.

Who gets the money? That is what we want to know. Now, let us examine the Treasury Financial Relations Returns, 1893-1894, upon a legal basis, so far as statute law provides a rule to proceed by, and upon the practical basis of "where does the cash go to?" as far as there is no statute law to guide us, and let us see whether there is a real case of alleged over expenditure on Ireland or not as compared with her contribution to Imperial purposes in the genuine sense, "such as the army, the navy, and the National Debt, &c.," to use the words of the *Edinburgh Review*.

It becomes important to consider the constitutional and legal weight to be attributed to the theory of division of expenditure and revenue on which the Treasury officials base their Returns.

The Return is dated 7th May, 1894, showing for the year ended the 31st March, 1894.

- (1) The amount contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, to the Revenue collected by Imperial officers.
- (2) The expenditure on English, Scottish, and Irish Service met out of such Revenue.
- (3) The balances of Revenue contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, which are available for Imperial Expenditure.

When we come to the tables of Expenditure we find four columns headed on "Imperial Services," on "English Services," on "Scottish Services," and on "Irish Services." Details are then given of Naval and Military charges, and details of Civil Government charges (a) on the Consolidated Fund, and (b) Voted. The cost of collection of Taxes and Post-office services, and of Miscellaneous Local Charges are stated, and in Part III. is a table which purports to show "the balances of Revenues contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, which are available for Imperial Expenditure after the LOCAL EXPENDITURE of those divisions of the United Kingdom has been met according to the figures shown in Parts I. and II. of the return."

Now this classification, adopted recently by the Treasury, is based upon this assumption in the words of Sir E. Hamilton:—

"That the best and only true standard whereby to determine whether Ireland is over-taxed as compared with Great Britain is to take the respective amounts which the State extracts from the tax-payers of the two countries for IMPERIAL as contrasted with LOCAL PURPOSES, and to compare the amount so abstracted with their respective resources, so far as they are ascertainable."

"Local purposes" for Ireland are defined by Sir Edward to be all items of expenditure which would not have to be incurred if Ireland had no existence.

“It is difficult,” he says, “to draw a line between Imperial and local expenditure I admit, and I do not pretend to be able to supply a definition in which there are no flaws ; but, perhaps, what best supplies such a definition is to take each head of expenditure, and consider whether *it would be incurred were there no such locality in question.*”*

Now, this is a very convenient hypothesis upon which to work out a theoretical distinction between Imperial and Irish charges. It necessarily follows from it that all money spent *in* Ireland must be regarded as money spent *on* Ireland, and that as the seat of Imperial Government is in England it is almost impossible that, as far as Ireland is concerned, any Civil Government Expenditure for Imperial purposes can take place in it. Unfortunately for the theory Ireland does exist as an awkward fact, and just as the theory is based upon an assumption unwarranted by facts, so it is based upon an assumption unwarranted by law. The arbitrary division adopted by the Treasury is entirely novel. It is unknown to the Constitution, and is not consistently adhered to even in the returns. It is a rule of thumb, and where Ireland is concerned it is *pollice verso*. It is directly opposed to the provisions of the Treaty of the Union and of the Act for the Amalgamation of the Exchequers. The 7th Section of the Treaty provides for the separate treatment of Ireland for the purposes of taxation but the same seventh article of the Treaty provides that the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland in the proportions, stipulated shall be a contribution to “*the expenditure of the United Kingdom,*” and it provides for Parliament in the future, declaring—“that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be *defrayed indiscriminately* by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries, “subject only to such abatements in Ireland and in Scotland as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand,” and that “from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the *future expenditure of the United Kingdom according to any specific proportion* as according to any of the rules therein before prescribed.” “And it further in the same article shows what in the contemplation of both Parliaments at the time of the Union were to be regarded as local Irish purposes by providing—“That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the 1st January, 1800, *in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes,* shall be applied for the period of 20 years after the Union to *such local purposes in Ireland* in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct.” The Treaty thus clearly treated all expenditure for the purposes of the United Kingdom no matter where spent as Imperial Expenditure, and indicates very clearly what alone could be classified as expenditure for local purposes in Ireland. But in the teeth of this article of the Union the Trea-

* Report, vol. ii., page 120 ; answer, 10,008.

sury puts down the charges for the whole Civil Government of Ireland as a local expenditure in Ireland which must be deducted from the revenue she yields before we arrive at her contribution to "Imperial Services."

There seems, however, to be a tendency in England to protest that the Treaty of Union is out of date, and is to be ignored for financial purposes, and that it is the especial duty of all good Unionists to ignore it where it becomes inconvenient to the predominant partner, and cuts against England in money matters, and Irishmen are told that now we are to be regulated by the Act for the Amalgamation of the Exchequers in such matters only; that this is now the financial charter. Well, if this is the case, the right of Ireland to object to the Treasury classification is stronger still. It might be urged that it is a question of construction in the Act of Union, but under the Statute of 1816 there can be no question. The enactment is perfectly clear, and there is no doubt that the Treasury division of the charges on the Consolidated fund into Imperial, English, Scotch, and Irish expenditure is a violation of the terms of this Act. The first section of the Statute 56 George III., c. 98, recites that:—

"It has become expedient for further carrying into effect the Acts of Union that all the public revenues of the United Kingdom should be consolidated and applied to the service of the United Kingdom," and enacts that "after the 5th January, 1817, all the revenues which before that date formed part of the consolidated fund of Great Britain and Ireland respectively should form one General Fund to be called the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the said Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, whether the same or any part thereof, shall be in the Exchequer of Great Britain or in the Exchequer of Ireland respectively, shall in the first place be charged and chargeable with and *shall from time to time be applied indiscriminately to the payment of the whole of the interest of the National debts of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Sinking Funds applicable to the reduction thereof as one joint Consolidated National Debt, Interest and Sinking Fund*; and in the next place the said Consolidated Fund of the said United Kingdom shall *in like manner* be charged and chargeable with, and shall be applied to the payment of the salaries and other charges of His Majesty's Civil List Establishment in Great Britain and Ireland; and in the next place the said Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall *in like manner* be charged and chargeable with and be applied in payment of all other charges whatsoever made payable out of the Consolidated Funds of Great Britain and Ireland respectively under or by virtue of any Act or Acts in force immediately before the 5th January, 1817, and after payment and satisfaction of all the aforesaid charges, the *said Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall be in like manner indiscriminately applied to the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or any part thereof as shall be directed by Parliament, and shall be issued and applied accordingly.*"

This is then the legal aspect of the case.

To meet, however, the countercharge, based upon the Treasury returns for 1893-1894, it became necessary to examine, with some detail, the expenditure account for that financial year.

The first item, National Debt charges are £25,200,000. These, under the Act of 1816, are necessarily "Imperial" in their character, and are correctly placed in the "Imperial" column.

The next item for "Naval and Military charges (a) Army, £18,090,000, and (b) Navy £15,476,571" are *prima facie* Imperial charges. They are so entered, but a critical examination of these charges will show how these votes include not only the expenditure on the pay and maintenance of the army and navy, but also immense sums for expenditure on the salaries of the Civil Servants in the War Office and Admiralty Offices and Ordnance Department and cash expended on wages in Royal Dockyards and Arsenals in England and on the manufacture, construction, and purchase in Great Britain of ships, guns, arms, ammunition, material and equipment. Not only has the State set up in England great industrial undertakings distributing vast sums of money in wages among its various employees in Chatham, Woolwich, Devonport, Portsmouth, Pembroke, and elsewhere, but the private shipbuilding firms on the Thames, the Humber, the Mersey, the Tyne, the Clyde, have lucrative contracts placed with them. The British public reaps a rich return from the millions thus distributed. There are at this moment 54 various vessels of war being constructed in private firms in Great Britain under contracts with the Imperial Government. The iron and steel and chemical industries all share in the advantages of this Imperial expenditure localised in Great Britain. It operates as a splendid bounty on many of the British industries. It has enabled the British people to command the naval construction trade of the world. All nations, from Japan to Argentina, come to Great Britain for their ships of war, their cruisers, their torpedo boats and guns. Did this magnificent trade outlay take place in Ireland it might well be said that within the words of the 7th Article of the Union it was "*money granted by Parliament in premiums for the internal encouragement of manufactures,*" and thus granted "for local purposes" in Ireland, but to all of it Ireland pays her quota, not one farthing of it has ever come back to her. In considering the expenditure account of the United Kingdom this consideration cannot, with any justice, be omitted, and when assertions are made by writers and speakers evidently knowing nothing of the conditions and difficulties of Irish Government and administration of over-expenditure on this or that, "Irish" service and "rigid retrenchment" is the only reply to the complaint of over-taxation that they vouchsafe it may be well urged on behalf of Ireland that the conditions of outlay in the two countries on "Imperial" as well as "Local" services must be weighed, and that works and factories such as those localised in Britain and maintained or bounty-fed by the State are not to be found in Ireland. The Irish taxation contributed to naval construction and the maintenance of the arsenals, dockyards, and factories of Great Britain is exported Irish capital, bringing no reproductive return to Ireland. The British capital so contributed produces a rich return and quickens British trade and industries.

Take the Naval Estimates for 1893-1894, and see how much of the total vote is properly "localized" in Great Britain.

The salaries in the Admiralty Office, Whitehall, and the Con-

trollers and other departments, for 1893, were £239,520; the "at-home" salaries at the dockyards amount to about £161,945. The educational salaries paid at Greenwich Royal Naval College about £25,597; Royal Observatory, Greenwich, £7,000, not to mention many other items, details of which will be found in *Whitaker's*. At least £500,000 is locally spent in salaries in England. The wages paid to workmen in the Royal dockyards amount to about £1,500,000 per annum. If we add to these sums the expenditure on construction and naval armaments the total "local" expenditure for naval purposes for 1893-1894 in Great Britain cannot have been much short of £7,000,000.

The salaries paid to the staff of War Office amount to about £90,000. The expenditure on the Ordnance factories amounts to over £2,250,000. This is localized expenditure in England, and should be taken into account. The normal expenditure by the War Office in England on supplies stores, and transport, is £6,102,600. From the total "Imperial expenditure" of £33,566,571 for the financial year 1893-1894 at least £7,000,000 should be written off and attributed to Great Britain in comparing the "local expenditure" of United Kingdom. This will leave £19,566,571, as an "Imperial" charge for these naval and military services to which Ireland and Scotland and England should contribute in common, and will charge Great Britain with £14,000,000 localized expenditure.

It is clear, as above stated, that under the provisions of the Act of 1816, creating the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, all charges upon this Fund were to be applied *indiscriminately for the service of the United Kingdom*, and that, accordingly, the £1,531,196, the total sum of the Civil Government charges on it for the year 1893-1894, should not have been returned by the Treasury as separate charges in different items against England or Scotland or Ireland, but should have been placed in the "Imperial" column as a charge on the whole United Kingdom.

The method of segregation used by the Treasury in reference to the Consolidated Fund is not only illegal, but it is peculiarly unfair to Ireland. For instance, her Majesty's Civil List, £407,301, and the annuities to the Royal Family, £187,796, are placed in conformity with the statute in the "Imperial" column, but the salary of the Lord Lieutenant is on the contrary placed in the "Irish" column and charged against Ireland alone, with the result that Ireland has not only to contribute to the support of Her Majesty's Civil List and of the Royal Family, but has, in addition, to bear unaided the whole charge for the representative of Royalty in Ireland. If this item is charged against Ireland, then the whole of the Civil List and the Royal Family annuities should be charged against Great Britain only.

Take, again, the instance of the £5,000 salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons. It is properly, as a charge on the Consolidated Fund, placed in the "Imperial" column. The salary is, however, earned in England, for services performed in England, not a whit more "Imperial" than those of the Lord Lieutenant;

and if the Treasury were to apply the same rule as in the case of the Lord Lieutenant, it should be put down as a charge against England only.

Take another instance. There appears under the heading of "Miscellaneous Services on Consolidated Fund," in the column charged against Ireland, a sum of £40,000, "*Exchequer Contribution to Ireland.*" This is a strange item to debit Ireland with for the year 1893-1894. The sum was never paid to Ireland. It represents £40,000 appropriated out of the Consolidated Fund but retained by the Treasury, under the provisions of the Land Purchase Act (1891) for the purpose of gradually creating a Reserve Fund of £200,000 to guarantee the State against any possible default by tenant purchasers in paying instalments of purchase-money for holdings bought under the Act. The license duties in Ireland are not paid, as they are in England and Scotland, to Local Authorities for local purposes. They are paid into the Exchequer. An annual sum of £40,000 was guessed at as the amount which Ireland would probably be entitled to had she received the same benefit as Scotland and England did from the licenses being handed over to Local Authorities.* This sum, however, has never yet been actually paid to Ireland. The first five annual sums of £40,000 are, under the Act of 1891, retained by the Treasury, and the particular £40,000 in question was retained during 1893-1894, and Ireland will not receive any £40,000 license duty return per annum until the present financial year. She has not even been paid interest on the several sums which make up the £200,000 retained, and as the money has been locked up in the Treasury, which has had the use of it, it is certainly not a correct way of bringing it into account to charge it as received by Ireland. The probability is that this £200,000 Guarantee Fund will never at any time be drawn upon, but will remain as a source of profit in the hands of the Treasury, unless provision is made that the interest for the future, and compound interest for the past five years on it, be credited to Ireland.

Under the terms of the Act of 1816 accordingly, in dealing with the Consolidated Fund, the Treasury Returns are framed upon a wrong basis in charging England with £342,824, Scotland with £137,388, and Ireland with £219,507 for the financial year 1893-1894. It is expenditure "common to England, Scotland, and Ireland," under the Act of 1816, and not expenditure on local services. But, if we leave legal considerations out of the question, then in any event the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, £20,000, and the £40,000 "*Exchequer contribution to Ireland.*" should be deducted from the £219,507 charged against Ireland, leaving £159,507 as the amount paid to her for what, even in Treasury computation, can be reasonably considered Irish services. Sir Ed. Hamilton admits that no other part of the British Empire is charged both for the representative of the Crown and for the Crown itself. The Lord Lieutenant's salary is a "*moot item,*" he says, "only a small item in five and a-half millions. Indeed, it was

* See Sir E. Hamilton's evidence—Answers 10,501, 10,506.

treated as an Imperial charge in the Home Rule Bill." * But it is treated as an Irish charge in the Treasury Returns to this day, and this £20,000 and the "Exchequer contribution to Ireland" £40,000, are two of the sums which, without demur, are included in the counter-charge against Ireland, upon which Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, Mr. Currie, and Sir D. Barbour rely, and upon which the English Press has relied, as an answer to the admitted over-taxation of Ireland as a constituent member of the United Kingdom entitled to separate consideration under the Treaty of the Union and the Act of 1816.

Let us now pass from the Consolidated Fund and examine the Details of Civil Government Charges, under the heading (*b*) "Voted," Classes I. and II. We shall find that the Treasury method applied to Ireland is not applied to England. Practically speaking, all money spent *in* Ireland, or spent in England in connection with the Irish Government, is in the Treasury Returns treated as spent *on* Ireland, and exempted from contribution by Great Britain; while the immense sums of cash outlay made in England or paid to Civil servants in England, and spent by these gentlemen as income in England, are treated as "Imperial" outlay, to which Ireland must contribute her share. Take, for instance, the votes—

| | |
|---|----------|
| Houses of Parliament (Buildings) | £36,905 |
| Public Buildings | 89,802 |
| Admiralty Extension of Buildings | 49,191 |
| | £175,898 |

Apparently every penny of this money went to enrich English architects, builders, artisans, and labourers. It would seem only reasonable to put these items down as "English" and not as "Imperial" expenditure when, whatever the purpose may be to which the buildings are dedicated, the actual cash outlay upon them is all earned and paid and spent in England. If this £175,898 is deducted from Imperial and charged to English expenditure under "Class I. Voted," the Imperial expenditure will be only £56,544, instead of £232,442, and the English expenditure will amount to £1,109,063, instead of £933,165, and as a sum of £21,010 for public works and buildings in Ireland is placed in the "Imperial" column, it should, on the same principle, be added to the Irish expenditure, making it £334,936, and deducted from the Imperial, leaving it £35,534.

In Class II. the House of Lords Offices, £38,484; House of Commons Offices, £51,129; Foreign Office, £69,212; Colonial Office, £42,660; Board of Trade, £169,120; Civil Service Commission, £34,869; Exchequer and Audit Department, £56,115; National Debt Office, £14,505; Office of Public Works, £12,000, are all charged as "Imperial" expenditure. If we turn to the Appropriation Act of 1893 we find these items in Schedule B., part 9, Civil Services Class II.,

* Answers, 10,517, 10,518, Vol. of Evidence.

scheduled as follows (1) for Salaries and Expenses in the Offices of the House of Lords; (2) for Salaries and Expenses in the House of Commons; (3) for Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, and so on. On the other hand the Irish Chief Secretary's Office, £41,114, is charged against Ireland alone, though it appears in the Appropriation Act as "for Salaries and Expenses of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments." The expenditure on all these soclassified "Imperial" offices is expenditure actually taking place in England, but Ireland is debited with a portion of it as "Imperial." The expenditure in the Chief Secretary's office is only partly in Ireland, much of it is incurred in the Irish Office at Westminster, yet England is not debited with a farthing of it. Surely the Government of Ireland is quite as "Imperial" a concern as any of the other items in the "Imperial" column. But even if it is not Imperial, on what fair basis are the whole expenses of this office charged against Ireland? If the rule is to be applied that the place of expenditure localises the item, then almost every one of these items catalogued as "Imperial" should have been charged against England. Let us examine some of these charges in detail.

The manipulation of the "Treasury" vote is peculiar. The "Treasury" is put down as £37,520 "Imperial;" £39,972 "English," £3,900 "Scottish," £5,500 "Irish." If we turn to *Whittaker's Almanac* for 1894 we find the "Treasury" salaries stated as amounting to £61,071, with £24,065 for the Paymaster-General's department, all Civil Service salaries, earned apparently at Whitehall. There is, indeed, a Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland, with four or five assistants, and the £5,500 represents, we may presume, the Irish "local" expenditure under this heading, but it requires a Treasury training to understand or discover how the "Imperial" £37,520 is evolved out of the £75,000 or thereabouts, earned by officials localised at Whitehall, and how they manage to put half their salaries into an "Imperial" and half into an "English" pocket, when receiving them. These salaries are earned in England, paid in England, and spent in England.

Next take the Foreign Office £69,212 "Imperial" charge. The whole of this sum is for salaries earned at Downing Street by the Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Clerks, assistant Clerks, Librarians and Queen's Messengers. The details will be found in *Whittaker's Almanac* for 1894, given as £70,471 for that year, including the £5,000 for the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The salaries of Ambassadors, British Ministers, or representatives abroad, are not included in this vote, they are provided under the vote for Diplomatic and Consular Services. This £69,212 is earned in England, paid in England, and spent in England, but Scotland and Ireland are made pay their quota to it as an "Imperial charge."

The Colonial Office is the next "Imperial" charge in the list. This also is for the salaries of the Civil Servants in the Colonial

Office in Downing Street, including that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies—not one penny of it is earned or paid in Ireland or abroad. The details of this £42,660, paid to the Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Assistant Under Secretaries, and Clerks of the first and second class of the Colonial Office are given in *Whittaker's Almanac*. This "Imperial," £42,660, is money earned in England, paid in England, and spent in England.

The "Board of Trade" is a large item. It is classified as "Imperial" £167,120; and £3,750 "England." England appears to be treated lovingly in this respect.

In *Whittaker* for 1894 the details are given of salaries to the President and the Secretaries and Clerks at Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W., to the Legal Branch, to the Professional Department Office of Inspector of Railways, Whitehall, the Inspectors of Fisheries' Register of Seamen, Custom House, E.C., Officers appointed under Metropolitan Gas Acts, Standards Department, Marine Consultative Branch, 16 Bedford Street, and Admeasurement of Steamships Branch at St. Katherine's Docks. All of this money is paid for English "localised" services. The Board of Trade has, however, its officers in Ireland, stated to be as follows (the salaries are not given perhaps out of a delicate feeling for Irish susceptibilities):—in Dublin there is a principal officer, a Shipwright Surveyor, an Engineer Surveyor, a clerk and a tapeholder. Belfast has three Surveyors, a clerk and tapeholder. Londonderry has a Surveyor. Cork has two Surveyors and a tapeholder. Queens-town has a Nautical Surveyor and a Medical Inspector. This, along with seven Medical Inspectors, was the Irish staff for 1893. When "the expenditure in Irish local services, which the State wholly or in part provides," comes to be compared by the New Commission "with the corresponding expenditure in England," the local expenditure on the Irish tapeholders should in all fairness be set down against Ireland and not any longer left as an "Imperial" charge to the detriment of England as it at present stands. If we put down £4,000 as "Irish" expenditure and £166,870, the residue of the £170,870 total vote as "English" expenditure, we shall probably be near the mark.

The National Debt Office is charged as "Imperial," £14,505. This sum is also for the salaries and expenses of the National Debt Office, Old Jewry, London. Why the moneys earned by the Civil Servants in Old Jewry are "Imperial," while those earned by Civil Servants at 18 Great Queen's Street, Westminster, are "Irish," requires elucidation.

Again, the "Exchequer and Audit Department," £56,115, "Imperial" vote is for the salaries of the Comptroller-General and Civil Servants at Somerset House, London—*Salaries earned and paid and spent in England*—but stamped "Imperial" by the Treasury returns.

Again, the £12,000 salaries of the officials of the Office of Works and Public Buildings, at Whitehall Place, should not be charged as "Imperial" but as "English" expenditure. As to the "Stationery, &c., United Kingdom" vote it is divided into

£267,500, Imperial; £192,956, English; £21,000, Scottish; and £35,000, Irish. The vote, according to the Appropriation Act, is "for stationery, printing, paper binding, and printed books for the Public Service, and for the salaries and expenses of the Stationery Office, and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including the Reports of Parliamentary Debates." The salaries paid in London amount to about £25,000. It would be interesting to know whether these salaries are charged as "Imperial," and whether the outlay on Parliamentary printing, which goes into the pockets of London printers, is charged in the "English" or "Imperial" column.

Leaving apart the question of printing, and some other votes, it appears that if Civil Service salaries paid in England are to be treated in the same way as Civil Service salaries paid in Ireland, the "Imperial" expenditure column, under Class II., should be greatly reduced, and the "English" expenditure greatly increased. The "Imperial" expenditure, therefore, in this class should be returned for 1893-1894 as £356,861 instead of £870,606, and the "English" as £1,218,205 instead of £708,460, and if we add against Ireland £4,000 for her share of Board of Trade expenses, she will probably be paying her full quota, making her expenditure £297,133 instead of £293,133.

Passing by the question whether the charges in Class III., for the administration of the law and prosecution and detection and punishment of crime, can be considered as merely local matters, and not of Imperial importance, and also the fact that necessarily the expenditure in preserving the peace and bringing criminals to justice in Ireland is, owing to social, political, and historical causes, much higher in Ireland than in Great Britain, it is necessary to refer to one serious item in the Treasury debt against "Ireland." A sum of £1,344,362 is charged against Ireland in 1893-1894 for the Royal Irish Constabulary. Now, many of the services which this splendid body perform are distinctly of an Imperial character. They are a semi-military force; they act as a garrison, and necessary garrison, in Ireland; they volunteered in large numbers for the Crimean war, and served there; they perform Revenue services in preventing illicit distillation, and thus they enable the State to raise the great revenue it does by means of the spirit duties. It has been admitted, generally, by the English Press that it is not fair to Ireland to charge her with the whole of this outlay on the Constabulary, and Mr. Balfour's reply in the House of Commons, on February, 1896, that it is intended to charge her under the terms of the new reference, comes as a surprise.

Sir E. Hamilton admits in his evidence that the Constabulary cannot be reasonably charged, as is done in the Treasury returns, altogether against Ireland.

"It has never been disputed, I think," he states, "that part of the police charge in Ireland may be considered as an Imperial charge; in fact, I remember that in the original 'Financial Relations' return that was presented to Parliament by Mr. Goschen, or, at least, under

his superintendence, he did draw a distinction by taking out the Constabulary charge and treating it as an Imperial charge—in fact, he treated the whole of it as an Imperial charge.*

But the whole of the cost of the Constabulary is charged against Ireland in the Treasury returns. If we were to adopt the rule that the outlay localizes the expenditure, there might be some reason for doing so—that is, if the same rule was applied all round to expenditure in England and Ireland. But it is eminently unfair to charge Ireland at once with the Constabulary as a “non-Imperial” service, and to make her contribute to the £786,300 included in the Army Estimates for pay to the Volunteers in Great Britain as an “Imperial” service.

It has been urged by the writer in the *Edinburgh Review* that the expenditure on the troops stationed in Ireland should be taken into account when estimating her financial position. It is stated that, under normal conditions, more than £2,000,000 per annum is spent here for military purposes. In Great Britain, however, £13,935,000 is expended. Ireland is not much of a gainer on this account, if regard is had to mere arithmetic. Soldiers are kept in Ireland, but it is convenient and cheap to keep them here. If we look, however, to the return given by the War Office at p. 480 of Vol. I. of the Evidence, we shall find what is the trade profit derived by Great Britain or Ireland, as the case may be, from the War Office expenditure. The normal establishment in Great Britain is 185,987 officers and men, and in Ireland, 57,498. The pay of the regular and auxiliary troops in Great Britain is £5,257,600, and in Ireland, £1,150,600. The charges for *supplies, stores, transport, etc.*, are £6,102,600 in Great Britain, and in Ireland, £664,600. This is the item which really represents expenditure on trade and commercial profit to the country, and not the amount of pay which the officers and men may receive.

Sir D. Barbour's plea of “set-off” against Ireland is based, as I have stated, upon the returns of one financial year, 1893-1894. The rashness of adopting the returns of a single year as a reply to the findings of the Commission, based upon the financial history and statistical returns of a century, cannot be better illustrated than by referring to the item of £50,000 charged against Ireland under Class VII. for “pleuro-pneumonia.” This was an accidental item for that year; no such “Irish” charge appears, for instance, in the returns for 1895-1896. The history of the item is that a cargo of infected cattle was despatched from Southampton, and landed in Ireland, without detection, and distributed into various districts, and it became necessary to destroy an immense number of Irish cattle to prevent the risk of an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia. The Irish local authorities had to contribute heavily to the compensation, and the Imperial Treasury's contribution was £50,000 for this “Irish” local service.

* Vol. II. Evidence, p. 76, answer 8,777.

The annexed tables show, even on the Treasury returns, how much Ireland, for many years, was contributing to the Exchequer over and above all possible charges against her. It is a remarkable fact that the returns given in the first table were stopped at the period when General Dunne and other Irish members were pressing actively for an inquiry into the results of Mr. Gladstone's financial policy.

EXPENDITURE of the REVENUE COLLECTED in IRELAND, for the Years 1855 to 1862.*

| Years. | Army, Ordnance, &c.† | Interest and Management of the Public Funded Debt Payable in Ireland. | Miscellaneous Payments out of the Consolidated Fund, expense of Constabulary Force, Grants of Parliament, &c. | Advances out of the Consolidated Fund for Public Works, Employment, Distress, &c. | Money Remitted to the Exchequer of England. | Total Expenditure. |
|--------|----------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1855 | 2,680,000 | 1,373,451 | 1,565,454 | 165,784 | 367,328 | 6,152,017 |
| 1856 | 2,980,000 | 1,423,572 | 1,640,379 | 136,782 | 512,243 | 6,692,976 |
| 1857 | 3,170,000 | 1,464,391 | 1,565,980 | 153,517 | 499,818 | 6,853,706 |
| 1858 | 2,710,000 | 1,465,599 | 1,813,614 | 145,557 | 536,803 | 6,671,573 |
| 1859 | 3,135,000 | 1,438,409 | 1,658,328 | 142,586 | 385,266 | 6,759,589 |
| 1860 | 3,345,000 | 1,334,159 | 1,510,500 | 141,565 | 395,453 | 6,726,677 |
| 1861 | 3,410,868 | 1,265,128 | 1,599,937 | 166,203 | 384,847 | 6,826,983 |
| 1862 | 3,240,380 | 1,240,980 | 1,671,814 | 208,232 | 374,875 | 6,736,281 |

(This table will be found in Thom's Almanac.)

| Year. | Estimated true Irish Revenue. | Expenditure on Irish services, including cost of collection. | Balance contributed to Imperial Expenditure. |
|---------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| 1819-20 | 5,256,564 | 1,564,880 | 3,691,684 |
| 1829-30 | 5,502,125 | 1,345,549 | 4,156,576 |
| 1839-40 | 5,415,889 | 1,789,567 | 3,626,322 |
| 1849-50 | 4,861,465 | 2,247,487 | 2,613,778 |
| 1859-60 | 7,700,334 | 2,304,334 | 5,396,000 |
| 1869-70 | 7,428,332 | 2,938,122 | 4,488,210 |
| 1879-80 | 7,280,856 | 4,054,549 | 3,226,307 |
| 1889-90 | 7,734,678 | 5,057,708 | 2,676,970 |
| 1893-94 | 7,568,649 | 5,602,555 | 1,966,094 |

These figures show, that during the fifty years, 1830 to 1880, Ireland's contribution exceeded her proportion even on the Treasury computation.

* No separate Return of Expenditure of Ireland is given in Finance Accounts under above group of headings since 1862.

† The figures above, under Army, Ordnance, &c., only show the amount issued out of the Exchequer in Ireland for these Services, and not the whole expense under those heads, the larger portion of which was defrayed from the English Exchequer, but the amount cannot be stated.

THIS TABLE SHOWS, ACCORDING TO THE TREASURY, THE BALANCES OF REVENUE CONTRIBUTED BY ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, RESPECTIVELY, WHICH ARE AVAILABLE FOR IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE AFTER THE LOCAL EXPENDITURE OF THOSE DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS BEEN MET, ACCORDING TO THE FIGURES SHOWN IN PARTS I. AND II. OF THEIR RETURNS FOR 1894-1895 AND 1895-1896.

| Year 1894-1895. | England. | Per cent. | Scotland. | Per cent. | Ireland. | Per cent. | TOTAL. | Per cent. |
|--|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| Total Revenue as contributed ... | £ 81,683,959 | 81·61 | £ 10,717,668 | 10·71 | £ 7,690,345 | 7·68 | £ 100,091,972 | 100 |
| Local Expenditure ... | 27,148,793 | 73·78 | 4,030,626 | 10·96 | 5,616,361 | 15·26 | 36,795,780 | 100 |
| Balance available for Imperial Expenditure ... | 54,535,166 | 86·16 | 6,687,042 | 10·56 | 2,073,984 | 3·28 | 63,296,192 | 100 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Year 1895-1896. | England. | Per cent. | Scotland. | Per cent. | Ireland. | Per cent. | TOTAL. | Per cent. |
| Total Revenue as contributed ... | £ 88,303,211 | 81·94 | £ 11,435,390 | 10·61 | £ 8,034,384 | 7·45 | £ 107,772,985 | 100 |
| Local Expenditure ... | 28,163,228 | 73·64 | 4,143,371 | 10·83 | 5,938,755 | 15·53 | 38,245,354 | 100 |
| Balance available for Imperial Expenditure ... | 60,139,983 | 86·50 | 7,292,019 | 10·49 | 2,095,629 | 3·01 | 69,527,631 | 100 |

These Tables show that if the Treasury returns are to be relied upon as an accurate statement of the case against Ireland she would have a startling claim for arrears from the time that Mr. Gladstone revolutionized the considerate financial policy which had hitherto prevailed in reference to her, and added three millions per annum to her taxation. Since that time her taxation has remained at about the same figure her population has dwindled, her one great industry, agriculture, has been almost ruined by foreign competition, and she is now told that the way her salvation lies is in cutting down expenditure within her borders. Ireland has had enough of this vicarious system of remedying her financial grievances. In legal departments, connected with the High Court, there has been a saving effected, by reductions in the judicial staff, of upwards of £175,000 since 1877, and yet not a penny of benefit has Ireland even got during this period, from these savings by the reduction of taxation on law proceedings, that worst form of financial exaction according to the unanswerable arguments of Bentham and Mill. The whole gain has gone to the Imperial Treasury. The reason that expenditure has risen is that the Education Vote and the Pension Fund of the Constabulary have been increased, and the Land Commission has been created. A revolution in Land Tenure, of such a character, cannot be carried through for nothing.

I do not in this paper deal with anything but the "Crude Arithmetical" argument. But it seems to an ordinary individual a very extraordinary thing that the cost of collecting the Imperial revenue and the cost of postal and telegraphic services are put down as local charges against England, Scotland and Ireland by the Treasury, and not as "Imperial" outgoings. Probably the reason of the Post-Office charges is that there is a loss (a loss which is, however, rapidly diminishing year by year) on the Irish telegraphic service. It would be interesting, however, to know whether the Government messages sent over the wires from Ireland to London are credited to Ireland, and whether, for instance, the telegraphic services performed during the Naval Autumn Manœuvres for Government purposes, are credited to her. One might suppose that the reception by British merchants from the signalling stations on the south and north coasts of Ireland of the safe arrival of vessels from all parts of the world, enabling them to conduct their business, with the advantage of rapid information, was a matter of Imperial concern. One might possibly consider also that the great increase of competition by British traders against Irish shopkeepers, by means of the parcels post, was a matter of common concern to the Three Kingdoms. The postage is paid on these parcels in England and credited to England. Irish dealers are hit by the competition, and Irish taxpayers are hit by the Treasury returns. Of one thing we may be sure that if the balance was the other way, and there had been a gain on the

Irish telegraphic services, the financial aspect of the service would have been "Imperial."

I annex to this paper the expenditure return of the Treasury for 1893-1894, with the alterations which it appears to me should be made in it on the principles which I have urged. There are items in the account which it is impossible to analyze without that full information which is possessed by the Treasury officials alone. The net outcome of the figures even on the imperfect investigation attempted in this paper shows that there is no compensation or set off whatever to Ireland in return for her overtaxation, and she is in comparison with Great Britain contributing her full share to Imperial expenditure.

It must be noticed that Ireland is charged in the altered table with the whole cost of the constabulary, and that £14,000,000 is charged against Great Britain for cash expenditure incurred in the manufacture and construction of ships, guns, ordnance and military and naval equipment, and wages and salaries in the arsenals, dockyards, and Admiralty and War Department Offices, a sum, which, if we look into the figures given in *Whittaker* for 1894, relating to the Army and Navy Estimates, seems to be well within the actual outlay.

The result is as follows:—

| Year 1893-1894. | Great Britain. | Ireland. | Total. |
|--|----------------|-----------|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Total Revenue contributed ... | 89,286,978 | 7,568,649 | 96,855,627 |
| Local Expenditure ... | 44,824,017 | 5,408,058 | 50,232,075 |
| Balance available for Imperial Expenditure ... | 44,462,961 | 2,160,591 | 46,623,552 |

Ireland, according to Sir David Barbour, was overtaxed in 1893-1894 by £2,725,868.

The total amount of revenue contributed for Imperial purposes in that year by the United Kingdom was £46,623,552. If Ireland was to contribute one-twentieth of this sum she should contribute £2,331,177, but in point of fact, she did contribute £2,160,591, leaving her short upon the figures stated by £170,586, of the one-twentieth of the United Kingdom contribution. If we deduct this £170,586 from the £2,725,868 which she was overtaxed, it leaves a balance due to her on the whole account of £2,555,282.

The result above stated is based on what I submit is the legal principle of dealing with the charges on the Consolidated Fund by treating them as common expenditure. If, however, even with regard to the Consolidated Fund we adopt the method of charging the country where the outlay actually takes place with the expenditure, the result works out much in Ireland's favour.

The figures will then be :—

| Year 1893-1894. | Great Britain. | Ireland. | Total. |
|--|----------------|-----------|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Total Revenue contributed ... | 89,286,978 | 7,568,649 | 96,855,627 |
| Local Expenditure ... | 44,945,089 | 5,587,563 | 50,532,652 |
| Balance available for Imperial Expenditure ... | 44,341,889 | 1,981,086 | 46,222,975 |

Ireland's one-twentieth of the total Imperial expenditure of United Kingdom would be £2,371,148; her actual contribution works out at £1,981,086, leaving a debt against her of £330,162, which, if deducted from the £2,725,868 she was overtaxed, leaves Great Britain in debt to her to the amount of £2,395,706 on the whole account.

It is evident, therefore, that if we test the case between Great Britain and Ireland on the principle of debiting the expenditure in each country to that country, Ireland receives no return for her over-taxation in the shape of expenditure.

In conclusion, I venture to suggest that, without any disturbance of the general financial system of the United Kingdom, the grievance of Ireland, on account of over-taxation, might be redressed on the following lines :—

1. That the Irish Church revenues, amounting to about £500,000 per annum, should be paid to local Irish authorities, and applied in relief of county cess, and meeting the increasing burden of the charge for the support of lunatic asylums in Ireland. This was the intention expressed at the time of the Disestablishment, but the fund has never been so applied. The existing charges on the fund could be transferred to the Imperial account, Ireland being given the benefit of the interest on loans hitherto made on the security of the fund until they are paid off.
2. The Irish Quit and Crown rents, amounting to £40,000 per annum, to be similarly handed over to local Irish authorities.
3. All taxes on litigation in Ireland, amounting to about £70,000 per annum, to be abolished.
4. That the State should in Ireland become a manufacturer, as it is in England. There are ship-yards now idle in Dublin, Cork, and Derry, that could be acquired by Government; and if some share of the millions annually expended on naval construction in Great Britain was thus expended in Ireland, the incalculable advantage of an opening for industrial employment would be given to Ireland, and some productive return would be made to her for the revenue she contributes in taxation. The working classes, also, who chiefly contribute to the over-taxation, would be immediately benefited by such expenditure.
5. And last, but not least, liberal financial aid should be given to the programme suggested in the recent Report of the Recess Committee for the agricultural and industrial development of the country.

| | On Imperial Services. | On English Services. | On Scottish Services. | On Irish Services. | TOTAL. |
|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| 1. MET OUT OF EXCHEQUER REVENUE : | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| National Debt Charges | 25,200,000 | — | — | — | 25,200,000 |
| Naval and Military Charges : | | | | | |
| (a) Army | 18,090,000 | — | — | — | 18,090,000 |
| (b) Navy | 15,476,571 | 14,000,000 | — | — | 15,476,571 |
| Civil Government Charges : | | | | | |
| (a) On Consolidated Fund | 1,531,196 | 442,824 | 147,444 | 419,507 | 1,531,196 |
| (b) Voted | 1,351,956 | 11,173,925 | 1,629,374 | 4,070,836 | 18,226,091 |
| TOTAL CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES ... | £ 2,883,152 | 11,616,749 | 1,776,818 | 4,490,343 | 19,757,287 |
| Collection of Taxes | — | 2,103,310 | 344,280 | 223,398 | 2,670,988 |
| Post Office Services | 585,000 | 7,725,810 | 1,004,380 | 792,810 | 10,108,000 |
| TOTAL MET OUT OF EXCHEQUER REVENUE ... | £ 48,234,723 | 35,003,045 | 2,978,034 | 5,087,044 | 91,302,846 |
| 2. MET OUT OF LOCAL TAXATION REVENUE : | | | £24,057,144 | | |
| Miscellaneous Local Charges | — | 6,106,197 | 736,741 | 321,014 | 7,163,952 |
| GRAND TOTAL | £ 48,234,723 | 41,109,242 | 3,714,775 | 5,408,058 | 98,466,798 |
| | | | £24,057,144 | | 50,232,075 |

N.B.—The figures as altered are not to be taken as distinguishing between Scotland and England. The totals represent approximately what appears to be the expenditure in Great Britain as compared with expenditure in Ireland.

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94.

(a) ON CONSOLIDATED FUND.*

| | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| CIVIL LIST | 407,301 | 407,301 | — | — |
| ANNUITIES AND PENSIONS : | | | | |
| Annuitants to the Royal Family ... | 187,796 | 187,796 | — | — |
| Pensions for Naval & Military Services | 27,720 | — | — | — |
| Pensions for Political & Civil Services | 14,249 | — | — | — |
| Pensions for Judicial Services ... | 5,217 | 44,408 | 9,765 | 13,435 |
| Compensations, Courts of Justice ... | — | 25,790 | — | 4,389 |
| Pensions, Diplomatic Services ... | 2,600 | — | — | — |
| Miscellaneous Pensions | 2,647 | — | 238 | — |
| TOTALS, ANNUITIES AND PENSIONS ... } £ | 240,229 | 70,198 | 10,003 | 17,824 |
| SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES : | | | | |
| Speaker, House of Commons ... | 5,000 | 5,000 | — | — |
| Exchequer and Audit Department ... | 3,500 | 3,500 | — | — |
| Clergy and Schools | 4,249 | — | 17,939 | — |
| Inspectors of Anatomy | — | 570 | 350 | 470 |
| Copyright Compensations | — | 364 | — | 433 |
| Salaries formerly on the Hereditary Revenues of Scotland | — | — | 6,001 | — |
| Land Revenue Allowances | — | 788 | 210 | 150 |
| Lord Lieutenant, Ireland | — | — | — | 20,000 |
| Queen's Colleges, Ireland | — | — | — | 21,000 |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | — | 755 |
| TOTALS, SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES ... } £ | 12,749 | 1,722 | 24,500 | 22,808 |
| COURTS OF JUSTICE : | | | | |
| Salaries | 24,164 | 270,904 | 102,885 | 118,875 |
| MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES : | | | | |
| Russian Dutch Loan | 43,554 | — | — | — |
| Greenwich Hospital | 4,000 | — | — | — |
| Duchy of Lancaster (Wine Compensation) | 803 | — | — | — |
| Duchy of Cornwall, &c. (Tin Compensation) | 16,216 | — | — | — |
| Public Offices Site Annuity | 16,244 | — | — | — |
| Commutation of Perpetual Charges | 66,217 | — | — | — |
| Exchequer Contribution to Ireland | — | — | — | 40,000 |
| TOTALS, MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES ... } £ | 147,034 | — | — | 40,000 |
| TOTALS, CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND ... } £ | 881,444 | 242,824 | 137,388 | 219,507 |
| | 190,617 | 983,684 | | |
| | £1,531,196. | | | |

* The Consolidated Fund Charges should be all placed in "Imperial" column, under the Act for Consolidation of the Exchequer.

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94—*continued.*

(b) VOTED.

| — | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| CLASS I. | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Royal Palaces and Marlborough House | — | 36,798 | 720 | — |
| Royal Parks, &c. | — | 83,103 | 8,270 | — |
| Houses of Parliament (Buildings) ... | 36,905 | 36,905 | — | — |
| Public Buildings | 39,802 | 91,020 | 22,371 | 695 |
| | | 89,802 | — | — |
| Admiralty, Extension of Buildings ... | 49,191 | 49,191 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous Legal Buildings (Great Britain). | — | 48,263 | 9,300 | — |
| Art and Science Buildings (Great Britain). | — | 23,993 | 1,930 | — |
| Diplomatic and Consular Buildings ... | 29,359 | — | — | — |
| Revenue Department Buildings (Great Britain). | — | 304,364 | 35,200 | — |
| Surveys of United Kingdom | 4,275 | 124,245 | 38,270 | 50,950 |
| Harbours under Board of Trade and Lighthouses Abroad. | — | 13,479 | 5,600 | — |
| Peterhead Harbour | — | — | 11,529 | — |
| Rates on Government Property (United Kingdom). | 1,900 | 207,900 | 4,669 | 30,870 |
| Public Works and Buildings in Ireland | 21,010 | — | — | 193,154 |
| | | | | 21,010 |
| Railways (Ireland) | — | — | — | 38,247 |
| TOTAL OF CLASS I. ... £ | 282,442 35,534 | 933,165 1,109,063 | 137,859 | 313,916 334,926 |

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94—continued.

| | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| CLASS II. | | | | |
| ENGLAND. | | | | |
| House of Lords Offices | 38,484 | 38,484 | — | — |
| House of Commons Offices | 51,129 | 51,129 | — | — |
| Treasury, &c. | 37,520 | 39,972 | 3,900 | 5,500 |
| | | 77,492 | | |
| Home Office, &c. | — | 85,400 | 8,567 | 2,417 |
| Foreign Office | 69,212 | 69,212 | — | — |
| Colonial Office | 42,660 | 42,660 | — | — |
| Privy Council Office, &c. | 3,000 | 9,687 | — | — |
| Board of Trade | 167,120 | 8,750 | — | 4,000 |
| | | 166,870 | | |
| Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade. | — | — | — | — |
| Board of Agriculture | 215 | 39,246 | 6,870 | — |
| Charity Commission, &c. | — | 32,949 | — | — |
| Civil Service Commission | 34,869 | — | — | — |
| Exchequer and Audit Department ... | 56,115 | 56,115 | — | — |
| Friendly Societies Registry (United Kingdom). | — | 5,324 | 385 | 405 |
| Local Government Board | — | 166,696 | — | — |
| Lunacy Commission | — | 13,417 | — | — |
| Mercantile Marine Fund, Grant in Aid | 50,000 | — | — | — |
| Mint | 77 | — | — | — |
| National Debt Office | 14,505 | 14,505 | — | — |
| Public Works Loan Commission | — | 8,025 | 1,546 | — |
| Record Office | — | 19,999 | — | — |
| Registrar General's Office | — | 37,960 | — | — |
| Stationery, &c., United Kingdom ... | 267,500 | 192,956 | 21,000 | 35,000 |
| | 242,500 | 217,956 | | |
| Woods, Forests, &c., Office of | — | 17,837 | 450 | 2,230 |
| Works and Public Buildings, Office of | 12,000 | 35,222 | 4,000 | — |
| | | 47,242 | | |
| Secret Service | 26,200 | — | — | — |
| SCOTLAND. | | | | |
| Secretary for Scotland's Office .. | — | — | 10,633 | — |
| Fishery Board | — | — | 20,426 | — |
| Lunacy Commission | — | — | 5,670 | — |
| Registrar General's Office | — | — | 7,395 | — |
| Board of Supervision, &c. | — | — | 8,386 | — |
| IRELAND. | | | | |
| Lord Lieutenant's Household | — | — | — | 4,505 |
| Chief Secretary's Office, &c. | — | — | — | 41,114 |
| Charitable Donations & Bequests Office | — | — | — | 1,514 |
| Local Government Board | — | — | — | 131,945 |
| Public Works Office | — | — | — | 32,573 |
| Record Office | — | — | — | 5,001 |
| Registrar General's Office | — | — | — | 15,341 |
| Valuation and Boundary Survey | — | — | — | 11,585 |
| TOTAL OF CLASS II. | £ 370,506 356,861 | 708,460 1,218,205 | 99,228 | 298,138 297,133 |

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94—continued.

| | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| CLASS III. | | | | |
| Law Charges | — | 94,721 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous Legal Expenses ... | 12,850 | 26,127 | — | 23 |
| Supreme Court of Judicature ... | — | 325,853 | — | — |
| Land Registry | — | 6,554 | — | — |
| County Courts | — | 25,000 | — | — |
| Police Courts (London and Sheerness) | — | 2,534 | — | — |
| Police (England and Wales) | — | 53,573 | — | — |
| Prisons (England and the Colonies) ... | 5,870 | 601,248 | — | — |
| Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain). | — | 265,673 | — | — |
| Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum | — | 34,105 | — | — |
| SCOTLAND. | | | | |
| Law Charges and Courts of Law ... | — | — | 82,332 | — |
| Register House, Edinburgh | — | — | 37,463 | — |
| Grofters Commission | — | — | 7,638 | — |
| Prisons | — | — | 91,625 | — |
| IRELAND. | | | | |
| Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions | — | — | — | 59,456 |
| Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments. | — | — | — | 113,770 |
| Land Commission | — | — | — | 61,090 |
| County Court Officers, &c. | — | — | — | 118,900 |
| Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts). | — | — | — | 92,767 |
| Constabulary | — | — | — | 1,344,362 |
| Prisons | — | — | — | 119,767 |
| Reformatory and Industrial Schools ... | — | — | — | 109,878 |
| Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ... | — | — | — | 5,426 |
| TOTAL OF CLASS III. £ | 18,720 | 1,435,388 | 219,058 | 2,025,439 |

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94—continued.

| | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|---|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| CLASS IV. | | | | |
| ENGLAND. | | | | |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Public Education (England and Wales) | — | 6,401,280 | — | — |
| Science and Art Department (United Kingdom) | — | 534,106 | 83,260 | 43,530 |
| British Museum | — | 157,109 | — | — |
| National Gallery | — | 13,271 | — | — |
| National Portrait Gallery | — | 1,104 | — | — |
| Scientific Investigations, &c. (United Kingdom) | 19,300 | 2,500 | 1,563 | 2,666 |
| London University | — | — | — | — |
| Universities & Colleges (Great Britain) | — | 28,500 | 54,500 | — |
| SCOTLAND. | | | | |
| Public Education | — | — | 967,036 | — |
| National Gallery | — | — | 4,050 | — |
| IRELAND. | | | | |
| Public Education | — | — | — | 1,066,403 |
| Endowed Schools Commissioners | — | — | — | 871 |
| National Gallery | — | — | — | 2,448 |
| Queen's Colleges | — | — | — | 5,048 |
| TOTAL OF CLASS IV. ... £ | 19,300 | 7,137,870 | 1,110,409 | 1,120,966 |
| CLASS V. | | | | |
| Diplomatic and Consular Services .. | 467,155 | — | — | — |
| Slave Trade Services | 1,000 | — | — | — |
| Colonial Services (including South Africa). | 163,934 | — | — | — |
| Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ... | 59,900 | — | — | — |
| TOTAL OF CLASS V. ... £ | 691,989 | — | — | — |

DETAILS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES, 1893-94—continued.

| | Imperial. | English. | Scottish. | Irish. |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| CLASS VI. | | | | |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Superannuations and Retired Allowances | 165,000 | 250,088 | 13,000 | 79,300 |
| Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions ... | 8,422 | — | — | — |
| Friendly Societies Deficiency ... | 15,351 | — | — | — |
| Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances (Great Britain) | 370 | 1,064 | 430 | — |
| Pauper Lunatics (Ireland) ... | — | — | — | 121,433 |
| Hospitals and Charities (Ireland) ... | — | — | — | 18,079 |
| TOTAL OF CLASS VI. ... | £ 189,143 | 251,152 | 13,430 | 218,812 |
| CLASS VII. | | | | |
| Temporary Commissions ... | 20,243 | 8,600 | 7,400 | 7,300 |
| Miscellaneous Expenses ... | — | — | — | — |
| Pleuro-Pneumonia ... | — | 13,200 | 1,800 | 50,000 |
| Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund | 166 | 447 | — | 4,392 |
| " Local Loans Fund ... | — | — | — | 11,868 |
| Highlands and Islands (Scotland) (Public Works and Communications) | — | — | 40,190 | — |
| Chicago Exhibition ... | 20,000 | — | — | — |
| TOTAL OF CLASS VII. ... | £ 40,409 | 22,247 | 49,390 | 73,560 |
| Class I. ... | 2,222,442 | 988,165 | 137,859 | 313,916 |
| " II. ... | 35,534 | 1,109,063 | 99,228 | 293,133 |
| " III. ... | 870,606 | 708,460 | — | — |
| " IV. ... | 356,861 | 1,218,205 | 219,058 | 2,025,439 |
| " V. ... | 18,720 | 1,435,388 | 1,110,409 | 1,120,966 |
| " VI. ... | 19,300 | 7,137,870 | — | — |
| " VII. ... | 691,989 | — | 13,430 | 218,812 |
| " VIII. ... | 189,143 | 251,152 | 49,390 | 73,560 |
| " IX. ... | 40,409 | 22,247 | — | — |
| TOTAL CIVIL GOVERNMENT CHARGES VOTED ... | £ 2,062,609 | 10,488,232 | 1,629,374 | 4,045,825 |
| | 1,351,956 | 11,173,925 | | 4,070,835 |
| CUSTOMS ... | — | 695,880 | 88,880 | 61,188 |
| INLAND REVENUE ... | — | 1,407,430 | 255,400 | 162,210 |
| TOTAL COLLECTION OF TAXES, £ | — | 2,103,310 | 344,280 | 223,398 |
| POST OFFICE ... | — | 5,449,050 | 712,200 | 569,750 |
| TELEGRAPH SERVICE ... | — | 2,222,760 | 262,180 | 179,060 |
| PACKET SERVICE ... | 585,000 | 54,000 | 30,000 | 54,000 |
| TOTAL POST OFFICE SERVICES, £ | 585,000 | 7,725,810 | 1,004,380 | 792,810 |
| TOTAL REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, £ | 585,000 | 9,829,120 | 1,348,660 | 1,016,208 |

PART III.—CONTRIBUTION TO IMPERIAL SERVICES.

This Table shows the Balances of Revenue contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, which are available for Imperial Expenditure after the Local Expenditure of those Divisions of the United Kingdom has been met, according to the figures shown in Parts I. and II. of this Return :—

| Year 1893-94. | England. | Scotland. | Ireland. | TOTAL. |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Total Revenue as contributed | £ 78,781,329 | £ 10,505,649 | £ 7,568,649 | £ 96,855,627 |
| Local Expenditure - - | 28,766,423 41,109,242 | 3,352,163 3,714,775 | 5,602,555 5,408,058 | 36,221,141 50,232,075 |
| Balance available for Imperial } Expenditure - - - } | 50,014,906 37,672,087 | 6,653,486 6,790,874 | 1,966,094 2,160,591 | 60,634,486 46,623,552 |

VI.—*The Valuation of the City of Dublin.* By Charles Dawson, Esq.

[Read Tuesday, 23rd March, 1897].

As an introduction to the question of the state of the valuation of the city of Dublin, I should wish to refer briefly to the work achieved by the Municipal Corporation since the passing of the Public Health Act of 1878.

No one whose memory goes back twenty years can forget the state of the principal streets of the city at that time, composed of inferior paving stones or macadam, in summer they were dust heaps, and in winter seas of mud. On new paving since the date mentioned over £345,000 has been spent.

Coincident with this improvement of the roadway a new and efficient system of scavenging was introduced. And it may be of interest to mention that when seeking a competent person to inaugurate a good system the Corporation made no distinction of country or of religion. After a careful examination, in which the late Mr. Gray, myself and others took part, Mr. Young, of Glasgow, son of a Scotch clergyman, was selected. Having set the machinery going he left of his own motion, to fill a better post in London. I am glad to say his place has since been filled by an Irishman, Mr. M'Grane, who, I think, it will be allowed, is keeping up the high standard achieved by his predecessor.