

WHY IRELAND WANTS HOME RULE.

A COMPLETE HANDBOOK
OF THE
VIEWS OF EMINENT ENGLISHMEN,
PAST AND PRESENT.

As expressed in their Speeches and Writings;

PARLIAMENTARY STATISTICS, MAP, AND A LARGE MASS OF INFORMATION
FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY

J. A. FOX.

7.19

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
DONAL PRESS AGENCY, LIMITED,
25, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C.

ONE SHILLING. BY POST, 1s. 3d.

~~12~~
~~11~~

WHY IRELAND WANTS HOME

THE
SERVANTS OF INDIA
SOCIETY
PUBLISHED

A COMPLETE HANDBOOK

OF THE

VIEWS OF EMINENT ENGLISHMEN,

PAST AND PRESENT,

As expressed in their Speeches and Writings;

WITH PARLIAMENTARY STATISTICS, MAP, AND A LARGE MASS OF INFORMATION
FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES

ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY

J. A. FOX.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE NATIONAL PRESS AGENCY, LIMITED,

10, WILKINSON STREET, LONDON, E.C.

In 1846, Lord William hesitated not to say in the House of Lords that "Ireland was a country of which Englishmen were exceedingly ignorant. It was a mirror in which England did not very well wish to look ; but from which she ought not to shrink, although she might see in that mirror much cause of regret, and much cause of shame." (House of Lords, March 23rd, 1846.)

On January 27th, 1868, Mr. Bright wrote :—"The English people are in complete ignorance of Irish wrongs, and know little or nothing of the real condition of Ireland. This is a sad picture, but it is not coloured too darkly."

Mr. Gladstone, in a letter published in October, 1886, gives it as his opinion that the English constituencies, to a large extent, are, it is to be feared, still "deplorably ignorant of sound historical information" on the Irish Question.

PREFACE.

There probably never was a period in Anglo-Irish history when Englishmen and Scotchmen were so well disposed to consider any explanation of the Irish difficulty put before them as the present time. The story of British rule in Ireland is a painful one from beginning to end ; so painful, indeed, in many of its incidents, that it had better be buried in oblivion. Ireland is not alone a conquered country, but a confiscated one,—confiscated three times over, and always in the interest of strangers or adventurers, and to the exceeding detriment of the natives. It is a conquered country, though this is stoutly denied by the Irish themselves, and the history of its conquest is often made up of a series of military barbarities, extending over many centuries, and not seldom practised on unarmed peasants, defenceless women and innocent children. But every well-balanced mind is shocked by the recitals of these characteristics of Anglo-Irish history now, and it is not a patriotic any more than it is a christian thing to recall, much less to dwell upon, such evil recollections, when the long standing quarrel between England and Ireland is on the point of being composed. I have on this account confined my pamphlet rather to the economic and social injuries from which Ireland still suffers—though the cause of these having had its origin in the last century, it was necessary to go so far back at least.

My object has been a very humble one ; to compile a hand-book of information on those various Irish subjects which still puzzle and perplex the average English politician. And I have tried so to arrange them in separate chapters as to include, though of course

only in a condensed form, the independent opinion of eminent English statesmen and publicists on these very various topics as they arise. I wish here to disclaim responsibility for the oftentimes strong denunciatory language applied to the doings of Irish landlords, past and present, and especially by a journal of such vast intelligence as well as influence as the *Times*. I venture to hold that the Irish landlords are now, and ever have been, the creature of the British Government and the British Parliament; unless indeed it can be absurdly set up that both Parliament and Government are the creation of Irish landlords. It will not do in these days of enlightenment to endeavour to shift the responsibility; and whatever of evil has been worked in the past by unjust agrarian laws, *and is being done at the present hour* by the *Crowbar Brigade*, as the *Times* has called the "black armies" and the "red armies" with the evictors; for that, and much more than that, Parliament, and Parliament alone, should be held responsible. My readers will find in these pages innumerable admissions to this effect from the lips or the pen of the foremost of English statesmen, extending over a period of two generations. But, alas! it will also be found that these distinguished men have never, in the long interval, seriously combined, once for all, to get rid of the scandal; not at least to the day when Mr. Gladstone's axe was uplifted to cut at the Upas tree of Irish discontent and disaffection. So that there has been a perpetual aptness in a saying of Sir John Davis, an Englishman who was Attorney-General in Ireland in the reign of James I. :—

"In a word, if the English would neither in peace govern them [the Irish] by the law, nor could in war root them out by the sword; must they not needs be pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides, till the world's end?" (*A Discoverie*, p. 90).

The great body of Liberal Associations throughout England and Scotland appear to have, at length, happily realised the fact that English rule in Ireland has been, so far, no more than a dismal failure. Their Irish fellow subjects now look with longing and grateful hearts to the Liberal electors of Great Britain to act up to their convictions, by making to Ireland the only reparation for the sorrows and suffering of the past which it is in their power to make, viz., the restoration of her native Parliament, for the

Preface.

management henceforward of her own affairs; not only for Ireland's sake, but for the sake of England too.

J. A. Fox.

London, January 27th, 1837.

I wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance I have met with in compiling my pamphlet from the following very valuable works, viz. :—

- A Word for Ireland* (Gill and Son).
- English Interference with Irish Industries* (Cassell).
- Ireland Under English Rule* (Duffy).
- The Irish Landlord Since the Revolution* (Kelly).
- History of the Irish Famine of 1847* (Gill and Son).
- A Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon* (Duffy).

The other works from which I have quoted are, I trust, sufficiently acknowledged in the course of the text. But I have also to thank the Registrar-General in Dublin, Dr. Grimshaw, for indicating to me the source of authentic emigration statistics; and last, but not least, I have to thank a young student in Anglo-Irish history, Mr. William Lancelot Fox, who has kindly favoured me with many interesting extracts, particularly from the writings and speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, which will be found in their appropriate chapters.

J. A. F.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—THE FERTILITY AND LOVELINESS OF IRELAND.

Bacon, Lord 2	Kane, Sir Robert 2
Beaumont, M. de 2	Lavergne, M. de 1
Bright, John 1	McCombie, Mr. 2
Cecil, Lord Robert 3	McLagan, Mr. 2
Dufferin, Lord 2	McCulloch, Mr. 1
Henry VIII., Reign of 2	Wakefield, G. 1
Hutchinson, Hely... 1	Young, Arthur 1, 2

CHAPTER II.—ARE THE IRISH LAZY?

Beaumont, M. de 5	Maine, Sir Henry 4
Beecher, Rev. H. Ward 9	Kay, Joseph 5, 6
Bright, John 8	Mill, John Stuart 6
Commissioners of Emigration 7	Morley, John 10
Dufferin, Lord 8	Parliamentary Statistics 8
Forster, W. E. 7	Sheffield, Lord 4
Foster, Vere 7	Sigerson, Professor 10
Fox, J. A. 8	Tuke, J. H. 9
Gardiner, Luke 4	Young, Arthur 9
Heron, Serjeant 8	

CHAPTER III.—DIFFERENCE IN THE RELATION BETWEEN LANDLORD AND TENANT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Binn, Mr. 12	Gladstone, W. E. 11, 13
Bicheno, Mr. 12	Labouchere, Mr. H. 14
Brett, Isaac... 12	Lewis, Sir Franklin 11
Cardenon, Lord 13	<i>Paracell Movement</i> , Author of ... 13
von Parliamentary Report 11	Pennefather, Baron 12

CHAPTER IV.—THE CHARACTER OF THE IRISH LANDLORD BEFORE
AND SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

Barrow, Mr.	19	Ingliš, Mr.	19
Beaumont, M. de	19	Kay, Joseph	19
Berkeley, Bishop	18	Kohl, Herr	20
Bieheno, Mr.	19	Lecky, W. E. H.	21
Boulter, Archbishop	18	Mill, John Stuart	16
Bright, John	21	Morley, John	22
Byron, Lord	16	<i>Quarterly Review</i>	21
Clare, Lord Chancellor	18	Raumer, F. von	20
Foster, Baron	18	Spencer, Herbert	16
Franklin, Benjamin	19	Spenser, Edmund	18
Froude, J. A.	21	Swift, Dean	18
Gladstone, W. E.	17	Wakefield, G.	18
Grey, Lord	20	Williams, Mr.	16
Hauranne, M. de	19	Young, Arthur	18

CHAPTER V.—PERENNIAL FAMINE.

Beaumont, M. de	26	<i>Morning Herald</i>	33
Berkeley, Bishop	24	Newport, Sir John	26
Boulter, Archbishop	24	Nicholson, Bishop	23
Bourke, Mr.	33	Nugent, Lord	25
Census Commissioners, Report of	29, 40,	O'Connor, T. P.	29, 31
<i>Daily News</i>	35	Pim, Joseph T.	39
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	34	Select Parliamentary Committees	26
Derby, Lord	27	Shakespeare, William	23
Doherty, Solicitor-General	26	Sheridan, Dr.	24
Dufferin, Lord	32	<i>St. James's Gazette</i> , The	35
Fitzgibbon, Attorney-General	25	<i>Standard</i> , The	35
Forster, W. E.	30	Statesman's Year Book	41
Fox, J. A.	37	Sullivan, A. M.	30
Gordon, General	39	Swift, Dean	25
Hancock, Dr. Neilson	34	Thackeray, W. M.	27
Holinshed, Raphael	23	Thom's Almanack of the United Kingdom... ..	41
Kane, Sir Robert	42	<i>Times</i> , The... ..	27, 32, 42
La Bruyère	36	Trevelyan, Sir Charles	25
Lecky, W. E. H.	24	Tuke, J. H.	30, 35, 36
Mann, Captain	27	Wellington, Duke of	26
Mansion House Committee, Pro- ceedings of	34	Wynne, Captain	27

CHAPTER VI.—EVICTION.

Aberdeen, Lord	63	Donoughmore, Lord	54
Blunt, Wilfrid	62	Fox, J. A.	54, 57
Bright, John	51	Gladstone, W. E.	63
Cairnes, Professor	46, 47, 65	Glenbeigh, Evictions at	66
Clarke, Rev. Mr.	61	Hale, Sir M.	44
Coke, Sir Edward	43, 44	Healy, T. M.	6
Crowbar Brigade	<i>Passim</i>	Kay, Joseph	
Devine, N. H.	60, 61	Kennedy, Captain	

CHAPTER VI.—EVICTION—(Continued).

Latimer, Bishop	44	Russell, Lord John	53
Macaulay, Dr.	52	Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. J.	63
<i>Morning Chronicle</i>	52	Scrope, G. Poulett	48
Mulhall, <i>Dictionary of Statistics</i>	46	Sullivan, A. M.	52
<i>New Ireland</i>	51	Thom's Official Directory	54
Nulty, Bishop	52	<i>Times</i> , The	55, 66
Parliamentary Statistics	46	Trevelyan, Sir George	62
Peel, Sir Robert	53	Tuam, Bishop of	53
Pliny	43	Tuke, J. H.	56
Poor Law Guardians' Report	60	Urquhart, Rev. John	61
Raumer, F. von	45	Why Ireland Wants Home Rule	67
Rous, John	44		

CHAPTER VII.—HOW OUTRAGES AND DISCONTENT ORIGINATE

Binn, Mr.	69	Macaulay, Lord	68
Blunt, Wilfrid	78	Melbourne, Lord	69
Bright, John	71, 72	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> , The	76
Chesterfield, Lord	69, 70	Pike; History of Crime, By	77
Davis, Sir John	75	Registrar-General's Returns	76
Drummond, Secretary	70	Russell, Lord John	71
<i>Echo</i> , The	79	Senior, Nassau	70
Fitzgibbon, Attorney-General	68	Smith, Professor Goldwin	72
Fletcher, Mr. Justice	68	Smith, Sydney	69
Gladstone, W. E.	72, 78	<i>Times</i> , The	73, 76
Hancock, Dr. Neilson	78	Trench, W. S.	73
Hartington, Marquis of	77	Trevelyan, Sir George	77
Heron, Serjeant	72	Tuke, J. H.	75
Kingstown, Lord	70	Wakefield, G.	70
Lecky, W. E. H.	77	Walpole; History by	69
Lewis, Sir Cornwall	77		

CHAPTER VIII.—COERCION.

Bright, John	87, 88	Grey, Earl	83
Brougham, Lord	80, 83, 85	Leadam, I. S.	81
Dilke, Sir Charles	86	O'Connor, T. P.	80, 87
Forster, W. E.	86	Peel, Sir Robert	86
Graham, Sir James	82	Wellington, Duke of	86

CHAPTER IX.—EMIGRATION.

Beaconsfield, Lord	96	Mill, John Stuart	96
Bright, John	94	Montreal Emigrant Society	93
Broudin	89	Morley, John	97
Butt, Isaac	96	O'Connor, T. P.	93
Census Commissioners	92	Petty, Sir W.	89
Cobden, Richard	96	Sigerson, Professor	97
Dalrymple	89	Smith, Wm. Henry	92
Devon Commission	96	Smith, Sydney	95
Gardiner, Luke	94	Stratten, Dr.	92
Grattan, H.	89	Thurloe's Correspondence	89
Harcourt, Sir W.	96	<i>Times</i> , The	95
Lynch, <i>Cambrensis eversus</i>	89	Waterton	84

CHAPTER X.—THE HABITUAL INDIFFERENCE OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT TO REMEDIAL LEGISLATION.

Beaconsfield, Lord 101	<i>Nineteenth Century, The</i> ... 107
Bright, John 102, 106	Palmerston, Lord 101
Derby, Lord 98, 99, 103, 107	Russell, Lord John ... 100, 102
Devon Commission 100	<i>Saturday Review, The</i> 101
Doherty, Solicitor-General ... 99	Smith, Professor Goldwin ... 102
Gladstone, W. E. 103	Smith, Sydney 106
Horsman, Edward 102	<i>Times, The</i> 99
Kinnear, J. Boyd 103	Wellington, Duke of 99

CHAPTER XI.—PROHIBITION OF TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Beaconsfield, Lord 120	Hutchinson, Hely 116
Burgh, Lord Chief Baron Hussey 116	Lecky, W. E. H. 118, 119
Burke, Edmund 110, 114	North, Lord 113
Carte ; History by 110, 115	Rockingham, Lord 112
Dufferin, Lord 120, 122	Strafford, Lord 110
Franklin, Benjamin 116	Swift, Dean 113, 114
Froude, J. A. 109, 112	Temple, Sir William 110
Green, J. R. 122	Young, Arthur 110

CHAPTER XII.—PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE AND ENFORCED IGNORANCE.

Arnold, Matthew 127	Hallam, Henry 123, 126
Burke, Edmund 123	Leland, Thomas 125
Carte, History by 125	Smith, Sydney 127
Clarendon, Lord 125	Warner, Rev. Dr. 125

CHAPTER XIII.—HOW THE ACT OF UNION WAS CARRIED.

Castlereagh, Lord ... 128, 131	Grattan, Henry 131
Cooke, Under-Secretary 131	King, John 131
Cornwallis, Lord 129	Lecky, W. E. H. 128, 131, 132
Foster, Speaker of Irish House of Commons 130	Norbury, Lord 129
Gladstone, W. E. 133	Pitt, William 128, 130
	Toler, Attorney-General 129

CHAPTER XIV.—OPINIONS OF THE GREAT WHIGS ON THE SUBJECT.

Byron, Lord 138	Hobhouse, Mr. 137
Burke, Edmund 133, 136	Lawrance, Dr. 136
Carlisle, Lord 135	Moira, Lord 137
Fox, Charles James 134	Newman Cardinal 138
Gladstone, W. E. 134	Shelburne, Lord 135
Grey, Earl 134, 137	Sheridan, R. B. 136
Hastings, Marquis of 137	

**CHAPTER XV.—THE FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL GRIEVANCE
RESULTING FROM THE UNION.**

Clare, Lord	140	Jebb, Judge	140
Dublin Bankers	140	Lecky, W. E. H. .. .	139
Dublin Local Taxation Report ..	141	Merchants' Guild ...	141
Grattan, Henry	139	Plunkett, Lord	140

CHAPTER XVI.—ABSENTEEISM.—ANOTHER RESULT.

Bernard, W. Leigh	143	Johnson, Samuel ...	142
Blackburne, Lord Chief Justice	144	Lloyd, Mr. Serjeant ..	144
D'Alton, John	143	Sadler, <i>Ireland and its Evils</i> , By	143, 144
Fletcher, Baron	145	Society of Friends	147
Froude, J. A.	147	Swift, Dean	143
<i>Hansard</i>	148	Tuke, J. H.	147
Haverty, History by	147		

CHAPTER XVII.—THE ULSTER QUESTION.

Census Commissioners, Report of	150	Plunket, David	155
Forbes, Sir John	157	Rigg, T. Galloway	152
Goschen, G. J.	155	Russell, T. W.	154
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> , The	156	<i>Times</i> , The... ..	150
Parliamentary Returns 152, 153, 154, 155, 156			

**CHAPTER XVIII.—WILL ROMAN CATHOLICS PERSECUTE THE
PROTESTANT MINORITY?**

Chalmers, Dr.	165	Lunn, Rev. H. S.	162
Chief Rabbi of the Jews	167	Manning, Cardinal	161
Cornwallis, Lord	164	Smith, Sydney	159
Dawson, Charles	164, 165	Spencer, Lord	166
Eason, Charles	162	Taylor, History by	158, 159
Hallam, Henry	165	Walpole, History by	160
Lecky, W. E. H.	159	Webb, Alfred	161
Leland, Thomas	159	Whateley, Archbishop	163

**CHAPTER XIX.—WHAT ENGLAND HAS LOST BY HER WARS AND
PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND.**

Aberdeen, Lord	177	Holinshed, Raphael	172
Bright, John	169	Leland, Thomas	168
Clare, Lord Chancellor	174	Paine, Robert	173
Coke, Lord Chief Justice	169	Prendergast, J. P.	171
Davis, Sir John	168	Spenser, Edmund	169, 170, 171
Gladstone, W. E.	173, 174	Stuart, Rev. A.	175
Godkin, <i>Times</i> Correspondent ..	169	Ware, Sir James	172
Gray, Lord	170	Wellington, Duke of	168, 176

CHAPTER XX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Beaconsfield, Lord	..	178,	179	Mill, John Stuart...	..	..	186
Bright, John	..	..	185	Smith, Professor Goldwin	..	..	183
Cecil, Lord Robert	...	..	180	Smith, Sydney	...	..	182
Chamberlain, Joseph	..	..	181	Spencer, Herbert	..	..	181
Clonmel, Lord	...	..	181	State Papers, Reign of Henry			
Lecky, W. E. H.	...	..	184	VIII.	...	...	178
Macauley, Lord	...	..	184				