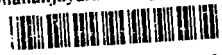


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“NEW VIEWS ON IRELAND.”



“NEW VIEWS ON IRELAND.”

OR,

IRISH LAND:

GRIEVANCES: REMEDIES.

BY

CHARLES RUSSELL, Q.C., M.P.

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1980

PREFACE.

THE substance of the following pages has recently appeared in a series of letters in the *Daily Telegraph* under the first title here prefixed to them, "New Views on Ireland."

That rather ambitious title was given by the Editor, not by me. It has, however, been preserved for the sake of identity.

I ask only that these pages may be regarded as an honest contribution to the discussion of the most difficult, as it is the most pressing, question of our time. I bring to that discussion some practical experience in former years, and an interest which has lasted all my life.

Thinking men regard the settlement of the Land System as the foundation-stone of prosperity in Ireland.

What I have written I have written from a sense of duty. I have striven to be fair.

I have written from no standpoint of class, of politics, or of religion. I have sought to discuss the question as one which affects all classes in Ireland, and not Ireland alone, but the Empire.

I have given the result of my examination of a portion of Kerry, which is fairly typical of the parts of Ireland, whose condition most urgently calls for improvement. I have gone into details, where I thought it necessary, to enable the reader to appreciate what are the actual lives of large classes of men and women in Ireland in this day.

For the rest, I must allow my sketches of Irish tenant life in the Kingdom of Kerry to tell their own story.

It has been a pain to me to be obliged to make statements which could hardly fail, at times, to wound. It seemed to me impossible, honestly, to avoid making them.

As might have been expected, the accuracy of my information has been questioned. It will be for the judgment of the reader to determine whether, in any essential part, it has been successfully impeached.

I present the full means of judgment. I have thought it right to set out in the Appendix every signed Letter brought to my attention, written by any

one with authority to speak, which has purported to impugn my statements. I have also there set forth my Letters in reply.

After attempting to illustrate the condition of things which seems to require redress, I have ventured to draw in outline a Remedial Scheme.

I have done so with diffidence and distrust.

It may need, in its application, many safeguards and qualifications, but, I firmly believe that it lays down the main lines, on which alone can be built, a complete and permanent settlement of the Irish Land Question.

C. R.

TEMPLE, 14th December, 1880.

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APPENDIX.

THE following Letters appeared about the dates they respectively bear, and principally in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*.

LETTER OF MRS. FRANCES O'MAHONY.

[See *ante*, p. 41, and for Mr. Russell's reply, *post*, p. 179.]

SIR,—Having just read in your paper of the 12th inst. a letter, entitled "New Views on Ireland," signed by "Charles Russell, Temple, Nov. 11," I beg the indulgence of space for a few remarks in justification of one now nearly seventeen years dead, who has been attacked by Mr. Russell with a flippancy which is only surpassed by the absence of truth in the greater part of his statement regarding Mr. Mahony. Speaking of Miss Hewson's property near Kenmare, he says:

"The property formerly belonged to one Mahony, of Cork, who, intending to sell it, raised the rents. With this the poor tenants had little to say; they could but submit. And having so by a word, as one may say, increased the apparent fee-simple value of his property, Mr. Mahony sold it to Miss Hewson."

Permit me to state facts, premising that "one Mahony, of Cork," although then residing in that city, was a member of one of the oldest families in the County

Kerry, his son being now in possession of a fee-simple estate which has descended to him through a long line of ancestors.

A year or two before the famine of 1845-46 Mr. Mahony bought the Kenmare property alluded to in Mr. Russell's letter, for £18,000, a price then deemed excessive by good judges of property. The land was in so bad a condition from want of draining, &c., that Mr. Mahony took advantage of the loans proffered by the Board of Works and laid out several thousand pounds on an extensive and perfect system of drainage. So great was the employment this gave during the famine years that the poor-rate in that barony was considerably less than in the surrounding districts. For a very long time Mr. Mahony neither asked nor received the rents the poor people would have found it so difficult to pay, but after several prosperous years a rent was put on each farm proportioned to *but not exceeding the value of the improvements made by the landlord*. I asked one of the tenants if he thought the increase of £6 or £7 a-year too much; he unhesitatingly answered "No," and that he could have paid it for the previous six years. At that time there was no idea of selling the property. When my late husband, Mr. Mahony's, health became precarious it was thought prudent to do so. The property was put up to public auction and sold in separate portions, some of them being bought by the tenants on the estate. In this way Miss Hewson has become the possessor of a farm or farms. The property brought between £5000 and £6000 more than the price (a fancy one) paid for it twelve or fifteen

years previously, in consequence of the landlord's improvements.—Regretting the exuberance of Mr. Russell's imagination, particularly when it maligns the dead, I am, Mr. Editor, your obedient servant,

Nov. 13.

FRANCES O'MAHONY.

LETTER OF LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

[See *ante*, p. 43, and for Mr. Russell's reply, *post*, p. 182.]

SIR,—In your columns of the last few days there have appeared a series of letters from the pen of Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., in which several statements are contained injurious to the management of the estate in Kerry belonging to my brother, Lord Lansdowne.

I have not the slightest wish to impugn the perfect good faith of Mr. Charles Russell, but so great a proportion of the facts alleged by him are known by me—though I am myself unconnected with the management—to be inaccurate, misleading, and incorrect, that I feel myself fully justified in asking the public to regard his letters, so far as they relate to my brother's property, as being a purely *ex parte* statement, unsifted in the slightest degree, and, therefore, as a whole, unworthy of credence. One point—that in regard to the drainage loans—I have elsewhere already explained. As Mr. Charles Russell takes no notice of my explanation, I presume he has not seen it. It is not, however, in any manner my intention to enter into a controversy with him upon the various small details of his long indict-

ment, not only because, if it were necessary, I am not the right person to do so, but also because the *Standard* of Nov. 11, 14, and 18 contained letters from its Special Correspondent in regard to the same estate giving a totally different account from that of Mr. Charles Russell. There is another reason. My brother has been examined before the Royal Agricultural Commission in regard to his Irish estate, and the landlords, agents, and tenants of Kerry, and all who have grievances, have had a full opportunity of stating their respective views, and the facts supporting them, before the Commission presided over by Lord Bessborough. Those, therefore, who desire to hear both sides and form an impartial judgment will soon have the best evidence before them. Meanwhile, I protest against *ex parte* statements, whether favourable or not, being accepted as unquestioned truth.

The *gravamen* of Mr. Charles Russell's letters is the inhumanity and harshness of the general management, and he calls as his principal witnesses the "Nun" of Kenmare and the Home Rule Protestant rector, Mr. M'Cutcheon. Archdeacon Higgins, however, whose evidence was confirmed from many other sources, told your contemporary's correspondent that the estate was low-rented, and "that Lord Lansdowne was one of the best landlords in Kerry, of whom it suited some people to talk disparagingly for personal purposes." I do not know if the Archdeacon meant this shaft for the "Nun" or the Rector, or for both. In either case, far be it from me to contradict him.

The successive owners of the Lansdowne property have

been always perfectly aware that no agent can be infallible, and no system of estate management can be perfect. They have therefore never sought to avoid the eye of observers, and have been invariably ready to give every information in their power to those seeking it. They would gladly have afforded it to Mr. Charles Russell, and would have welcomed the impartial criticism of so distinguished a public man, especially at a difficult moment like the present. Unfortunately, as a matter of fact, Mr. Charles Russell not only heard one side only, but also chose as his principal informants those very persons who, to use Archdeacon Higgins' phrase, "had personal purposes;" and they sought him out all the more eagerly, because a foolish report had got about in the neighbourhood that he had come down with special instructions from some mysterious quarter to make a case against Lord Lansdowne, in order to pay him off for his vote and speech on the Disturbance Bill.

This report was of course unfounded; but if I am not justified in believing the idle gossip of Kenmare about Mr. Charles Russell, neither is he justified in believing it about Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Trench. If I am to refuse to believe that the leader of the Northern Circuit could for a moment condescend to sink to the level of a common informer, on the same principle I am entitled to ask Mr. Charles Russell at least to hesitate before accepting all the wild talk and exaggerations of his friends as being the realities of Irish life. Truth is often not more easy to get at along the shores of Kerry than along those of the Bosphorus; and the same unreasonableness which

now causes Irish patriots, so called, to denounce Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster, is simply another symptom of that same reckless frame of mind of which the indiscriminate abuse and misrepresentation of the landlords is the habitual sign. I, therefore, regret that Mr. Charles Russell should not have thought fit to use his great abilities in sifting the evidence, after hearing both sides, instead of putting his conscience into the keeping of the "Nun," of the Rector, and Mr. Michael Cronin, the well-known Fenian agent, whose name Mr. Charles Russell, with true skill, entirely suppresses in his letters. Mr. Michael Cronin, I may mention, could have given Mr. Charles Russell far more accurate information as to the interior of Mountjoy Prison than of the office rules of the Lansdowne estate.

Perhaps, however, it is unfair to complain that an eminent lawyer on his autumn trip should, if only out of mere weariness, leave the rules of evidence behind him for domestic consumption, and, like Mr. Wemmick in 'Great Expectations,' have two characters—a Westminster or business character, and a Walworth or holiday character, with different modes of procedure adapted to each. The consequences, however, to those whom Mr. Charles Russell falls upon, when he has donned his Walworth character, are likely, as it would seem, to prove disagreeable.

In regard to the observation alleged by him to have been made to him by the "Nun," to the effect that Mr. Trench had told her that "when he saw the distress coming he told his noble master that it would be the best

thing that had ever happened to the landlords—they would have their tenants at their mercy," I need hardly perhaps point out to any of your readers the *prima facie* improbability of the story, and the still greater improbability of Mr. Trench having made such a statement to the notoriously hostile "Nun." In any case, I venture to stigmatise the assertion of the "Nun," if it really was made, as a cruel and wicked slander; but I cannot still help hoping that Mr. Charles Russell misunderstood Miss Cusack's words.

One other statement I wish to notice, because it reflects on the memory of my late grandfather. Mr. Charles Russell repeats, as unquestioned truth, the old calumny that the emigration after the great famine was carried out in a barbarous fashion, and that a very large proportion of the emigrants from his property died in "New York Hospital," where a ward in consequence came to be known as the "Lansdowne Ward." I, on the contrary, assert that the emigration was carried out with the utmost efficiency of which the terrible circumstances of the period and the various difficulties of time and place admitted, and that it saved 3,000 people from a miserable end in Ireland. Not one of these, I may mention, had been evicted. They flocked into the already overcrowded workhouse of their own accord, as they were dying of starvation on their miserable holdings, where it was practically impossible to relieve them.

As regards the "Lansdowne Ward," I not long ago asked a friend of mine, who had been connected with the relief of the famine, and since then with emigration and

Poor Law work in England, to inquire carefully while in New York where the hospital was, and whether any such ward existed or had existed in it. He told me on his return that he believed the whole story was an impudent invention got up by Irish politicians for their own purposes. I observe that Mr. Charles Russell, throughout his letters, takes Griffith's valuation as a fair standard for rent. The absurdity of this has been so often and so thoroughly exposed in your columns that I need not allude to it further, beyond noticing that Mr. Charles Russell is obliged to admit, though grudgingly, that, even near Cahirciveen, the estate is not highly rented. Your contemporary correspondent says it is low rented.

Mr. Charles Russell says, *inter alia*, that he found the Kerry peasantry dull and deficient in humour, and his soul was consequently filled with patriotic anguish. Now, a friend of mine tells me that Mr. Charles Russell, though an Irish M.P., is in reality a Scotchman. There is a well-known saying that to make a Scotchman understand a joke you must first perform a surgical operation upon him. I should be sorry if, the next time Mr. Charles Russell visits Kerry, the playful inhabitants should consider it their duty to perform upon him any of the surgical operations now fashionable in Ireland, with a view to making him understand the humour of the country. If they do I feel sure Mr. Trench will do his best to protect him. One of your contemporaries, I may observe, pointed out the other day that perhaps the only redeeming feature in the present gloomy situation in Ireland was that nothing

seemed able to suppress the wit and humour of the people, to whatever class they belonged. My friend Professor Fawcett not long ago made some stay at Kenmare; Mr. Charles Russell can, if he chooses, ask him if he thought the population such very dull people, or considered that they were all groaning and downtrodden under a horrible tyranny.

Mr. Charles Russell further declares that his poorer witnesses exhibited signs of the most abject terror. Small blame to them, I venture to say. What must have been the feelings of these unfortunate people when they found themselves suddenly confronted with the formidable leader of the Northern Circuit, armed with his "note-book," accompanied by an active "shorthand writer," and followed by friends of the "Nun," fresh from her presence, Mr. Michael Cronin, fresh from Mountjoy Prison, and the Home Rule Rector still groaning from the consequences of disestablishment! Who shall blame the Kerry peasant if he shrunk back and at first showed no greater valour than the ancient hero when he saw advancing upon him an equally dire conjunction, "Gorgones, Harpyiæque et forma tricorporis umbrae?"

In one thing I agree with Mr. Charles Russell, viz., that the peasantry of Kerry are poor, though perhaps not so poor as he thinks. I attribute this mainly to the poverty of the soil, the remote character of the district, the bad methods of cultivation; and, near Cahirciveen, to habitual drunkenness. The laws relating to land, no doubt, have also, especially in the past, had something

to do with it, but I think less there than elsewhere, because Lord Lansdowne's property is one of the few in the South of Ireland where the Ulster custom exists, a fact which Mr. Charles Russell slurs over, in the same way that he suppresses the large sums spent on the estate in improvements of a permanent character, and upon schools, since 1845, and upon relief works. Mr. Charles Russell, however, is of opinion that the poverty is all the fault of the landlords, and in this he is not peculiar, for I see in the Irish papers every day that the landlords are to be exterminated. Be it so. When the hour of confiscation arrives I intend to propose that the Barony of Iveragh, about which Mr. Russell is so very eloquent, but whither it does not appear that he went in person, shall, with the corresponding title, be conferred on him for his eminent public services. When he has been in occupation of the Barony a few years, I, Sir, shall ask you to appoint me your Special Correspondent, and if I find that the new law-lord has not made the peasantry of Ireland as rich as Henry IV. wished that of France to be, if he has not caused the boulder-stones of the mountains to grow turnips, and has not turned every sow's ear in Kerry into a silk purse, I shall hold him up to public hatred as a rack-renter, a tyrant, and an exterminator.—I am, Sir, yours obediently,

EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

November 18.

P.S.—I may add that Mr. Charles Russell's assertion that no branches of the Land League exist in Kerry is as accurate as most of his other statements.

LETTER OF MR. RUSSELL.

[*Ante*, pages 131, 133.]

SIR,—I cannot think of asking *de die in diem* for space in your columns to answer the criticisms or the strictures upon my letters of your correspondents. I propose, therefore, to finish the series, as originally sketched by me, without noticing these. Pressure upon my time just now renders necessary a break of a few days. When the series is finished I shall ask your permission to make such answer as is called for, once for all.

I beg, however, to say I shall notice no anonymous letter. The fact that a number of these have lately been permitted to appear in the English press, full of the most serious—not to say calumnious—statements against the Irish people, seems to me to be in the highest degree regrettable. Anonymous letters of all sorts are out of place at this time, whether they contain menaces to landlords and agents, or sweeping, unproved charges against whole classes. Many of those that have appeared unsigned are eminently calculated to excite a rancorous and dangerous feeling in the English mind at a time when more than ever calmness of judgment is needed.

Only two signed letters purporting to challenge the accuracy of any of my statements have up to this time appeared in your columns—I include that in to-day's issue from Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. I hope I am not doing that noble Lord injustice in treating this letter as authentic. I should certainly have expected, instead of

the laboured levity which marks his communication, to find him exhibiting a spirit of thoughtful seriousness more befitting the occasion.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

TEMPLE, November 19.

LETTER OF MR. E. MORROGH BERNARD.

[See *ante*, p. 19, and *post*, p. 144; and for Mr. Russell's reply, *post*, p. 181.]

SIR,—Mr. C. Russell having thought proper to hold up my name to public odium, without first having the courtesy of ascertaining if the "stories" he was about publishing were true, I will thank you to insert a few remarks concerning my dealings with the Iveragh tenants. I conclude the place he visited was "Roads," where I never raised the rents, and where the tenants, on various occasions, have experienced acts of kindness from me, since I became the purchaser a few years ago. The widow Goulden has not been a tenant for the last eleven years, and her son, who was tenant, ran away to America, not to escape his "landlord," but his other creditors. It may surprise Mr. C. Russell to hear, that instead of cursing me she publicly called down blessings upon me and mine in the town of Cahirciveen no later than last month. The improvements on this farm were made, not by the tenant, but by my father, who got the money from the Board of Works.

The rental of the Knocknatubber property is very

much the same now as in the early part of the forties. Instead of the rents being raised different times, there has been only one small rise in my time (since 1866), and every one knows the great increase in the value of farm stock. The charity money Canon Brosnan, the good P.P. of Cahirciveen, applied to the "Roads" mountain farm, could not have been better used, as it kept some miserable under-tenants (not mine) from the workhouse. At one time I tried to get my neighbour to join in putting that road in order, but he refused, and the undertaking was too expensive for me to do alone. Perhaps if Mr. Russell had an Irish property with heavy charges that must be paid he would be glad to get rid of a bad tenant, and he would also become aware of the fact that Griffith's valuation is not the guide for many parts of the country. He may also like to know that leases were offered of thirty-one years, but the tenants refused, with one exception, saying they preferred the old way always best, and would remain yearly tenants. Mr. C. Russell's letters having got wide circulation, I hope the various papers which copied his statements will do me the justice to insert this also.

ED. MORROGH BERNARD.

KILLARNEY, *November 19.*

LETTER OF VERY REV. CANON BROSNAN, P.P.,
IN ANSWER TO MR. MORROGH BERNARD.

[See *ante*, pages 19, and 142, and *post*, page 181.]

SIR,—The reference made to me by Mr. Morrogh Bernard in his letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 20th inst. obliges me, however reluctantly, to trespass on your space. I would have preferred to continue quietly trying in my own humble way to promote the cause of justice and good-will between landlords and their tenants in my parish. But in times of such intense excitement the public have, I think, special claims to be fully and accurately informed on all issues raised in reference to the Land Question. Mr. Bernard states that the charity money applied by me to the Roads mountain farm road kept some miserable under-tenants “not his” from the workhouse. I beg to say that most of this money went to his own tenants, who of all the other people in the parish were the most miserable, and nearly all of whom, but for this and all the other charities given to them, would, beyond all doubt, have perished. The neighbouring gentleman of whom he complains gave me £10 towards making this road, while he did not subscribe a shilling towards it, nor in any other way towards the relief of the appalling distress.

Mr. Bernard says he did not raise the rents on this farm of Roads, but he omits to mention that they had been enormously raised—aye, actually to more than double their value—by the former unhappy owner. Mr. Bernard

states that these tenants experienced various acts of kindness from him. What will poor John Lynch say to this, who with his large helpless family was cast upon the world because in addition to an impossible rent he could not pay crushing law costs?

The sad and honest truth is that but for the public charities extended to them, not two of Mr. Bernard's twenty or twenty-five tenants at Roads could have paid any rent at all.

With regard to the Knocknatubber rents, Mr. Bernard states they were raised only once in his time, and that by a small increase. Some of them were raised at least twenty-five per cent. by him, and his father had considerably raised them all previously, promising then there should be no further rise.

As for the widow Goulden, who, Mr. Bernard states, called down blessings upon him and his, recently he gave her £3, but, she demanding £3 more for having "made a fool of her" in sending her to Tralee, he promised he would give it to her the next time he came to Cahirciveen. She then said "Safe journey to you, but I will not take my curse off you till I get the other £3." This is the blessing Mr. Bernard boasts of. I am in a position further to state that her son did not fly the country because of his creditors, as alleged by Mr. Bernard, but on account of the excessive law costs imposed upon him, the poor man having in vain made a tender of his full rent the day before he left.—I am, &c.,

T. CANON BROSANAN.

CAHIRCIVEEN, November 21, 1880.

LETTER OF MISS M. F. CUSACK,
IN ANSWER TO LORD E. FITZMAURICE.

[Known as the Nun of Kenmare—a Member of the Sisterhood of the
Convent of Poor Clares, Kenmare.]

SIR,—I do not know why Lord Fitzmaurice is so anxious to bring me into the controversy between himself and Mr. Russell; I was not even aware that he proposed visiting me until he called at the convent. I could not, therefore, be his principal witness. Facts are his principal witnesses, and Mr. Russell will, no doubt, defend his facts. As no one was present on the occasion of my interview with Mr. Trench, mentioned in Lord Fitzmaurice's letter in your issue of November 19th, I am at a loss to know how any one can be called on to deny the words used except the persons concerned.

I am not "hostile" to Mr. Trench, as Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice states. He does both Mr. Trench and myself injustice in saying so. But I am hostile, and shall always be hostile, to a system which treats the people as serfs, and uses them solely as rent-producing machines. I was not aware that I had any differences with Mr. Trench; he has always treated me with marked personal courtesy, and, if I needed an act of personal kindness to-morrow, I would ask it from him as readily as from any one in Ireland.

Recrimination and personalities are not argument, and can only be used when there is a bad case. It is quite true that Mr. Trench and I differed very widely on the subject of the distress in Kerry. Mr. Trench denied

the distress, and, if he could have prevented it, would not have allowed any relief committee to be formed here. But I have yet to learn that Mr. Trench is personally infallible; he was the only gentleman in or around the Marquis of Lansdowne's estate who denied the distress. His personal friend, and one who also, I believe, shares his peculiar religious views, Mr. Mahoney, J.P., of Dro-more, asked to join the relief committee here. As it was through the efforts I made that this committee was enabled to assist the poor here so largely, I wrote to him asking how he could wish to avail himself of the funds I had collected when his friend Mr. Trench so persistently denied the distress. His reply is before me as I write. He said he had not asked to join the committee until he had impoverished himself by assisting his tenants. I repeat again, this letter is addressed to myself, and is in my possession, and I know that in many places landlords and land agents have denied the distress point blank, though their tenants have been fed and clothed by relief committees and saved from starvation. Further, I received a letter of thanks from Mr. O'Connell, J.P., of Derrynane Abbey. Also, I was so pressed by the relief committee here for help that I was almost worn out with correspondence; but when I received earnest appeals from them, there was no more to be said but to try and save the people. I sent also large sums of money to Canon Brosnan, of Cahirciveen, where Mr. Trench is also agent, and received from him the following letter:

"There are upwards of 800 destitute families here. How we are to struggle through the next five or six

months I know not; as for clothing, £800 would not supply the barely necessary want, whilst some 500 children are unfit to appear in school through this want. Dear sister, do all you can to help me in this great work of need and charity.—Praying God to send you more and more, I am yours most truly,

“J. CANON BROSNAN.”

Irish landlords lost a golden opportunity of securing the affections and devotion of their tenants in the famine year, and I deeply regret that a nobleman like the Marquis of Lansdowne, whose rents are not excessive and whose heart is good—if he will pardon me for saying so—should have missed such an opportunity. How feeding and clothing the poor could increase the distress I am at a loss to imagine. I have no wish for newspaper or any controversy, or I could give details of what was done in that way here and the dire necessity for it.—Your obedient servant,

SISTER MARY FRANCIS CLARE.
(M. F. CUSACK.)

KENMARE, Co. KERRY, *November 21, 1880.*

LETTER OF LADY FITZGERALD.

[See *ante*, p. 33, and *post*, p. 151, and for Mr. Russell's reply, *post*, p. 188.]

SIR,—I have read a letter signed “C. Russell,” impugning the character as a landlord of my husband, the late Knight of Kerry. Had this letter come from one of the ordinary agitators I should have passed it by in

scornful silence, but coming as it does from a man of such eminence in his profession, I beg you will allow me to make a few remarks upon it. Mr. Russell visited this island, announcing that he did so to satisfy himself as to the exact facts of the Irish land question for the purpose of legislation.

He says he "desires to speak with reserve," for he adds, "I have not examined it with that fulness I should desire before pronouncing an opinion." He also says that of the management and actions of my husband he would prefer for the present not to speak fully. Nevertheless, though he did not give more than a few hours of one single afternoon to the investigation of such a confessedly difficult subject as the management of a thickly-populated estate (a description of property quite new to him, as he told us), he proceeds to publish a number of half-formed opinions and insinuations of peculation of a most unfounded character, in which I fail to see the "reserve." I regret that his time was so limited that he could not remain longer on the island when invited to do so, for every facility for examination into my husband's plans of management would have been gladly given to him, and by so doing he would have been able in a very short time to correct the first impression produced by a scene so new to him, and to have arrived at the exact facts which it was the avowed object of his visit to obtain.

I must leave it to one of my younger sons, who now acts as agent for the estate, to reply in detail to the charges Mr. Russell has published; but with regard to

his assertion that "no improvement had been made by the landlord at his own cost," I would wish to say that he would have found on examination that in point of fact the whole rental of the estate for many years past has been spent in labour on the island, and that during the last general distress, in preference to giving free food, he offered and gave employment to every man on his estate who applied for it. Mr. Russell takes occasion to say, "I ought to add that the present Knight seems personally popular—of him sanguine expectations are formed." I am glad that my son, now in India with his regiment, is spared for a few weeks the pain of reading this reserved slur on his father. I am thankful to say that his highest ambition is to follow in his steps, and all true friends of Ireland who knew him will agree that he could not have a brighter example.

Mr. Russell further remarks "his is not a thriving tenantry, or such as a landlord can look upon with pride or satisfaction." My husband may have been more easily pleased than Mr. Russell, for he certainly did feel a considerable amount of pride and satisfaction in very many of his tenants, whom he had watched and encouraged from their boyhood up, and whom he looked on as personal friends, and who always came to him for advice and help in their difficulties.

The only way to arrive at a just conclusion as to improvement is by comparing the present with the past, and to those who remember this country forty years ago, the change for the better is obvious enough.

I fear I am intruding too much on your space, but

I cannot but be intensely moved, knowing, as I do, how for forty years my husband's earnest and ceaseless effort was to promote in every way the interest of Ireland, to see how such efforts can be so misrepresented by a flying visitor.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JULIA M. FITZGERALD.

LETTER OF MR. R. FITZGERALD.

[See *ante*, p. 83, and *post*, p. 155, and for Mr. Russell's reply *post*, p. 188.]

SIR,—Mr. Russell, in his letter, "New Views on Ireland," which appeared in your issue of the 12th inst., commences by stating that he "wishes to speak with reserve of my brother's property, not having examined it with that fulness it deserves," and goes on to make certain statements which, with your permission, I will correct. Perhaps Mr. Russell will be surprised to hear (I am sure the readers of his letter will) that if rents were now fixed on the basis of Griffith's valuation *in accordance with the rise in prices since the valuation was made*, with a moderate allowance of per-centage on improvements, the rental of my brother's property would exceed the present rental by more than fifty per cent. As it is, after deducting interest on improvements effected by my father, partly out of his income and partly by money borrowed from the Board of Works on the security of his estate, and not taking any account of the rise in prices,

the rental of Valentia does not in the aggregate exceed the valuation by 25 per cent.

Mr. Russell says, "here and there" may be seen marked improvements. Does this convey (what is the fact) that since my father purchased this property, new houses have been built on about one-fourth of the farms, and a still larger proportion of farmhouses and cottages repaired in a substantial manner, and re-roofed with slate, and also that he spent a large proportion of his income in various other improvements, contrary to Mr. Russell's assertion that he made no improvements at his own cost? Has Mr. Russell's experience taught him that landlords in England, Scotland, or any other country, when they lay out money, for which, however obtained, they must give the security of their estates, exact, either directly or indirectly, no increased rent for their land? Do they make this expenditure a perfectly free gift, and take no account of it in calculating the letting value of their farms?

Mr. Russell alleges that my father contributed nothing to the relief funds. Such a statement was made before and withdrawn, and I am much mistaken if one of those who accompanied Mr. Russell was not well aware of this fact. My father, it is true, did not send a contribution of money to the relief committee; but, what was far better, he undertook to give, and did give, employment to every man on his property who was willing to work.

Mr. Russell states that my father "did supply seed potatoes to some of his tenants at market price, and in some instances below market price," the fact being that he had procured an amply supply of champion potatoes direct

from Scotland, which he offered to those of his larger tenants who had not already supplied themselves, at two-thirds of market price, and to his smaller tenants (and that by far the greater number) at one-third, half, and two-thirds of cost price, not "at market prices," as Mr. Russell says. The relief committee undoubtedly did their work well, but I will leave it to your readers to judge how far £1200 could have gone towards supporting during the winter the inhabitants of Valentia, considerably over 2000 in number, even after deducting (according to Mr. Russell) the twenty self-supporting tenants and their families.

Mr. Russell says that "everywhere on the property there was great bitterness at certain exactions which had latterly been imposed on the tenants in addition to their rent, and which formed no inconsiderable increase to the burdens already sufficiently great on their miserable holdings." Perhaps you will allow me to explain. Many years ago there were endless disputes in the obtaining of sand and seaweed on two small strands on the northern side of the island, which could not be well allotted to particular farms, as is the case with the remainder, by far the largest part of the foreshore.

Finding that in the general struggle which ensued, the weaker tenants did not get their fair share, and that strangers were encroaching on these privileges, my father, whose right to do so had been duly recognised by Government, for police purposes directed that any tenant desirous of obtaining seaweed at these particular strands should pay for a ticket enabling him at any time during the current year to take the greatest available quantity of

seaweed for the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum, and a like rate for sand, and that the amount realised by the proceeds of these tickets, about £12 per annum, should go to defray the expenses incurred, and that the balance, if any, should be devoted to charitable purposes. Mr. Russell received a full explanation of this when on the spot, and should have remembered it. We must plead guilty to having, for the protection of the property, imposed a charge of 1*s.* for the right of obtaining as much heather, &c. (used as litter for cattle), as one man could with a scythe cut in a day, not "carry on his back," according to Mr. Russell.

The increase of income realised thereby has for the last four years been on an average 12*s.* per annum, not a very serious "exaction," I should say. The unreclaimed land that was let to tenants could have been more profitably used for grazing, but in order to ease the overcrowded districts a large portion of land was fenced, drained, and, with slated cottages built thereon, was let to tenants at a nominal rent for a certain number of years (seven and upwards), when it was calculated they would have procured a liberal return for their labour, after which, according to previous arrangement, there was to be a moderate rise of rent during the remainder of the term of generally 31 years. It might have been more satisfactory for the landlord if (as doing in some cases) he had let the land at a high rent and paid the tenants for their improvements, but the result would have been the same.

I have in the above endeavoured simply to lay before the public, in justice to the memory of my father, the true state of the case, and, unwilling to trespass on your indul-

gence, have abstained from expressing an opinion on the tone of Mr. Russell's letter.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. FITZGERALD.

VALENTIA, November 23.

REPORT OF A LOCAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE TRUTH OF MR. RUSSELL'S ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO THE KNIGHT OF KERRY'S PROPERTY IN VALENTIA.

THIS Report is copied from the *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin. Its substance appeared also in the *Daily Telegraph*, and in other papers :

“ A large and representative meeting of the Iveragh branch of the Land League was held here to-day, Canon Brosnan, P.P., President, in the chair. The others present were—Rev. Thomas Lawlor, P.P., Valencia, Vice-President; Mr. P. Roche, Hon. Sec., neighbouring clergymen, representatives of the League from each of the surrounding parishes, together with many tenant-farmers and shopkeepers.

“ The Very Rev. Chairman commenced by saying how much the farmers of Ireland, and especially those of Iveragh, were indebted to Mr. Russell, whose able letters let such a flood of light into the dealings of landlords with their tenantry, and had the effect of enlightening English public opinion. Some of the landlords, as was natural, strove to impugn the accuracy of Mr. Russell's statements, and it was their duty to defend him as far as truth and

justice permitted. He (the Canon) had not waited for this meeting to rebut the false statements made by the landlords in his own parish, but had written himself to the papers. He understood that Mr. R. Fitzgerald's letter which appeared a few days ago was one which required an immediate answer. He considered the best plan would be if the representatives from the island and a few men from the town who knew all the facts consulted together, and then he should lay their answer before this meeting, and send it forth stamped with its approval. The following is the Report:—

‘ We find the statements of Mr. C. Russell regarding the Knight of Kerry's property to be substantially correct, and the letter of Mr. R. Fitzgerald in reply to be inaccurate and misleading.

‘ 1. Mr. Fitzgerald says his father undertook to give, and did give, employment to every man on his property who was willing to work. No; he offered employment to labourers on his property, but excluded small tenant-farmers who wanted it as much, and who up to that year were accustomed to earn their rents by labour. The weather was so severe, people were so badly fed and clad, and prices given for contract work were so low, that not many availed of the employment. The tenants for whom the work was done are charged at the rate of £5 per cent, with no promise of its being ever taken off, while Government loans were to be had at the same time at more favourable and terminable terms of £3 8s. 6d.

‘ 2. Mr. Fitzgerald states that his father offered champion seed potatoes to his larger tenants at two-thirds of market price. No; he offered them at 1s. 6d. at weight 1½ stone, the price paid by himself, and which was then the market price at this neighbouring town of Cahirciveen. Many of those larger tenants, through inability

to pay, though knowing the value of champions for seed purposes, or other causes, did not purchase any.

“3. Mr. Fitzgerald would lead the public to infer that his father's tenants were holding their lands at 25 per cent. only over Griffith's valuation, for he says the rental of Valentia does not in the aggregate exceed the valuation by 25 per cent. Whatever his process of reasoning may be, the broad fact as stated by Mr. Russell remains that the tenants on the estate as a rule pay nearly twice Griffith's valuation. We subjoin a typical case. The tenants on the townland of Ballyherney were paying the late Sir James O'Connell, who held as middleman from the Knight of Kerry, one and a half Griffith's valuation. Can Mr. Fitzgerald deny that when the farms on this townland were readjusted, his father did raise the rent, exclusive of percentage on buildings and drainage, &c., to nearly twice Griffith's valuation? The tenants on the other townlands state the same rule holds in their regard.

‘4. The most curious part of Mr. R. Fitzgerald's letter is his explanation of a tax of 2s. 6d. for seaweed and 2s. 6d. for sand, which the people were accustomed to take from the public strand, and which you should suppose an improving landlord would be anxious to see his tenants take in large quantities. The majority now go to the mainland by boat for seaweed and sand, which they get without any payment. Mr. Fitzgerald's statement goes to say that his father placed two gates on the public highway for police purposes, and that the proceeds of the tax are given for charity. The people assert there was never any need of police, nor did they ever hear of any squabbles (except on one occasion with the Knight's steward when these rules came into operation) on any of the strands claimed as his own by the Knight, and they much prefer to live like men and not to be yearly objects of charity.

‘The fact is, when the College lands were taken off his hands the Knight charged each of the Trinity College

tenants 30s. for their right to the strand, and when this did not pay he reduced it to 10s. and finally to 4s. This looks like financial and not police business, and it is not surprising, as Mr. Russell truly states, that the poor tenants, whose burdens are already sufficiently great, should bitterly complain.’”

LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

[See *ante*, pp. 43 *et seq.*, and for Mr. Russell's reply, *post*, p. 189. See also "Declaration of the Marquis of Lansdowne's Tenants in Iveragh," *post*, p. 171. See also important article from the *Cork Examiner*, p. 172, *post*.]

SIR,—Evidence with regard to the management of my Kerry estate was yesterday given before the Royal Commission by Mr. Trench and by myself. Some time, however, must necessarily elapse before that evidence is in the hands of the public; and there are, in the meanwhile, one or two points in Mr. Russell's letters which require a few words of explanation from me.

Mr. Russell expresses a fear that the landlords of Ireland may be making "a profit from their tenants out of the public funds lent for land improvement." He apparently believes that he has found on my estate the solitary instance upon which he relies for the establishment of this proposition. I hear Mr. Russell has been told I obtained from the State £6000, on which I shall have to pay a rent-charge of £3 8s. 6d. per cent., while I have charged my tenants £5 per cent. for the use of the money. The facts of the case are as follows:

During the year 1879 I obtained from the Board of

Works two loans, one of £1525, the other of £5000. Applied for in the months of January and September, respectively, each of these loans was made upon the then usual terms, and was repayable by a rent-charge of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I offered this money to my tenants at 5 per cent., and undertook to charge them no interest for the first three years. Many of them applied for work upon these terms, and during the winter months several hundred men were thus employed. Every tenant before commencing work signed a printed form of agreement, binding himself to pay 5 per cent. upon the sums paid to him from time to time as the work progressed.

On Jan. 12, 1880, a notice was issued by the Board of Works, stating that drainage loans would be offered to landlords, repayable by a rent-charge of £3 8s. 6d. per cent., no interest to be chargeable for the first two years, and it was explained that these terms would refer to loans applied for subsequent to Nov. 22, 1879. Both of my loans had been applied for prior to that date, and, therefore, did not come within the scope of the circular. I was, however, informed by the Board towards the end of the month that the loan of £5000, which had been approved by the Commissioners on Dec. 27, should have the advantage of the new terms, and almost immediately afterwards further loans of £3000 and £5000 were applied for by me to be expended upon the same townlands as the earlier loans. The total expenditure under these four loans has been £5424.

The bargain between the State and the landlord having been amended, a corresponding revision of that between

the landlord and the tenants became necessary; but that revision, however, was called for, not only in respect of future advances, but in respect of those which had been already made; for out of a total of 290 agreements 263 had been signed by the tenants before the end of February. Some of the tenants, moreover, had commenced work under the old terms, and were finishing it under the new, and much of the work taken in hand was not yet completed, or passed by the inspector. It appeared to me, under these circumstances, that the adjustment of the account must necessarily be deferred until the work had been finished and certified by the inspector of the Board (no charge was in any case to be made to the tenants for three years). When I have received from the Commissioners a statement of the rent-charge due by me it will be apportioned in accordance with that statement among the tenants. Upon money advanced to me at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the tenants will pay me 5 per cent. Upon that advanced at £3 8s. 6d., they will not pay more than £3 8s. 6d.

Some of Mr. Russell's informants appear to have laid stress upon the fact that no engagement was given to the tenants to the effect that the rent-charge payable by them should terminate with that payable by the landlord. Upon this point I will only observe that it is impossible to determine beforehand the length of time during which the land will be benefited by drainage, and that, as the rent-charge payable by me, or my successors, will not terminate until the year 1917 A.D., the amount of rent which, when that time comes, will be payable by the tenants, and which must depend upon the then circum-

stances of their holdings, is scarcely a matter for present consideration.

With regard to the sale of lime to the tenants, I have to make the following observations. It is untrue to state that they have been obliged to buy their lime at my kiln. They found that they could obtain it there cheaper and better than they could from their own kilns, and they ceased using the latter of their own accord. The price charged per barrel has varied from time to time. That recently charged is, it must be borne in mind, uniform over the entire estate, to parts of which the lime has to be conveyed by water at considerable risk and expense.

The only other point which I will notice in this letter is Mr. Russell's statement that upon the Iveragh portion of the estate the "rents have been increased three times within the past twenty-five years." This statement is absolutely misleading. Mr. Russell supports it by quoting several anonymous cases, in which he was told by the tenants that their rents had been repeatedly increased. I have identified most of these, and satisfied myself as to the incorrectness of Mr. Russell's conclusions. The untrustworthiness of the figures upon which he has founded them has been well illustrated by your correspondent, Mr. T. Cooke Trench, in his letter of the 20th inst. I may observe that the Iveragh rental was in 1850, £3103; in 1860, £2908; in 1870, £2956; in 1880 (allowing for half the county cess, now paid by the landlord), £3377. The increase of rent which took place in 1875 was, I believe, a perfectly reasonable one.

I note with satisfaction Mr. Russell's admission that the appearance of the tenant's dwellings "presents a marked improvement upon those on neighbouring estates," and that the rents "are not the highest." They do not, he says, generally "exceed the valuation by more than 50 per cent.—not always so much." As a matter of fact, the Kenmare estate, to which the above quotation refers, is let, on an average, at 27 per cent., and the Iveragh estate, to which reference has just been made, at 44 per cent., over Griffith's valuation. The rental of the whole estate was, in 1859, £10,035, and in 1878, £11,800. £28,000 have been spent by me or my predecessors on permanent improvements between the two dates.

I hope Mr. Russell will excuse me if I decline to accept his conclusion that "everywhere the feeling is that the rent is more than they (the tenants) can pay, living in the barest fashion," nor can I accept the statement of ways and means submitted to him by an informant, whose name he does not give, and published by him without question in his letter of the 12th. His witness has, I venture to think, proved a little too much. His valuation is £17, his rent £23, and he farms at an annual loss of £30. It is obvious that should this man's statements be worthy of credence he would lose £24 a-year if he held his farm at Griffith's valuation (the terms proposed by the Land League), and that he would be out of pocket to the extent of £13 even if his farm were held-rent free. If this is a fair specimen of the solvency of an Irish tenant, who is described by Mr. Russell as "seeming much better off than the rest" on an estate where the rents are "not

the highest," we may indeed despair of a satisfactory solution of the Irish problem. Your readers will no doubt observe that this witness explained his ability to "live" by the fact that he "married a fortune of £100." It is not the least puzzling circumstance connected with this question that such fortunes are frequently given to their daughters by men who will demonstrate to any unsuspecting interrogator that their farming operations cannot result otherwise than in an annual loss.

For the facts with regard to the "hanging year" and other matters dwelt upon by Mr. Russell, I must refer him and your readers to my evidence and Mr. Trench's. I should perhaps add that when Mr. Russell visited my estate he did not visit that portion of it, a district of some 30,000 acres, upon which I reside. I append to this letter a copy of one which I have received from Mr. Trench, and I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

LANSDOWNE.

LETTER OF MR. TRENCH, REFERRED TO BY THE
MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

MY LORD,—In Mr. Russell's letter of the 12th instant he says that "the Nun of Kenmare, in her printed expression of thanks to America for the funds entrusted to her for relieving the distressed tenantry, says, under the date of Easter week, 1880: "One land-agent said to me that when he saw the distress coming he told his noble master that it would be the best thing that had ever happened to the landlords; they would have the tenants at their

mercy." To this Mr. Russell adds: "It can hardly be doubted to whom this language refers." As the above statements are obviously intended to refer to me, I beg to state that in conversation with Miss Cusack or any other person I never used the words attributed to me, or any words capable of such an interpretation.—I have the honour to remain, your Lordship's obedient servant,

T. TOWNSEND TRENCH.

To the Marquis of LANSDOWNE.

FURTHER LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF
LANSDOWNE.

SIR,—In the third paragraph of my letter published in Saturday's *Daily Telegraph*, it is stated that "out of a total of 290 agreements 263 had been signed by the tenants before the end of February." I should have said that out of a total of 290 agreements 242 had been signed before the end of January.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

LANSDOWNE.

BARONS COURT, IRELAND, Nov. 28.

LETTER OF VERY REV. CANON BROSINAN, P.P.,
IN ANSWER TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. IT
APPEARED IN THE *Freeman's Journal*. IT WAS ORIGIN-
ALLY ADDRESSED TO THE *Daily Telegraph*, BUT THAT
JOURNAL WAS UNABLE TO MAKE ROOM FOR ITS INSERTION.

SIR,—Having from a painful sense of duty animad-
verted on some replies made in your columns to Mr.

Charles Russell's letters, it would be scarcely fair to pass over others, though I would willingly have done so but for pressing necessities of the hour. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in his letter published in last Saturday's *Telegraph*, states that the rental shows that his Iveragh estate is let on an average of 44 per cent. over Griffith's valuation.

His lordship does not here add whether this is exclusive of one-half of the county cess, which had been paid by him since 1875, but it seems inferrable from a previous paragraph in his letter. Assuming it is so, I beg to submit a full Schedule of the rents and valuation respectively of all his lordship's Iveragh tenantry in my parish, by which it will be seen that while the total valuation is only £731, the rent is £1199, or 64 per cent. above the valuation: deducting 1s. 7d. in the pound on the valuation for half county cess, the average here for the last five years, and which is equivalent to 8 per cent. on this rental, the excess of rent over valuation is 56 per cent., and not 44, as set down by his lordship.

On examining the lists it will be seen that in very many cases the rent is nearly double the valuation, whilst in many others the excess is 75 per cent. The rise of 25 per cent. put on the Iveragh tenants in 1875 by his lordship was found in several instances to be so excessively high that reductions had to be made, which account for the difference as regards these holdings.

Lord Lansdowne is, I fear, misleading in his decennial tables of his Iveragh rentals. He commences with 1850. It was soon after that year, owing to the exhausted and

depopulated condition of the estate, that the rents were reduced to the Government valuation, and in some cases below it.

Since then the enormous increase shown in the Schedule has been made without any reduction whatever. Lord Lansdowne is pleased to tell us that the last increase of 25 per cent. put on by him on the Iveragh tenants "is perfectly reasonable." If so, why was it not put on the Kenmare tenants, who could bear it better? In the latter district his lordship deemed it prudent to adopt the silent system of rises; why is it that the *per saltum* plan was applied to unfortunate Iveragh?

From Lord Lansdowne's letter it would appear that until the year 1917 A.D. his tenants may be left in ignorance as to whether the charge on them of 5 per cent. for Government drainage money shall then cease, or whether they will have to continue to pay it *in secula seculorum*. I trust that the account will not be left in this unsatisfactory way; for notwithstanding that Lord Lansdowne's letter to me from Scotland dated November 22, 1879, stated that the charge was to be permanent, I was glad to learn from Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's letter that the Marquis had now taken the matter into his consideration.

I am also glad to find, although I learn it now for the first time, the tenants will not have to pay more than the terminable £3 8s. 6d. per cent. for the money borrowed under the Irish Distress Act. Several particular and individual cases of serious complaints by Lord Lansdowne's Cahirciveen tenants lie before me, and not referred

to by Mr. Russell. Some are given in the proof-sheets of the Irish Land Commission at No. 25,693, more from another witness, No. 25,826, and also in the evidence given by myself, No. 25,591 of the same Report.

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in his letter in your issue of the 17th inst. charges his noble brother's Cahirciveen tenants with "habitual drunkenness." Does the young gentleman say so of his own knowledge, and, if not so, who is his authority? I have been for the last eighteen months in this parish, and I must positively declare that this very grave accusation is unfounded.

Some months ago, when Mr. Trench, Lord Lansdowne's agent, in his office in Kenmare, imputed this crime, not for the first time, I on the spot challenged him to come to Cahirciveen in the evening of any fair day he chose, when he could see with his own eyes the truth, or rather falsehood, of the charge. This he has not done, preferring rather to vilify my flock.

Lord Edmond further sets Archdeacon Higgins' authority against Sister Mary Frances Clare and others in the matter of the management of the Lansdowne estate, but he omits saying that Archdeacon Higgins' immediate predecessor, Archdeacon O'Sullivan, and others also of the Kenmare clergy, had openly and persistently condemned that management. Sir, as to Mr. Russell's letters describing the condition of the tenants in this district, I ask permission to say one word. I do not know Mr. Russell personally. Unfortunately I was away from home (in England) at the time of his visit, and hence I had not an opportunity of pointing out to him many

things which I should have felt bound to call his attention to, but I can safely testify that so far from having exaggerated he has understated the suffering and grievances of the tenantry in this district, and that there are several other properties around here whose tenants have been quite as badly treated by their landlords as those tenants whose condition Mr. Russell has described.

I further most respectfully beg of the people of England to weigh well the weighty words of wisdom and counsel which the honourable and learned gentleman has so ably put forth in his last letter in your columns.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

T. CANON BROSNAN.

CAHRICIVEEN, Dec. 1, 1880.

The following is the Schedule above referred to :

Tenants.	Gov. Value.			Yearly Rent.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Timothy Bowler	7	18	0	12	0	0
Batt Shea	6	8	0	9	15	0
Patrick Murphy	14	1	0	21	16	0
Jeremiah Shea	11	10	0	23	16	0
Patrick Kavane.....	10	18	0	16	0	0
Michael Bowler, jun.	8	17	0	15	0	0
Honoria Bowler.....	5	6	0	9	7	0
Michael Bowler.....	10	10	0	18	2	0
John Shea	10	7	0	18	10	0
John Leyne	14	11	0	21	4	0
Patrick Sullivan	7	3	0	11	16	0
Timothy Sullivan.....	5	3	0	8	3	0
Michael Sullivan	6	8	0	10	14	0
Cornelius Shea	9	10	0	16	0	0
Charles Sanders	4	15	0	8	10	0
Batt Riorden.....	7	10	0	12	14	0
Carried forward.....	£140	15	0	£233	7	0

APPENDIX.

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Tenants.	Gov. Value.	Yearly Rent.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	140 15 0	233 7 0
Patrick Sullivan	33 0 0	55 7 0
Wm. Cournane	5 5 0	7 0 0
Rens Patrick Neill	10 15 0	17 0 0
Daniel Cournane	14 0 0	21 0 0
John Sullivan	25 0 0	42 10 0
Peter Garvey.....	5 2 0	8 14 0
John Sullivan	4 17 0	8 15 0
John Foley.....	7 12 0	13 2 0
John Ducey	5 2 0	8 14 0
Daniel Golden	4 16 0	8 16 0
Ellen Golden.....	7 9 0	13 2 0
Daniel Shea	2 9 0	4 6 0
Daniel Sullivan.....	4 12 0	8 0 0
John D. Shea.....	3 8 0	6 0 0
Cornelius Coffey	3 11 0	6 0 0
John Shea	1 1 0	2 0 0
John Garvey	6 2 0	10 5 0
Connell O'Connell.....	8 15 0	12 10 0
Catherine Coffey	16 10 0	30 12 0
William Potts	10 1 0	17 10 0
Maurice Moriarty	9 5 0	16 5 0
Thomas Sullivan	12 3 0	20 0 0
Denis Sullivan	5 18 0	10 0 0
Daniel Corcoran	7 12 0	14 0 0
Patrick Corcoran	4 17 0	10 0 0
Denis Currane	4 12 0	8 2 0
John Fitzgerald.....	2 1 0	3 14 0
John Herlehy	1 14 0	3 0 0
Daniel Garvey	2 13 0	3 4 0
Timothy Sugrue	8 8 0	14 5 0
John Coffey	10 15 0	17 4 0
Elizabeth Kelly.....	4 12 0	7 10 0
Michael O'Connell	10 0 0	16 14 0
Jeremiah Courtynane	6 15 0	10 0 0
Timothy D. O'Shea	11 5 0	18 10 0
Denis B. O'Sullivan	7 10 0	12 10 0
Patrick Daly	9 5 0	17 0 0
Carried forward.....	£268 5 0	£236 8 0

NEW VIEWS ON IRELAND.

Tenants.	Gov. Value.			Yearly Rent.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	268	5	0	736	8	0
Jeremiah Keating.....	12	0	0	18	6	0
Thomas Shea.....	10	5	0	16	10	0
Timothy J. Shea	9	15	0	14	4	0
John T. Shea.....	8	10	0	14	6	0
Denis O'Sullivan	8	0	0	13	2	0
Maurice Regan	10	5	0	16	4	0
John Mahony.....	11	15	0	13	2	0
Patrick Shea	12	5	0	18	0	0
Jeremiah Connor	7	5	0	12	0	0
John Buckley.....	7	5	0	12	0	0
Deborah Shea (widow).....	7	5	0	12	0	0
Daniel Mangan.....	17	15	0	27	0	0
Denis Foley	8	0	0	13	4	0
John Sheehan	7	0	0	11	4	0
Cornelius Shea	12	15	0	20	0	0
John Mangan	14	5	0	18	18	0
Daniel Shea	15	10	0	27	0	0
John Shehan	11	15	0	19	15	0
Patrick Keating.....	11	15	0	20	0	0
Jeremiah Keating.....	17	0	0	28	10	0
Ellen Shea (widow).....	14	15	0	24	14	0
Patrick Sullivan	8	0	0	14	0	0
Daniel Golden	13	12	0	21	8	0
James Shea	4	1	0	6	16	0
Humphrey O'Connor	8	10	0	13	0	0
Patrick Sullivan	6	0	0	10	4	0
Michael Murphy	6	0	0	10	4	0
James Griffin.....	10	10	0	17	4	0
	£731	0	0	£1199	3	0
Deduct 1s. 7d. in the pound county cess on valuation				57	17	5

Net Rental..... £1141 5 7

Being 56 per cent. above Government valuation, after deducting half county cess payable by landlord, or 64 per cent. without such valuation.

DECLARATION SIGNED BY 81 OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S TENANTS IN IVERAGH.

THE fact of this declaration having been signed was mentioned in the *Daily Telegraph* and many other Papers:—

“We, the undersigned tenants of the Iveragh estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne, having seen a letter of his lordship's in the *Daily Telegraph*, in which he states that the description given by Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., of the increase of rent imposed on the tenants of this estate is absolutely misleading, do hereby declare that Mr. Russell's statement is accurate, and does truly represent the history of this estate for the past 30 years.”

Here follow the signatures of 81 tenants.

Saturday, Dec. 4.

ARTICLE FROM *CORK EXAMINER* NEWSPAPER OF
Nov. 22, 1880, RELATING TO THE LANSDOWNE ESTATES
IN KERRY.

MR. RUSSELL begs attention to this article, not for its ability—though that is remarkable—but because it shows that twenty years ago the same grievances existed on this estate which now find voice in his Letters, and that although care was taken that they should be brought to the notice of the then Marquis, they remain to this day unredressed. The writer is the gentleman who, twenty years ago, personally enquired into the condition of Lord Lansdowne's tenants. At that time Mr. J. F. Maguire, M.P.—many years in the House of Commons—was the pro-

prietor of the *Examiner*. Few readers will require to be told that the *Cork Examiner* is the leading paper in the South of Ireland.

[ARTICLE.]

A brother of the Marquis of Lansdowne has rushed into print to defend the management of the Kerry estates of his lordship against the statements made by Mr. Charles Russell, M.P. His mode of doing so is rather clumsy. There is a good deal of heavy pleasantry, and there is a great deal of very bold but very general denial. He makes one mistake in treating Mr. Russell as if he went down to Kerry with the special purpose of assailing the Lansdowne estates in particular. He seems to forget that Mr. Russell's purpose was the investigation of that county as a distressed district, and to make himself acquainted with the bearings of that distress upon the land question. It was impossible he could avoid the Lansdowne estates if he were to deal at all effectively with the subject, because they are of enormous extent, because they present very remarkable contrasts between the wealth of the owner and the misery of the tenantry, and because they happen to be notorious, in Kerry especially, but far outside it also, for some characteristics painfully illustrative of the present relations of landlord and tenant. Lord Edmond shows abundant zeal as a defender, and his dislike and resentment towards Mr. Russell are made manifest enough, while his denials are of a very vigorous character, but they lack the important element of particularity. He is not a discreet writer or a writer of good taste, otherwise he would have avoided an ugly pit into which his animosity against Mr. Russell has led him. It will be perceived that he winds up his diatribe with a jeer about "making the boulder-stones of the mountains to grow turnips." Does it not strike this young gentleman that his noble brother

is revelling in the receipt of a huge income drawn from these boulder-stones, whether they grow turnips or not?

He makes a point of the fact that the Marquis, his brother, was examined before the Royal Agricultural Commission with reference to this estate. If any one supposes that that examination brought out the whole truth he must be very simple-minded indeed. In the first place, his lordship was not cross-examined; in the next place, even if he were, he could only speak from his knowledge. How much was that? Since he came of age he was once seen upon the Iveragh property! He is more frequently at the Southern side where his lodge is situated, but how much of the time he spends there is given to looking into such particulars as those which are now complained of? It may be a curious thing to say, but we have not the smallest doubt that Mr. Charles Russell, M.P. for Dundalk, and "leader of the Northern Circuit," as Lord Edmond describes him, knows now a great deal more about the management of the Lansdowne estates than the Marquis of Lansdowne does.

Of this we have reason to be convinced. Lord Edmond asserts that Mr. Russell's only, or principal, witnesses are the Nun of Kenmare, the Home Rule Protestant Rector, Mr. M'Cutcheon, and Mr. Michael Cronin, on whose imprisonment in Mountjoy he is very sarcastic.

We beg to offer one other witness, the present writer, who went over the ground trodden by Mr. Russell before the Nun of Kenmare had lent the lustre of her name to the convent of that town, before the Home Rule movement had enlisted Mr. M'Cutcheon's sympathies, and before a Fenian movement had arisen to render Mr. Cronin liable for imprisonment as a suspect.

More than twenty years ago this writer made himself acquainted with, and published in full detail in the columns of the *Examiner*, a statement of things which shows how little change there has taken place since then in the animating spirit of the management of the Lansdowne estate. Then, as now, the investigation found

the tenantry of the Liberal Marquis of Lansdowne not only poor—a thing which with Irish tenants is not so hard to bear—but mere serfs. He found the “office” spoken of with fear and trembling. He had under his eyes the evidence that it was the abode of a complete despotism, which dispensed licenses to marry, and which inflicted fines for offences against the “rules of the estate.” Like Mr. Russell, he was aware that there was over every tenant what he ventured to call “literally a hanging year.” He knew that from father to son it descended—like original sin, one is tempted to say. All, or nearly all, the tenants were liable for that debt, which most of them had never contracted, and which left them bound hand and foot, and absolutely at the mercy of the authority which ruled the estate. The old witness to the condition of things in his time was aware of the issue of the mandate by the bailiff to bring more money next gale day, in order that the tenants might be prepared to pay the augmented rent, which was about to be imposed on them as an Eastern Pasha might levy a new tax.

These things were stated with as much fulness of detail as Mr. Russell gives now. The papers containing these statements were duly sent to the noble owner, the then Marquis, in order that he might be fully cognizant of what was said about the condition of the property from which he condescended to receive a vast income. But no reply, either by his lordship or any one else, was vouchsafed. The voice of complaint was passed by in silent contempt. We are fallen upon different times. The present Marquis does not reply, but his brother does. He finds it necessary to appear before the bar of public opinion, and answer something, whether right or wrong, for the way in which control is exercised over the destinies of the thousands who are so abjectly dependent on the way in which his estate is managed. That is a change, indeed, auguring, we hope, of the good time coming, when the Irish tenant shall be not only a prosperous but a free man.

We are bound to say that our knowledge of the Lans-

downe estate since has presented us with some items *per contra* which show more pleasantly than those that we were first compelled to publish in reference to it. Under its auspices there was the encouragement given to good cultivation which is afforded by cattle and root shows; there were prizes bestowed for superior cultivation and management of farms; there was an attempt to establish a butter market in the town of Kenmare; there was, we believe, assistance given in some instances towards the erection of a better class of dwellings. But all these things were only varnishing a rotten surface. What use is it to attempt to stimulate improvement if by-and-bye the man who improves feels that he will be compelled to part with all he may gain by it, and perhaps more for the benefit of the landlord? What, in short, is the chance of infusing energy and thrift into a population held in a condition of absolute dependence, and who are reminded, even though at considerable intervals, by a rise of rent, how, like the objects cited by Virgil, they toil, but not for their own advantage? Despite the superficial amendment of matters, it seems to us evident from the letters of Mr. Russell that now, as in the days when the present writer traversed the Lansdowne estates from Bonane to Tuosist, and from Cahirciveen to Ballinskelligs, the tenantry are left in that condition of servile dependence which all experience has shown is fatal to prosperity.

LETTER OF REV. THOMAS LAWLOR, P.P., IN
REFERENCE TO TRINITY COLLEGE ESTATE.

[*Ante*, p. 24, and *post*, p. 203.]

SIR,—The Provost and Fellows of Trinity College have endeavoured to answer the caustic strictures of Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., in a bulky pamphlet of twenty-three pages. Being well acquainted with the

deplorable state of things on the portion of their property situate in this island, I can fearlessly affirm that their answer as regards this island misleads the public, and is grossly unjust to the people. At p. 5 they say: "When the middleman's lease expired in 1865, it became the duty of the College to attempt a complete reform. This, however, could only be done either by the eviction of nearly the entire population, or by an effort to induce an improvement in their condition, and in their inveterate habits of indolence and improvidence."

To show how unjust this charge of indolence and improvidence is, we have only to consider the history of the College property for a considerable period of the past. Trinity College sub-let their lands in this island to a middleman, and he in turn sub-let to some large tenants, who in a short time assumed the airs of gentlemen, and let their lands to cottiers and small farmers at extravagant rents. It was not to be expected that those needy sub-middlemen would effect improvements, neither could the tenants, who were so heavily weighted; and who might at any moment have their improvements confiscated. Some, however, in the midst of every discouragement, built fair houses, and fenced and reclaimed their lands. The lease expired in 1865, and what, your readers will ask, was the action of the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College? Did they endeavour to improve the condition of things indirectly created by their own action? Did they remove the weight from off the shoulders of the tenants, as other landlords did, when the middleman's lease dropped?

Far from it. They condemned and repudiated the action of the middlemen, as they do in this pamphlet, but they

profited by their extortions by pocketing their rack-rents. Some of the tenants having loudly complained and called for redress, what next was the action of the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College? They send down from Dublin a Mr. Gale, who travelled through the place for a few days without asking for or taking into account the improvements effected by the tenants, and who, seeing some lands cheaper than others, remedies the inequality by increasing the rent on the improving tenant, and reducing it on the non-improving and thriftless tenant. The new rental, which the tenants fondly hoped would lessen their burdens, is higher than the old, according to the College authorities, by £26 18s. 4d.

What have they done since 1869? To some tenants willing to improve they have refused to lend, and to some others they have lent money at nearly 8 per cent., repayable in half-yearly instalments, with the galling clause that on the non-payment of any single instalment the Provost, Fellows, &c., will be at liberty to proceed at once for the recovery of the entire amount. Within the last few years they have occasionally given bags of Indian meal to some of the tenants, thereby acknowledging the existing distress, though all declare it to be the most demoralising system of tenant improvement. How much better would it not be to let their lands at a fair rent, and allow the tenants to live in some kind of independence, and not like beggars on a system of out-door relief. But the Provost and Fellows boldly assert that Griffith's valuation is acknowledged to be too low in this district. People who know

more about it than the Fellows of Trinity College assert, on the contrary, that taking into account the quality of the soil and the remoteness from markets, Griffith's valuation is as much as should be paid; and if they have been hitherto paid their high rents, they have to thank the slate quarries which have given employment to nine-tenths of their people.

Last year I made application to the Board of Trinity College to allow a small grant to clothe the poorer class of their tenants' children, who attend the National Schools of the island. Those children used to form 70 per cent. of the average attendance at one of the schools when prosperous times prevailed; but latterly, owing to their want of clothing, some not having sufficient for the requirements of decency, they have been in great part kept away by their parents. Not wishing to see them brutalised by ignorance, I asked for help from the College to enable their parents to send them to school. I even suggested to them to select others to be associated with me in its distribution. The answer was a polite but plain refusal.— I am, your obedient servant,

THOMAS LAWLOR, P.P.

FIRST LETTER OF MR. RUSSELL IN REPLY.

SIR,—I now, with your permission, proceed to notice, as briefly as possible, the signed letters which have appeared in your columns questioning the accuracy of my statements. I would first, however, desire to say a word upon a point more than once alluded to. It seems to be

suggested by some of my critics that before publishing the result of my observation and inquiry I ought to have sent my letters to the landlord or agent in each case for correction and revision. It only needs a moment's consideration to show that this is both unreasonable and impracticable. The most that one can do is to take reasonable pains to satisfy oneself of the truth of the statements made. I proceed to show that the result of the criticism bestowed on my letters goes far to make apparent the pains which I did take to test the accuracy of the information given to me.

1. The first complaining correspondent is Mrs. O'Mahony. I alluded in my letter published on Nov. 12, to Mrs. Frances the case of a tenant on the property of a Miss O'Mahony. Hewson, situated near Kenmare, and whose rent was £45, as compared with the Government valuation of £12 10s., and who had been obliged, under threat of eviction three or four years since, to pay an increase of 50 per cent. Incidentally the former owner was alluded to as "one Mahony, of Cork," of whom it was stated that, before he sold the land to Miss Hewson, he raised the rent in order to sell it at a higher price.

The main or principal statement has not been questioned, but Mrs. O'Mahony writes to complain. I fear I must plead guilty to what I think is Mrs. O'Mahony's principal complaint. I was wrong in describing Mr. O'Mahony, belonging as he did "to one of the oldest families in the county of Kerry, and owning an estate which had descended through a long line of ancestors," as "one Mahony, of Cork." I beg to apologise for having done so.

But I fear I cannot retract my observations on the subject of Mr. O'Mahony's dealings with the property. On reading Mrs. O'Mahony's spirited letter I thought it right to have inquiry made on the spot by a trustworthy person. I now have before me his report, of which, if Mrs. O'Mahony will be good enough to let me know her address, I shall gladly send her a copy in case she desires to investigate further my statements. In his report my informant states :

"I visited almost every house on the property held by the late Mr. John Mahony, and to no single fact put forward by Mr. Russell could Mrs. Mahony or any other person give a contradiction."

He further states :

"I have before me one of the 'Final Notices' to the tenants, giving notice of the sale of the property by Mr. Mahony, or his trustees, Florence Mahony and Francis Sugrue. The notice bears date March 9, 1859. Previous to this sale Mr. Mahony simply doubled the rental on the Greenane property, which was sold by him to one Colonel Goff. It is not true that he collected no rents, as Mrs. Mahony states. Every penny which was made on these farms went to him. They are all grazing farms, producing nothing but butter as an agricultural produce, and he, being a butter merchant, got all the butter which was made on them. If the full rent, therefore, was not paid, the reason simply was the produce of the farms in those years was not sufficient to pay the rent."

Again, he adds :

"There is no disputing the fact that the rental was increased with a view to sale, for the increase was put on only one gale previous to the sale of the property. Mr. Mahony did not charge the increase himself, but accepted

one penny from each tenant, and gave a receipt in full for the rent, including the increase. The tenants agreed to the arrangement on the understanding that Mr. Mahony would not charge the increase. One tenant named Rearden, however, objected, and was in consequence evicted by Mr. Mahony. The property was sold, and the tenants have been obliged to pay the increase ever since."

Of the portion of the estate sold by Mr. O'Mahony to Miss Hewson my informant reports :

"The rental of this place when Mr. Mahony bought it was £100. At the time of the sale he increased it to £145, though none of the Board of Works money had been borrowed for this place or expended on it."

He adds the following remarkable statement :

"I should state, however, that the people entertain the kindest feelings for Mr. Mahony, and they believe had he retained the property himself, he would never have increased the rental in the same manner as he did at the time of the sale."

This does not appear to be a very hard-hearted or unkindly tenantry.

2. In my second letter, published on Nov. 9, I referred to the miserable tenantry of Mr. E. Morrogh Bernard, at Roads, near Kells, Cahirciveen, Mr. E. Morrogh Bernard. which I myself visited, and I gave the story of one of the tenants from her own lips. What evil genius tempted Mr. Bernard to write I know not. He must, I should think, by this time, deeply regret it. I refer your readers to Canon Brosnan's letter of the 21st inst., published, Sir, in your columns, and ask them to say whether the letter does not show that I have, with studious moderation,

understated the case. Mr. Bernard's only rejoinder to Canon Brosnan's crushing statement is that it is a facsimile of my own. If this means anything it means that I got my information from Canon Brosnan, and that, therefore, his corroboration counts for nothing. In this Mr. Morrogh Bernard is entirely incorrect. I never wrote to or saw Canon Brosnan in my life, and I never had a communication from him until within the last few days. The fact that his statement agrees with the information given to me on inquiry on the spot, from the tenants themselves, is the strongest proof of the substantial truth of the story I have told.

3. To Mr. Bland's moderate letter I have little to say.

Mr. Bland. I referred to his property as being rented at about double Griffith's valuation. He says it is not so, but admits it is rented more than 50 per cent. higher than that valuation. The information was given to me (as I stated in my letter) by one connected with the agency, but, of course, it may have been incorrect.

I am inclined, however, to think that, if Mr. Bland will examine the figures again, and consider the question apart from cases in which additions have been made to Griffith's valuation, owing to new house or other building, the statement made to me, and which I have put forward, will not be found to be substantially incorrect. This is a point which I must explain later in reference to Lord Lansdowne's rental, and which is not generally understood.

4. What am I to say as to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's Lord Edmond smartly-worded epistle? If it were not that Fitzmaurice. I might seem wanting in respect to him, I

should pass it by. In truth, in his two columns of chaffy criticism, there is hardly a grain of real contradiction in fact. I must make this good by an examination of the letter itself.

As to the drainage loan question, I reserve that until I come to the Marquis of Lansdowne's letter. Lord Edmond speaks of the testimony of one priest whom he names—cited by one of your contemporaries—the qualified testimony I shall call it—to Lord Lansdowne's character as a landlord.

I wish to say that I agree with Lord Edmond; the priests are by no means unfriendly to Lord Lansdowne personally, a fact which makes their criticism all the stronger. Indeed, Lord Lansdowne has been exceedingly kind to many priests on his property, in conferring upon them, on easy, if not nominal, terms, glebe farms, and it would be strange, indeed, if they did not appreciate his consideration.

Lord Edmond resents my calling the Protestant rector as a witness, apparently only for the reason that he thinks Ireland's internal affairs might be better managed in Ireland than in the overworked Parliament at St. Stephen's. Of the rector I must, on my part, say I should not desire to meet a more candid-minded or manly gentleman. He seems deservedly held in high estimation.

I learned with pleasure from some of Lord Lansdowne's Tuosists tenants how in their time of trial last year a large number of them waited upon Mr. M'Cutcheon to get his assistance in forming a local relief committee, and how he stood by them like a man. I only wish there

were more rectors like him. Lord Edmond also seems to resent my having called upon the Nun of Kenmare, as she is called. If I am not misinformed, Lord Lansdowne frequently does her the honour of calling upon her, and has done so both before and since my visit to the kingdom of Kerry. Why should not I? She was the means of raising a large sum for the relief of the poor, while landlords, whose estates were princely, raised nothing. Who better could inform me of the circumstances of the late distressful time?

Lord Edmond says a foolish report got about that I had come from some mysterious quarter—meaning some Government quarter—to make out a case against Lord Lansdowne.

He adds: "This report, of course, was unfounded." This is hardly candid. I never heard the report. Who set it going? But, as Lord Edmond now gives it currency, I wish, in the clearest and most emphatic way, to say that there is no particle of foundation for it. I went at the instance of no one connected with Government, nor, so far as I know, to the knowledge of any one so connected. I went for the reasons stated in my letters.

Lord Edmond states—what I for the first time learn from his letter—that one man who gave me information in Kenmare was connected with Fenianism. It happens, oddly enough, that the respectable people of the principal town on Lord Lansdowne's estate, and who formed themselves into a relief committee, entrusted this person with the important post of secretary. He was thus the

repository of information as to the distress and its relief most valuable. His statements to me were confined to matters known to him in his official capacity.

But Lord Edmond's reference to gaol in connection with his name is not only ungenerous but unjust. Michael Cronin's was not an uncommon case. On inquiry I learn that in 1866, when ordinary safeguards of liberty were suspended, he was arrested as a suspected Fenian. He was never brought to trial or charged with any legal offence. Lord Edmond is inaccurate in saying that I quoted an observation made to me by the Nun of Kenmare, imputing to Mr. Trench an inhuman sentiment in reference to the impending distress. I quoted from a printed paper which I knew had been widely circulated, and which I had never heard was contradicted. This is a matter which rests between the lady and Mr. Trench. I said, and I said sincerely, I hoped that it would turn out to be the result of misunderstanding.

Lord Edmond's denial of the existence of a ward known as the Lansdowne Ward, in New York Hospital, is singularly unfortunate. He says he "not long ago" asked a friend to inquire where the hospital was, and whether any such ward existed, or had existed, and that he was informed the story was an impudent invention. I would call Lord Edmond's attention to a very satisfactory explanation why his friend was unable "not long ago" to discover the hospital. It is to be found in the following letter, published in the *Freeman's Journal*, of November 22, and runs thus :

"33, CURZON STREET, SOUTH CIRCULAR ROAD,

"November 20, 1880.

"DEAR SIRS,—The information that Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice received from his charitable 'friend' as to the non-existence of the Lansdowne Ward in New York Hospital is quite correct. The New York Hospital stood in Duane Street, and was pulled down to make room for an extensive dry goods house twelve years ago. But this much I can assert, from personal knowledge, that there *was* a ward known by the name of The Lansdowne in the hospital, and was as well known then to New Yorkers as Lansdowne Road is to Dubliners to-day. If you think the communication of any value, you may publish it.

"EUGENE O'CONNELL.

"P.S.—I may add that I am a New Yorker by birth, and any old resident of there can bear out my statement."

Lord Edmond will see that the writer gives his name and address. Lord Edmond is not just in saying that I made an attack upon his grandfather in reference to the Famine emigration from Kerry. I refer the candid reader to what I have said upon this point, which Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice gives me no reason in any way to qualify. I cited the father of the present agent of Lord Lansdowne as the historian of that sad event.

I pass by Lord Edmond's pleasantries at my expense. I do not take them as unkindly meant. I make no complaint. As to the observation that the boulder-stones of the Kerry mountains do not grow turnips, I may observe that, whether they do or do not grow turnips, for the

tenants, they do, in the aggregate, produce a very imposing amount of rent for the landlords.

I utterly deny that my account of the Marquis of Lansdowne as a landlord deserves to be characterised as Lord Edmond, at the conclusion of his letter, has done. His statement is as inaccurate a description of what I have said as it is grossly misleading to describe Lord Lansdowne "as a landlord whose liberality and justice have succeeded in producing what may be called English comfort on Irish soil."

Finally, Lord Edmond winds up with a postscript hardly courteous and wholly erroneous. He says that my assertion that no branches of the Land League exist in Kerry is as inaccurate as most of my other statements. To begin with, this was not my assertion; my assertion was that when I visited Kerry there was no branch of that body in the county. This was one of my reasons for selecting Kerry. I desired to see the condition of things for myself in a district in which discontent had had no public voice. I wished to judge for myself whether the suggestion commonly made was true, that Irish discontent was principally the fabrication of the Land Leaguers. I have been at considerable pains to ascertain the exact truth, and I find my statement was strictly accurate. In October the first Land League branch in Kerry was established in Tralee, North Kerry. My visit to South Kerry was in September. I feel I have given too much attention to this letter; certainly more than its matter deserves. I have done so out of respect to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.

5. I read with pain the letter of Lady Fitzgerald. If
 Lady Fitz- I may respectfully say so, it is impossible
 gerald. not to sympathise with the feelings which
 Mr. R. Fitz- prompted it. I desire to say I would gladly
 gerald. have omitted all reference to the management of the
 Knight of Kerry's property, if I thought I could honestly
 do so. I came to the conclusion I could not. I think a
 perusal of my letter will show I desired to touch as
 lightly as possible upon it.

Mr. Fitzgerald's letter was signally rash. In my own
 vindication I cannot do better than refer to the Report of
 the meeting held at Cahirciveen, and briefly noticed in
 your issue of Friday, the 3rd inst., thus :

“ A large and representative meeting has been held at
 Cahirciveen of the Iveragh Land League, Canon Brosnan
 in the chair, to receive the report of a sub-committee
 appointed to make a personal investigation into the
 statements put forward by Mr. Fitzgerald on behalf of
 the Knight of Kerry in contradiction to Mr. Charles
 Russell's letters in the *Daily Telegraph*. The report
 went minutely into each case, disproving the allegations
 of Mr. Fitzgerald, and substantiating the statements of
 Mr. Russell, who, by a unanimous resolution, was warmly
 thanked for bringing the light of public opinion to bear on
 the condition of the tenantry in and around Cahirciveen.”

The details are gone into in the *Freeman's Journal*, which
 gives the report of the Committee of Inquiry fully. I
 cannot ask for space for this. I wish, however, to say—
 as it is just to do—that Mr. Fitzgerald speaks of a large
 labour expenditure by his family yearly. This is not,
 however, in contradiction of any assertion of mine.

I think it due also to the family of the Knight of Kerry to make one statement. They are certainly not to be confounded with owners who, living at a distance and drawing their rents, do nothing to share or to relieve the trials of their tenants. While I can retract nothing which I have stated as to the general condition of the Knight's tenants; while I think the management is a paternal despotism of an injurious kind; while I think the estate illustrates the vices of the system which I am attacking—it is due to the ladies of the Knight's family to say they have done what is in the power of kind-hearted and intelligent ladies to do in order to make the poor around them feel that they are not in their afflictions wholly friendless.

In my next, and concluding letter, I shall deal with the printed statement of the authorities of Trinity College, and with the letters of the Marquis of Lansdowne.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

TEMPLE, December 7.

FURTHER REPLY OF MR. RUSSELL.

SIR,—I now proceed to reply to the Marquis of Lansdowne's letters. Allow me to say *in limine* I Lord have not now, nor have I ever had, any desire Lansdowne. to single out Lord Lansdowne as an instance of bad landlordism. I have heard him spoken of by many persons for whose judgment I have respect, as not alone a high-

mindful, but a considerate, man. I most willingly believe this. All the same, I cannot avoid the conclusion which I have stated in these letters, that the management of his estates is a despotism of a bad and injurious kind, which does little to soften the harshness of the land system which it is my object to attack.

I shall endeavour to meet Lord Lansdowne's statements point by point.

The matters as to which the Marquis challenges my accuracy are these: First—As to the suggestion of his making profit by borrowing money from Government for drainage purposes; Secondly—As to charging to his tenants exorbitant prices for the lime which he supplies to them; Thirdly—As to the rent increases imposed on the Iveragh tenants.

1. *Government or Board of Works Loans.*—It is to be observed that I was not the first person to call public attention to the complaints made by Lord Lansdowne's tenants. My letter alluding to them was not published until Nov. 15, 1880. On Nov. 12 there appeared in the columns of another journal a letter written by a special commissioner of that journal, who mentions these and several other matters as grievances alleged by the tenants against Lord Lansdowne and his agent, Mr. Trench. He says that the charge of making a profit out of the Board of Works Relief Loans was "an accusation more loudly urged than any of the others;" and adds, "I pointed out to Mr. Trench that while Lord Lansdowne would have

paid off the loan, both principal and interest, in thirty-five years, there was nothing to prevent the tenant continuing to pay for ever the addition of 5 per cent. to his rent." Mr. Trench's reply is important. The correspondent proceeds, "Mr. Trench said he had no instructions on this point, but as it was usual to revise rents every twenty-one years, he had no doubt Lord Lansdowne would act fairly by his tenants."

On the evening of the publication of this letter a reply was addressed by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice to the paper containing it, in which, having quoted the passage relating to the drainage money, he says, "In regard to the above matter I shall be obliged if you will kindly allow me to state that the proper course to be ultimately pursued towards the Kerry tenantry in regard to the loans has already received Lord Lansdowne's consideration."

I find from a letter of Lord Lansdowne, which is before me, that, in the summer of 1879, he offered drainage employment with the Board of Works moneys (repayable by him in twenty-two years at £6 10s. per cent. per annum principal and interest), for which he proposed to charge his tenants a perpetual rent increase of 5 per cent. per annum.

Later in that year, in November, I find from another letter of Lord Lansdowne, which also is before me, that he amended that offer by relieving the tenants from any interest for three years, but after that date the perpetual rent increase was to be £5 per centum.

I shall presently show the profit from the public moneys which the carrying out by the tenants of either of those

offers would have secured to Lord Lansdowne. The figures are startling. At the latter date, when the distress had declared itself, the same question was addressed to Lord Lansdowne as was addressed to his agent by the correspondent mentioned a year later. We have seen Mr. Trench's reply. Lord Lansdowne, at that earlier date, said, "You are perfectly right in assuming that, after three years, the 5 per cent. will be a permanent addition to the rent. I see no reason for departing from the usual practice of the estate in regard to this point."

By his lordship's letters which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of Nov. 27 and 30, 1880, he admits he was informed by the Board of Works towards the end of January that he was to pay only 1 per cent. on the £5000 drainage loan sanctioned for him on Dec. 27; he admits that every tenant, before commencing work, was required to sign a printed agreement, binding himself to pay as a perpetual rent-increase 5 per cent. upon the sums paid to him, and that of these agreements forty-eight were signed subsequent to the end of January, 1880. In fact, the matter stands thus—that, whether the money advanced to the tenants was money borrowed from the State at 5 per cent., but repayable, principal and interest, at £6 10s. per cent., in 22 years, or whether it was money borrowed at 1 per cent. per annum interest, to begin after two years, and repayable, principal and interest, at £3 8s. 6d. per cent. in thirty-five years—in each case the tenant was called upon to bind himself to pay as a perpetual addition to his rent £5 per annum for each £100 borrowed.

If, therefore, in November, 1879, the Marquis wrote

that the tenants should pay a perpetual rent-increase of 5 per cent. per annum on the drainage loans; if, subsequent to the date when he knew, when his agent knew, and when his tenants knew, that the rate charged by the Board of Works on the loan was reduced to 1 per cent., he still continued to make the tenants sign, or allowed the tenants to sign, agreements to pay the perpetual increase of 5 per cent.; and if, up to November, 1880, notwithstanding that the injustice of these agreements was (in the language of the correspondent cited) an "accusation more loudly urged than any of the others," the Marquis's agent admitted he had received no instructions to vary the terms of these agreements—I do not think the Marquis can wonder if his tenants should believe his intention was to insist strictly on those terms being carried out, and so realise the large rate of profit which I shall presently mention, out of the money borrowed by him from the State on exceptionally low terms. However, I willingly admit, and, indeed, I said in my original letter, referring to the matter, that the belief may have been the result of misapprehension. The Marquis now distinctly states that for the money borrowed by him from the State at 1 per cent., and repayable by him in thirty-five yearly instalments of £3 8s. 6d. each, the tenants shall not be called upon to pay more than £3 8s. 6d. per annum.

But, again, this is far from satisfactory. He does not say that these yearly instalments shall in the case of the tenants, as in his own case, be limited to thirty-five yearly payments, and shall not be perpetual. Unless so

limited, a palpable injustice will be done to the tenants. Nay, I fear Lord Lansdowne still leaves it in doubt whether the payment will or will not be perpetual—if, indeed, he does not actually mean to convey that it will be perpetual. I am driven to say this because of a paragraph in Lord Lansdowne's letter, which, if I interpret it rightly, sets up a claim of an extraordinary character. He says: "Some of Mr. Russell's informants appear to have laid stress upon the fact that no engagement was given to the tenants to the effect that the rent-charge payable by them should terminate with that payable by the landlord. Upon this point I will only observe that it is impossible to determine beforehand the length of time during which the land will be benefited by drainage, and that as the rent-charge payable by me or my successors will not terminate until A.D. 1917, the amount of rent which, when that time comes, will be payable by the tenants, and which must depend upon the then circumstances of their holdings, is scarcely a matter for present consideration."

The inference from this passage would seem to be that Lord Lansdowne considers that the State advances money at a low rate for drainage purposes in order to benefit the landlord; that the tenant is to construct the drains, receiving from the landlord a sum in payment of the entire or portion of the cost of them—which sum the landlord borrows from the State, repayable by terminable instalments—which instalments the tenant pays to the landlord, and that then, when the instalments to the State have ceased, the improvements effected by the drainage

(the entire cost of which the tenant has thus *ex hypothesi* paid) are or may be made the ground on which the tenant is to be made to pay an increased rent in the shape of a perpetual annuity in the name of interest! Can it be possible that his lordship desires to maintain this proposition?

From the statement of facts detailed by the Marquis of Lansdowne in reference to the drainage loans one thing is abundantly proved, viz., the total inability of the tenants to resist the landlords' terms, no matter how unreasonable or exorbitant these may be. It is this point I desire specially to emphasise. His lordship has shown us that the office procured forty-eight tenants to sign a contract to pay him a perpetual annuity of £5 for each £100 borrowed by him from the State, on a terminable annuity of £3 8s. 6d. for thirty-five years. If that contract were kept strictly, it would amount to this, that for a terminable annuity payable by his lordship, the present capital value of which is £100, he would have obtained from his tenant a perpetual annuity, the present State value of which at the same rate of interest is £485! The Marquis now says he does not insist upon the carrying out of this contract; but that he was able to insist on the tenants entering into it, is a clear proof of their helplessness.

From his lordship's letters he would seem to convey that the terms on which he usually lent out to his tenants the moneys borrowed by him from the Board of Works are just, if not generous. Without hesitation I give him credit for believing that on these terms he was reaping no profit from the loans, but the figures

appear to me to point so clearly in the opposite direction that I have submitted them to an actuary, who has verified the startling results which I now give.

The usual terms on which the Board of Works advanced the drainage money to landlords were £3 10s. per cent. interest, and a sinking fund of £3, payable during twenty-two years. In other words, for £100 the landlord paid an annuity of £6 10s., which extinguished principal and interest in twenty-two years. The present capital value of this annuity is £100. This £100 his lordship lent again to the tenants, and his first proposition, in the summer of 1879, was that they should pay to him a perpetual annuity of £5 to commence from the date of the loan. The present capital value of this annuity is £143.

The second proposition in November, 1879, was that they should pay a perpetual annuity of £5, but not to commence until the expiration of three years from the date of the loan. The present capital value of this annuity is £129. In the above calculations the rate of interest is throughout taken at £3 10s. per cent., viz., the rate charged by the Board of Works to the landlord. The reduced or "cheap" terms on which the Board of Works advanced the money to Lord Lansdowne during the distress were £1 per cent. interest, and a sinking fund of £2 8s. 6d., making together £3 8s. 6d. payable during thirty-five years, to commence from the expiration of two years from the date of the advance. In other words, the landlord, at the expiration of two years, would begin paying an annuity of £3 8s. 6d. per cent., which, in thirty-five years, would extinguish both principal and interest. The

present capital value of this annuity is (at 1 per cent. interest) £100.

According to his lordship's third proposition, viz., the contract signed by his tenants in February, they would have been obliged to pay a perpetual annuity of £5, the present capital value of which, at 1 per cent., as I have already said, would be £485. Let us assume his fourth proposition, viz., the contracts of February, as modified by his letters to the *Daily Telegraph*, to be that the tenants are to pay a perpetual annuity of £3 8s. 6d., to commence at the expiration of three years from the date of the advance. The present capital value of this annuity, at 1 per cent., would be £332.

From these figures it is plain that, after making the most liberal deductions and allowance for the the cost of collection, &c., the terms admittedly charged to the tenants would, in each case, represent a large profit on the money borrowed by Lord Lansdowne from the State and re-lent by him to the tenants.

For example, let us suppose that he borrowed from the State and then lent to his tenants for drainage purposes the sum of £10,000. The sums payable by the tenants to Lord Lansdowne for this money would represent, according to the first terms, £14,300; according to the second terms, £12,900; according to the third terms, £48,500; according to the fourth terms, £33,200!

This disposes of the first point on which Lord Lansdowne challenged my criticism. I have been tempted to go into this detail because I have long feared many landlords in Ireland were making a profit out of the public loans which the Legislature did not intend. This

warning may be of use. When one finds such views as I have set forth entertained by men of the position and character of Lord Lansdowne, what may not one expect to find in less reliable quarters?

I hold it to be of great importance to watch with jealous scrutiny, lest what was in distressful times intended to benefit the people should be turned to the private profit of landlords. Moreover, these public moneys have been made to serve many purposes. I am speaking of many parts of Ireland, not of Kerry only. If it be objected that the landlord has contributed nothing to the relief funds, his answer commonly is, "Help in that form is demoralising; it is bad according to true political economy. I have done better, for I have given useful and remunerative employment"—meaning thereby with Board of Works moneys. If it be objected that no rent abatement is made in view of late disastrous seasons, the answer is, "To abate the rent would amount to little, and, moreover, would weaken the tenants' sense of the obligations of contract. I have done better. I have put them in the way of paying their rent by well-paid employment"—meaning thereby with Board of Works moneys.

There is no doubt without these drainage moneys many of the tenants receiving them could not pay their rents, and that the moneys in great part returned to the landlords' pockets as rent. There is also no doubt that complaints of insufficient payment for the work done by the tenants have been frequent. All these circumstances combine to justify close scrutiny in the dealings with these public moneys.

2. I now come to the question of the prices charged for lime. In my letter I observed "I understand that Lord Lansdowne does not admit having prohibited the tenants using their own kilns, but undoubtedly the impression that he did so prevails in Kenmare." This statement is literally accurate: it is supported by the evidence of the correspondent already named. Lord Lansdowne has now publicly stated he did not intend to prohibit his tenants burning lime in their own kilns. I accept his denial without hesitation. At the same time it is only proper to add, I have, even since Lord Lansdowne's letter appeared, received ample evidence that the impression exists that not alone was the prohibition given, but that it was effectually enforced in several instances by the fact of the tenants' kilns being demolished by Mr. Trench's orders. But, accepting this statement of Lord Lansdowne unreservedly, I must point out that his letter leaves wholly unanswered the serious part of the tenants' complaints as to the lime. Even if they had been prohibited lime-burning, but had been supplied by the estate limekilns with lime on reasonable terms, the ground of complaint would have been small indeed.

Alleged Excessive Lime charge.

These are the facts as stated to and by me: 1st, That there are not, and have not been for years since the supposed prohibition, any working limekilns on Lord Lansdowne's Kenmare estate save in the town of Kenmare. 2nd, That until the last year or two, in addition to Lord Lansdowne's, there was in that town only one limekiln, which latter was worked by a lessee of his lordship; but some disputes having arisen between Mr.

Trench and this lessee the limekiln of the latter was closed, and thereupon the Marquis became undisputed owner of a monopoly in supplying lime to the tenants on the estate, and, indeed, to the neighbourhood. 3rd, That the Marquis ought to be able without loss to sell lime to his tenants at 1s. to 1s. 3d. per barrel. This is the opinion of the very experienced gentleman whom I have called as a witness—Mr. S. M. Hussey, Lord Kenmare's agent. 4th, That the rise in price to 2s. 6d. per barrel was both serious and sudden. 5th, That at the time of the rise there was no increase in the cost of production. 6th, That the time selected for this serious and sudden rise was the period when the distress was most acute. 7th, That the alternative to any tenant who required lime to manure his ground was to pay 2s. 6d. per barrel for it, or sign the printed agreement to pay a permanent increase to his rent of 1d. per barrel per annum. These are the simple facts of which the tenants complain, and I must say I fail to see that Lord Lansdowne has in any way met them.

3. The remaining matter in respect of which Lord Lansdowne has impugned my accuracy, is as
 Iveragh Rent-raising. to the amount of the rents and rent-increase on his Iveragh estate. On this point I have been saved the necessity of going into an extended vindication, for, within the past few days, there has been published in the press a document which attests the accuracy of the facts and figures put forward by me—I mean the declaration signed by upwards of eighty tenants on Lord Lansdowne's Iveragh estate. It has been referred to, Sir, in your columns, and is in the following words:

“We, the undersigned tenants of the Iveragh estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne, having seen a letter of his lordship's in the *Daily Telegraph*, in which he states that the description given by Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., of the increase of rent imposed on the tenants of this estate, is absolutely misleading, do hereby declare that Mr. Russell's statement is accurate, and does truly represent the history of this estate for the last thirty years.”

Lord Lansdowne says he recognises the cases to which my figures refer, but he denies the accuracy of those figures. It would have been more convenient if he had pointed out what the inaccuracies were. The points in difference might thus have been cleared up. My information may of course have been wrong in some particulars. I should most readily admit any errors which have crept into my letters. I challenge criticism and correction. I should injure the cause I desire to promote if I advanced facts which can be disproved. I cannot pretend to have been accurate in all details. I think I have so far shown that I have spared no pains to be accurate.

Lord Lansdowne, referring to the case in which the tenant helped me to present an approximate balance-sheet, seemed to think that he had disposed of that illustration by pointing out that, on the tenant's showing, he would have have lost on his farming last year even if he were rent-free. Does Lord Lansdowne think that surprising or improbable? I do not. I think in recent years the cases are many in which, after the support of his family, the tenant would not only have no balance left to pay rent, but would be out of pocket. I am sure there

are many such cases in South Kerry of late. I am not sure there have not also been many such cases in England.

In reference to the comparison of actual rent with Griffith's or Government valuation, I desire to make some observations of general application. From what I have said in previous letters it is clear that Griffith's valuation is no necessary test of what a fair rent should be. It may either be too low a figure for a fair rent, or it may be, as I pointed out, though not so frequently, too high for a fair rent. But there is one other matter to be considered, which has a disturbing influence upon the valuation as a rent test. It is this. Practically no alteration has been made since 1852 in Griffith's valuation *except* in the case of new houses or buildings. In that case there is a new valuation. In other words the old valuation is increased by the amount which the valuator thinks right to put on the entire holding in respect of such new buildings. It is clear that every such addition brings the valuation closer to the actual rent.

In all cases, therefore, in which the tenant has built new buildings the valuation is altered and raised; but I need hardly point out that although thereby the Government valuation is brought closer to the figure of the rent, it does not follow that the latter may not be an excessive rent. That is to say, the addition to the valuation has taken place by reason of the improvements in buildings, which in many cases the tenant himself has effected, and for which in practically all cases he pays, while no such improvements affect the productive character of the soil.

It would, therefore, follow that in all cases in which the

landlords have—as Lord Lansdowne has properly done—tried to improve the character of their tenants' dwellings, that the difference between the rent and the valuation will be less than where no such improvements have been effected, although from the considerations I have presented above, it is obvious that the latter may be the less highly rented, the former the more highly rented holdings.

I hope I have treated Lord Lansdowne's letters with the consideration they deserve. I have meant to do so. I now leave them; but I feel justified in asking the attention of those who have followed this correspondence to the story of that last rent-increase of 25 per cent. all round, on the Iveragh tenants, which I have told; and I would ask them to say, Does Lord Lansdowne really meet it?

Once more—and I trust for the last time—I shall have to trouble you with some observations upon the statement issued by the authorities of Trinity College.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

TEMPLE, December 10, 1880.

FINAL LETTER OF MR. RUSSELL IN REFERENCE TO TRINITY COLLEGE ESTATE.

SIR,—I now address myself to the printed reply of the authorities of Trinity College. It would seem from this that many injurious reports affecting their character as landlords at Cahirciveen have been during the present

year in circulation. Accordingly, in a pamphlet of some twenty-three pages they defend themselves.

As in great part this statement does not concern assertions of mine, I propose to deal with it briefly, confining my attention to the parts impugning my statements. The College call as their principal witness to character an anonymous correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, who gives his evidence under the vague designation of a "Trinity College Tenant." My information as to this correspondent is that at the time he wrote he not only was not a tenant of the College, but was acting as drainage steward under Captain Needham, the agent. The College can easily meet this assertion by disclosing the name of the tenant.

I distrust anonymous correspondents, whether they are landlords or tenants. I hope the English public do so also. The College proceed to show their dealing with this property, and mention the fact that only since 1865, when a middleman's lease came to an end, have they been able to deal as owners with the property.

This case is, indeed, a striking illustration of the evils of the middleman or mid-interest system. The description of the actual condition of things on this estate which I have given is not in any single point controverted. Their case is that since 1865 they have not had time to do much. Indeed, the description of Cahirciveen which they cite from Mr. Foster's Letters, written as far back as 1845—when the late Mr. Daniel O'Connell was the middleman—might be well read with but little alteration as a description in this day. The College say there has been

improvement. I accept their statement, although it is difficult to realise a state of things much more miserable than that now existing.

I gave the College credit in my letter for the outlay which had been made, and I said that Captain Needham had shown a certain amount of consideration in the distressful time. But I cannot say there is much to show for their outlay, or that any considerable part of it has been in the interest of the agricultural tenants. Its major part was in Cahirciveen, expended on a market-house and a fish-market, investments in respect of the use of which the College derive tolls.

They ought also to have credit for the erection of a well-built Protestant school. This fact shows they are not unmindful of the great original object of their institution. I am informed this school is attended by as many as fifteen children.

But of what avail in defence of the College is the statement that only in 1865 did the lease to their middleman come to an end? Why let to the middleman? Is not the answer that the former governing body of the College, wholly regardless of the interests of the actual tillers of the soil and of their own obligations as landlords, let to middlemen at fixed rents, leaving such middlemen unrestrained, careless how the property was hacked and carved, how it was sublet and subdivided, how the tenants were harassed?

But more; the College well know the history of properties in the hands of middlemen. They well know that their only interest is to get as much as possible out of the

land, and that as a rule the worst-treated and highest-rented tenants in Ireland are those under middlemen: Was it not their duty when, in 1865, the mid-interest ceased, to guard themselves against the temptation of pocketing the fruits of a system which they themselves denounce as pernicious? The College do not state the rent which they were paid by the middleman, or what proportion it bears to the amount of rent extracted from these miserable creatures, the existing tenants. These figures would be interesting. They do indeed get some kind of re-valuation made by Mr. Gale, which so far from lessening the rents paid, in the result increases the rent, though in a trifling degree.

I have called attention to the character of that valuation. The important facts I have stated have not been contradicted. I said that within forty years one-third, at least, of the land now in tillage had been reclaimed and made arable without allowance from the landlord. I pointed out that in the cases of these re-valuations no representative of the tenant is called in. More important still, I pointed out that these re-valuations are valuations of the holdings *as they are*, improved by the sweat and labour and small expenditure of money of, it may be, generations of the struggling tillers of the soil. None of these facts do the College deny. Nay, I find I did not do full justice to one point. I learn from the evidence before Lord Bessborough's Commission that the tenants requested to be allowed to name a valuer on their side. This the College refused.

There are some corrections by the College of statements

made by me on minor points. I would be glad, however, to give them the benefit in your columns of these corrections.

As to the broken pavements in the streets of Cahirciveen, they say no contractor would propose for the work at the price named in the presentment. I understand the county surveyor does not admit this reason; but, assuming it to be correct, why did not the College supplement the presentment? They say they are unable to verify the figures given in my letter. The figures of rent were generally taken from the rent pass-books (for which, by the way, the tenants are charged by the office sixpence each!), and the figures of valuation were generally verified by reference to the rate receipts. So far from agreeing with the statement of the College, that Griffith's valuation is in this district very low, my inquiry leads me to the opinion that it is very much nearer a fair rent than the rent charged.

They admit, excluding Cabirciveen, that the valuation is £1900, as against £3500 rent paid. Bearing in mind the observations made in my last letter as to the increase in Government valuation where buildings are made, and excluding such cases, I think the rent will be found to be more than double the valuation. They say that in the case of the tenant who received an advance for his house-building, repayable by forty yearly instalments, he omitted mention of a cash payment of £24 10s., for which he was charged no interest. I at once, without inquiry, accept this correction. But the College apparently fail to see that the point in that case was the harsh

agreement by which, if the tenant failed in any one instalment, he might at once be sued for the entire amount. I said, and I repeat, that this was not very liberal treatment on the part of a great corporation. As to the man the rent of whose land had been raised from £8 to £26 10s., they say their valuers did not so raise it. I quite agree; but I never said they did. I only said that one of such rises of rent had been made by their valuer. They deny that any retrospective increase of rent was made by them. I accept their statement. I admit it might be supposed from the context I was referring to the College. The statement was not, however, intended to apply to them.

In reference to the answer of the Bursar in 1879 to the request of the tenant for drainage money, and requiring him to sign an agreement to pay the increased rent of 1s. 7d. in the pound for each pound advanced, the College say that such payment would repay principal and interest in twenty-one years. I willingly accept their statement that this is what they intend. It is a pity that their Bursar did not say so. It is no wonder that the tenants should look on the increase as permanent, as unquestionably they did in the cases cited to me. No doubt the College intended one thing, but the written terms stipulated for a different thing.

I accept the statement of the College, that Captain Needham, the College agent, in his character of magistrate, opposed the increase of spirit licences in Cahirciveen, but I did not convey the contrary. The College do, I think, give some reasons to show that, although anxious to effect

drainage on a large scale, there were practical difficulties in their way. The College are entitled to credit for their statement that they distributed £500 worth of meal at cost price—no part of which has yet been repaid—and also that they supplied potatoes at half-price, at a loss to the college of £260.

They say in correction of my statement, that instead of 200 processes against their tenants there were not 100. I do not stop to observe that in such times as these this is no small matter. I do not quite understand their denial as to the two-and-sixpenny charge to the bailiff on every process. One main point was that this charge gave the bailiff, who was, I said, regarded by the tenants as a much more formidable person than the agent, a direct interest in making the number of processes as large as possible. I accept the statement that the impression existing that the bailiff's charge of 2s. 6d. each process was in excess of the legal charge, was not well-founded. Indeed, I understand the College to say they charge less than the full costs. As to the water supply at Cahirciveen, the information given to me does not agree with the statement of the College. But assuming it to be strictly accurate, as I am sure they believe it to be, the yearly interest on the half of £700 ought hardly to have stood in the way of carrying out a water scheme which could not fail to have an important effect upon the cleanly habits of the people, and upon the cleanliness and health of the town itself.

I have the honour of knowing some of the governing body of the College, men whom I deeply respect, men of

large and liberal views. I wish they could be induced to judge this question for themselves, on the spot. I feel confident they could not come to the conclusion that the system existing on this estate and on the neighbouring estates is one conducive to the good of the tenants or of the country. They point to the indolence and unthrift of the people. Let them recollect that, in the language of John Stuart Mill, the Irish tenant is of all persons living the one who has the least motive offered him to induce industry and thrift.

Sir, I cannot close this correspondence without gratefully acknowledging the sacrifices of valuable space which you have made for its admission into your columns. On my part, I wish to declare it has been no pleasure to me to say many things which it seemed to me I ought to say.

I would ask no one to accept my facts, my reasoning, or my conclusions, but to test each for himself. I shall have some reward for a good deal of labour if I succeed in setting the people of England a-thinking for themselves upon this question. If they once set themselves to its candid consideration, I cannot doubt they will soon conclude that the existing land system of Ireland cannot longer be allowed to stand.

Worse than the tree which bears no fruit, it yearly produces widespread pauperism and discontent—discontent all the more dangerous because it springs from real grievances.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

TEMPLE, Dec. 13.

FURTHER LETTER OF VERY REV. CANON
BROSNAN IN REFERENCE TO TRINITY
COLLEGE ESTATE.

SIR,—The Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, in their pamphlet in reply to Mr. Russell's statements, commence characteristically by an attack on the memory of the Liberator, and retail for this purpose the slanders of the *Times* "Gutter Commission" of 1845, conveniently forgetting how fully the charges of that most prejudiced writer were refuted by the late Sir John Gray and others. It is well known here that O'Connell was the kindest of landlords; and if his public labours left him but little time for personal supervision of his estate, he took good care that the tenantry should be treated at all times with kindness and consideration. His character as a landlord has outlived the calumnies of Mr. Foster and the *Times*, and is not likely to be dimmed by the sneers of Trinity College.

When the College came into possession of the Iveragh estate in 1865, a complete reform, if we are to believe the pamphlet, could only be effected "by the eviction of the entire population, or by an effort to induce an improvement in their inveterate habits of indolence and improvidence." This is the character the Fellows of Trinity College deliberately give of their Cahirciveen tenantry, than whom a more industrious and thrifty people it would be difficult to find. It will indeed astonish the merchants of Cork and Dublin, of Manchester and Glasgow, having commercial relations with the town, no

less than all whom chance or business, or travel has made acquainted with the industrious and laborious habits of the rural population. Whether by "the eviction of nearly the entire population" the pamphlet means the town, the country, or both, is not very clear; but, incredible as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact that the "Provost and Senior Fellows" did contemplate evicting such of the house-owners in Cahirciveen as had let their premises, and recognising the immediate occupiers as direct tenants, at a rent equal to the full valuation. In other words the wealthy Corporation of Trinity College had actually under consideration the expediency of confiscating to their benefit houses built at the sole cost of those indolent and improvident Cahirciveen people. The late Dr. Barry, when this alarming fact became known, was sent as a deputation to the College, and succeeded in inducing the Board, as a compromise, to accept the house-owners as tenants at one shilling and sixpence per frontage in Main Street, and one shilling in the other parts of the town. O'Connell's rent was only nine and threepence per fifty feet, so that the "Provost and Senior Fellows," who, as head landlords, might be expected to act more liberally than the middleman who had held under them, in one part of the town exacted nearly five and a-half times and in the other fully eight times the rent charged by O'Connell. Nay, more, as if repenting of their liberality, they have within the past three or four years raised the rent to three or four shillings on new building lots, or to sixteen times the amount charged by O'Connell! And this is what the College calls "a moderate ground."

“The first step,” says the pamphlet, “towards the civilization of the people was the construction by the College of a complete system of sewers.” What will be the thought of the candour of the writers when it is stated that the main sewerage of the town, as it exists to-day, was constructed long before they came into possession, and that their work merely supplemented it in a very inefficient manner. The sewer which serves as the principal outlet, and which runs from the Post Office across to the Old Quay, was made in 1837, at O’Connell’s sole expense; and the sewer at right angles to it by presentment as a relief work in 1847. Trinity College has lately extended the latter eastward, and constructed some sewers to the back of the houses at the north side of Main Street, which are but little used on account of their faulty construction and not as the “Provost and Senior Fellows” so politely state, because “a majority of the tenants prefer their old habits of indolence and filth.” This grossly offensive and outrageous language used by the grave and learned Board of Trinity College towards the people of Cahirciveen, from whom they exact a rental greater than O’Connell paid for his entire portion of the estate, town included, may be taken as a fair index of their contempt and utter absence of sympathy for their tenantry, and the strong necessity for their expropriation.

As connected with the question of sewerage it may be mentioned that the town, situated at the foot of a hill of considerable elevation, suffers frequently from floods. O’Connell, so far back as 1830, took effective steps to protect the town. He had a large watercourse cut along the

base of the hill to intercept the floods, and paid an annual salary to three caretakers charged with keeping this course in order. On his death the work was neglected, and nothing has been done by the College for its restoration. The consequence is that after a heavy rainfall the condition of the town is simply disgraceful. Torrents course down the street, the space in front of the butter market is converted into a lake, houses are flooded, and some of the inhabitants in the centre of the town have to watch with the vigilance of Dutchmen the advent of the dreaded flood.

Since 1865, the College, we are told, has expended on the improvement of this property about £11,000. This will, no doubt, be startling news to the tenants, who will seek in vain for evidences of so large an expenditure. But accepting the statement as correct, which in courtesy we are bound to do, what does it amount to? Why this, that on a rental in fifteen years of £60,000 in round numbers 18 per cent. has been expended on the improvement of the property. As most of the expenditure was made shortly after the College came into possession, and for works of a permanent character, and as the "Provost and Senior Fellows" have since shown little inclination to expend money on the estate, it is obvious that unless they greatly change for the better, the percentage of expenditure on the gross rental will, year by year, "become small by degrees and beautifully less." But it would be fallacious in appraising the liberality of the learned landlords of Cahirciveen to credit them with even a percentage thus reduced. The portion of the expenditure which brings

them an adequate return should be first deducted; will they kindly state the amount, that we may be enabled to solve the problem of their liberality? £1000, for instance, has been expended on the butter market; but with a toll of 2*d.* per firkin, this should bring some 7 per cent. after paying expenses. The Fairfield Cottages, the Coast-guard Station, the National Bank, the premises connected with the College office, and the stores lately built for the Clyde Shipping Company are, doubtless, remunerative investments. A sum of £1500 was probably expended in erecting a school for a score of little Protestant children. This can scarcely be regarded as a benefit to the general tenantry. The National School, conducted by the nuns, in which the great bulk of the female children, and the infants, male and female, on the property about Cahirciveen are taught gratuitously, and whose efficiency attracts the grown-up Protestant girls, is completely ignored by the College. The people have on two occasions memorialised the board for a remission of the ground-rent of £10 imposed on these schools and the residence of the ladies who teach them, which were held free under O'Connell, but in vain. Trinity College, which has been so generous to the Protestant little ones of Cahirciveen, will give no aid whatever to these valuable schools. The Christian Brothers' School and the Boys' National School, which all the grown Protestant boys attend—the latter just outside the College bounds, the former in the town, and both chiefly attended by pupils from the College estate—receive no encouragement from this learned body. Neither is it correct to say the Portmagee National Schools “are in great measure

supported by the College," while seven-eighths of the school income is supplied by the National Board and the pupils' school fees. The pamphlet makes great capital of a letter signed "A Trinity College Tenant," published in the *Freeman's Journal* last August, and a leading article commenting upon it. It is not likely the editorial would have been written if the editor were aware that his correspondent is neither a tenant of Trinity College nor of anybody else. At the time he wrote the letter he was temporarily employed as drainage steward by the College, and in lauding the management of the estate, was, as is well known here, simply fishing for future favours. As he promptly revealed his identity to Captain Needham and the College, it is far from candid of the latter to speak of him as "one of the tenants." His testimony in view of the object for which it was given is utterly unreliable, and the case of the College must be indeed weak when they assign it such prominence.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

T. CANON BROSINAN.

CAHIRCIVEEN, December 11.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE found that I could not set out the Statement of the authorities of Trinity College without occupying an amount of space altogether disproportionate to the matters really in controversy between me and them.

In answer to a request that they should furnish me with a summary of their Statement, they have returned me that Statement with only some four pages and a-half (of the twenty-three, of which it originally consisted), excised.

There was some delay in obtaining their answer, and the manuscript was in the printers' hands when it was received. They will, I think, find that I have in my final letter dealt with each disputed allegation.

In conclusion I would ask the reader carefully to weigh what has been alleged by me in each case, and what has been traversed.

To his impartial judgment I now commend these pages.

C. R.

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