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.

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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 thing 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 creatures 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

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, 1887.

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.

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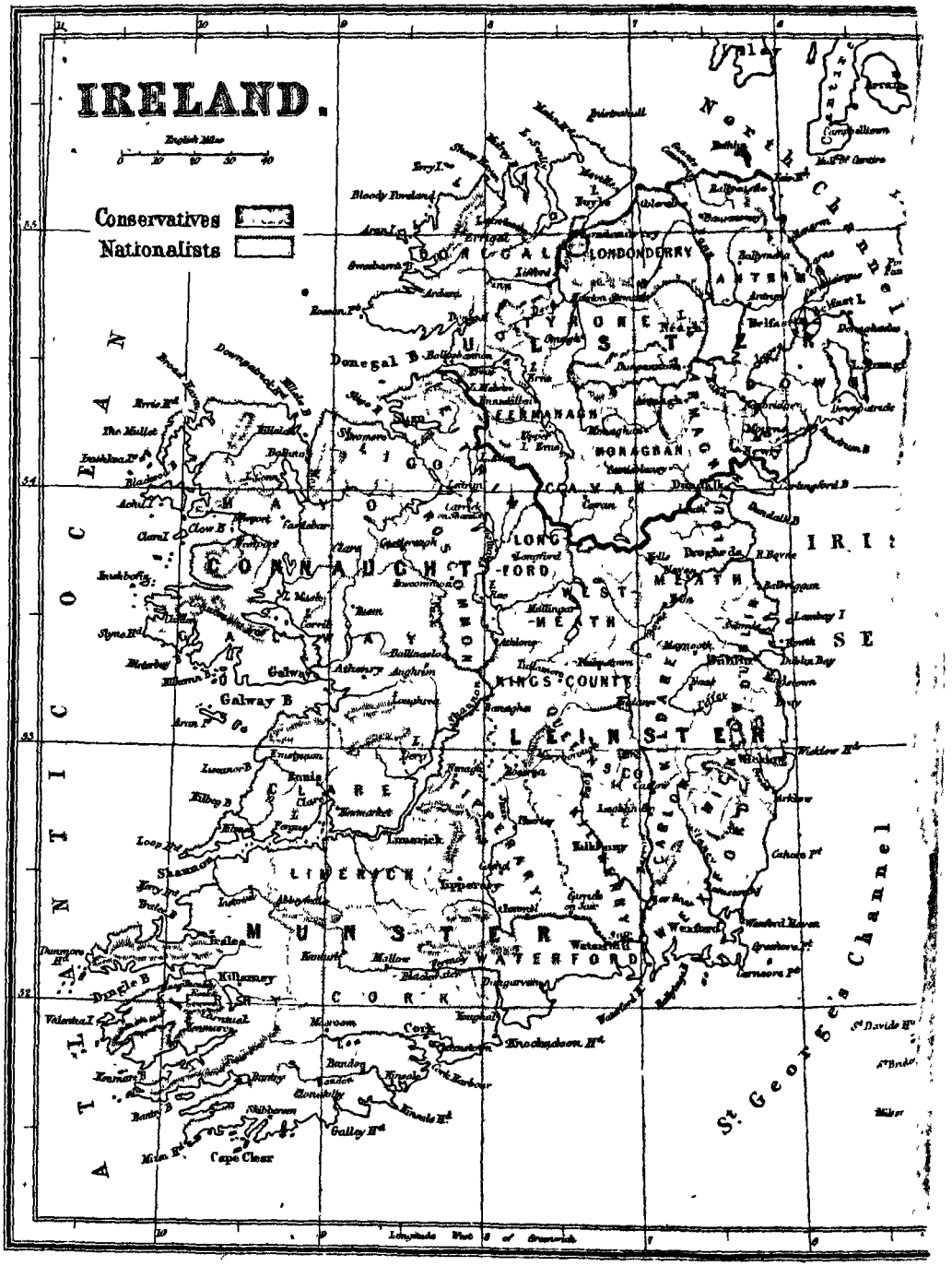
POLITICAL MAP OF IRELAND.

This Map is intended to give a bird's-eye view of the representation of Ireland. The dark line marks the boundary between Ulster and the rest of Ireland.



Ulster is a province of considerable extent, occupying about one quarter of the area

WHY IRELAND WANTS HOME RULE.

CHAPTER I.

THE FERTILITY AND LOVELINESS OF IRELAND.

"*Can the history of any fruitful country on the globe, enjoying peace . . . and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery of the lower orders of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern story.*"—HELY HUTCHINSON.

Mr. Bright, speaking in Dublin, 2nd November, 1866 said :—

"I have thought, if I could be in all other things the same but by birth an Irishman, there is not a town in this island I would not visit for the purpose of discussing the great Irish question, and of rousing my countrymen to some great and united action. I do not believe in the necessity of widespread and perpetual misery. I do not believe that we are placed on this island and on this earth, that one man may be great and wealthy, and revel in every profuse indulgence, and five, six, nine, or ten men shall suffer the abject misery which we see so commonly in the world. With your soil, your climate, and your active and spirited race, I know not what you might not do."

The fertility of the pastoral and agricultural land in Ireland, which apparently attracted the attention of Mr. Bright, has often voked the surprise of English and foreign writers. Arthur oung, who travelled through it in 1776-8, says of Limerick and pperary—"It is the richest soil I ever saw." Wakefield, in his *atistical Account of Ireland* (1812) says :—"Ireland may be nsidered as affording land of excellent quality. Some places hroughout Meath in particular) exhibit the richest loam I ever w turned up by a plough." "Superior to England as a soil," bserves De Lavergne (*Essay on Rural Economy*). Mr. McCulloch,

in his *Statistics of the British Empire*, says :—"The luxuriance of the pastures, and the heavy crops of oats that are everywhere raised, even with the most wretched cultivation, attest its extraordinary fertility." "In the elements of natural fertility," says Mr. McCombie, late M.P. for Aberdeenshire, "only the richer parts of England and very exceptional parts of Scotland approach to it." Mr. MacLagan, M.P., observes :—"The tillage lands of the South of Ireland, though not so rich as the pasture lands of Tipperary, Limerick, and the Meaths, are also of great fertility. I join heartily in the eulogium pronounced by Arthur Young and other judges of the richness of the soils of Ireland." (*Land Culture and Land Tenure in Ireland*, 1869.) In fact, according to Sir Robert Kane, in his *Industrial Resources*, Ireland is capable, under proper management, of supporting in comfort 20,000,000 souls; M. de Beaumont says 25,000,000; and Arthur Young in his *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II., Part ii., p. 24, 100,000,000.

Lord Dufferin (now Governor-General of India), writing to the *Times*, in 1867, observed :—

"Some human agency or other must be accountable for the perennial desolation of a lovely and fertile island, watered by the fairest streams, caressed by a clement atmosphere, held in the embrace of a sea whose affluence fills the richest harbours of the world, and inhabited by a race valiant, tender, generous, gifted beyond measure with the power of physical endurance, and graced with the liveliest intelligence."

Glowing as is this description, it is not more so than that of Lord Bacon, two and a half centuries before :—

"For this island, it is endowed with so many dowries of nature, considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the ports, the rivers, the fishings, the quarries, the woods, and other materials, and especially the race and generation of men—valiant, hard and active, as it is not easy, no not upon the Continent, to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of men did join with the hand of Nature." (*Bacon's Works*, Vol. III., p. 321.)

Finally, amongst the State Papers, Reign of Henry VIII that is, at a still earlier period, occurs this quaint passage:—

"That if this lande were put once in order as aforesayd, it wou be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, to respe and regard of any other lande in this worlde; inasmuch as there nev was straunger ne alien person, greate or small, that would avoyd

therefro by his will, notwithstanding the said misorder, if he might the meanes to dwell therein, his honesty saved; much more would be his desire if the land were once put in order."

What, then, is the "human agency," which is accountable for the misfortunes of Ireland? Lord Robert Cecil, now, under another title, Prime Minister, after contemplating many diverse theories on the subject, concluded many years ago that this human agency is the "government of England."

Chapter II.

ARE THE IRISH LAZY?

"It is to be hoped that contemporary thought will, before long, make an effort to emancipate itself from the habits of levity, in adopting theories of race, which it seems to have contracted. Many of these theories appear to have little merit, except the facility they give for building on them inferences tremendously out of proportion to the mental labour which they cost the builder."—Sir H. Maine, *Early History of Institutions.*

The charge of laziness made against the Irish dates from before the Union, and had its origin with the landlord class, whose complaint ever was that their serfs did not make bricks without straw. Speaking in the Irish House of Commons, in 1784, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner thus repelled the accusation of idleness so often applied to the Irish peasantry, but which is no more than ignorant or malicious cant:—

"Those who render our people idle are the first to ridicule them for that idleness, and to ridicule them without a cause. National characteristics are always unjust, as there never was a country that has not produced good and bad. . . . I call upon gentlemen to specify one instance where the people were indolent when the laws of their country protected them in their endeavours." (*Irish Debates*, III., p. 127.)

Lord Sheffield's rejoinder to the accusation of idleness hits the mark in a few short words:—

"The Irish people are not naturally lazy; they are, on the contrary, of an active nature, capable of the greatest exertions, and of as good a disposition as any nation in the same state of improvement; but that men who have very little to do, should appear to do little, is not strange." (*Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland*, 1785.)

Instead of attributing to their real cause the evils of misgovernment in Ireland, the apologists of the system have sought

to explain them away by throwing the blame upon the Irish themselves, and have commonly attributed the backwardness of their condition to the inherent laziness of the Celt, as he vegetates in Ireland. This, however, is but the merest sophistry, admitting of a ready answer, as anyone who reads these pages can satisfy himself; and which, in fact, the soundest publicists in Europe and America have already exposed. The faults of the Irish are not the cause of the evil consequences attendant upon the system; it is the system of government which perpetuates the fatal existence of these faults. "In the ancient chronicles of Ireland," observes M. Gustave de Beaumont, a distinguished publicist, "we find that formerly love of work was one of the distinctive features of the Irish people." (Vol. I., p. 342.) Such was that people previous to the English invasion, and the conquests which wrested from them their native soil, and reduced them to a condition in which nothing encourages them to work at all. An English engineer, speaking to M. Gustave de Beaumont, said:—

"I have been entrusted by the English Government with the direction of public works both in England and in Ireland, and I have thus been obliged to employ by turns English and Irish workmen. I confess that after this double trial it would be impossible for me to award a superiority to either." The Irish workman cannot be judged at the outset; he is mistrustful, but when, at the end of each week, he receives the fruit of his toil, and sees that he is being honestly dealt with, "he then takes heart, and I am unable to express the indefatigable ardour, the constancy and punctuality, with which the unfortunate man works," &c. (Vol. I., p. 401. See also *Second Report of the Irish Railway Commissioners*, 1838, p. 84; and the *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain;* G. Lewis; 1835.)

Send the Irishman to Australia, or to the United States, or to any English colony, observes another Englishman, Mr. Joseph Kay, in his great work on the social condition of the people, where he can by work and industry become some day a proprietor, and where he is not enslaved by superannuated laws and customs, and he immediately becomes the most energetic and the most thrifty of colonists; there he becomes rich faster, he does more, and he works with a perseverance more indefatigable than anyone else; so that, Mr. Kay adds, "he forces his rulers to write home to England, as the Governor of South Australia did but a few years ago, that the Irish are the most enterprising, success-

ful, and orderly of all the colonists of those distant lands." (*Social Condition of the People*, Vol. I., pp. 8, 9.) Place an Irishman in the English army, or in the manufacturing districts of England, and you will invariably obtain the same results. In the army he makes an incomparable soldier (see Duke of Wellington's speech); while in Lancashire, where he is sure of earning the worth of his labour, and is not cheated by landlords, or oppressed by bad government as in Ireland; where he enjoys all that belongs to him in full security, and is placed on an equality with the English workman (to whom he at once becomes a formidable rival), he is amongst those who succeed the best; "all showing," observes Mr. Kay, "that, as far as the Irish are concerned, they might be made and would certainly become the best of citizens, if they only had the best of institutions under which to live." That the Irishman is industrious as well as prosperous everywhere except in Ireland is the unanimous testimony of all Englishmen who have seen them at work in the Colonies. Mr. Kay, in the same volume, p. 310, quotes from the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1850, the evidence on this point of English, German, and Polish witnesses before the Committee on Emigration:—"The industry and success of the Irish emigrant in Canada is attested by Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Brydone; in New Brunswick by Mr. Perley; in Nova Scotia by Mr. Uniacke; in the United States by Mr. Mintern; in Australia and Van Diemen's Land by a host of competent witnesses, including Colonels Mitchell and McArthur, Mr. Justice Therry, and the Rev. C. D. Lang, and Messrs. Verner, Cuningham, Besnard, and Count Strzelecki."

To this mass of testimony, so decisive and so impartial, since not an item of it originates with an Irishman, it may be well to add the profound judgment of John Stuart Mill. He says:—

"We have seen men having the highest pretension to instruct their fellows, attribute the backward state of industry in Ireland, and the want of energy in the Irish, to an indolence and want of forethought peculiar to the Celtic race. Of all the vulgar shifts to evade the study of social and moral influences upon the soul of man, the most vulgar is to attribute differences of conduct and character to indestructible national differences. What race is there that would not be indolent and thoughtless if things were so arranged for it that it can have nothing to gain by being prudent and laborious? The Irishman is not less fit for work than other Celts, such as the French, the

Tuscans, or the ancient Greeks. Passionate organisations are precisely those which throw themselves the most readily into great efforts. Because certain human beings are not disposed to make an effort without any notice all, it by no means follows that they are deficient either in capacity or activity. There is no workman that does more work than the Irishman in England or in America." (*Principles of Political Economy.*)

The Irish not only work and grow wealthy in the United States and Colonies; but they earn and lay by enough to enable them to send home annually large sums to their parents and friends left behind in Ireland. The late Mr. W. E. Forster, speaking in the House of Commons, August 13th, 1880, made the following observations on the latter characteristic:—

"There was one point in which the Irish labourer or small tenant compared favourably with the English labourer. If some of their actions were brought before us in a way that tried our patience and made us indignant, it was well to recollect the way in which Irish labourers helped their neighbours and the members of their own families. The enormous sums lately sent from America reflected great credit on the Irish character. As to the Irishmen who came to England to earn wages [which they brought back to Ireland in great part] he was afraid it would be very difficult to contend that English labourers in the same circumstances would not leave the larger portion of their earnings in public-houses."

In their Report of 1863, the Commissioners of Emigration state that the money sent through banks and commercial houses, in the twenty-three years from 1848 to 1870, was upwards of £16,330,000. In times of famine, the exiled Irish in America send over large sums to their friends at home, most of which goes into the landlords' pockets to pay the rent. Indeed, the latter fact is so much a matter of public notoriety that Mr. Vere Foster, the well-known philanthropist, quite lately issued an appeal for funds for emigration purposes, in which the following significant passage occurs:—

"I feel justified in making a special appeal to Irish landlords, because a large proportion of the rents of their poorer tenants is usually paid by means of remittances from America, those remittances being generally sent home by Irish girls for that purpose."

The following statement of sums remitted by emigrants in America to their families in Ireland, through bankers alone,

exclusive of money sent privately, was printed by order of Parliament:—

1848 - - - -	£460,180
1849 - - - -	540,619
1850 - - - -	957,087
1851 - - - -	990,811

Lord Dufferin, in his *Irish Emigration and Tenure of Land in Ireland*, p. 3, states that between 1848 and 1864 the Irish emigrants had sent back to Ireland upwards of £13,000,000. Serjeant Heron, Q.C., in 1862, in a paper read before the Statistical Society of Dublin, said:—

"A sum equal to one-fourteenth of the rental of Ireland is annually received from foreign charitable persons. From 1851 to 1861 £11,000,000 were sent in charity to Ireland from North America by the emigrants. *In 1852 Ireland received a larger sum in charity from America than was realised by the profits of the trade of exporting horned cattle to England.*"

Mr. Bright, in one of his Parliamentary speeches, observes as follows regarding the industrial and general character of the Irish people:—

"An honourable member from Ireland, referring to the character of the Irish people says, 'There is no Christian nation with which we are acquainted, amongst whose people crime of the ordinary character (as we reckon it) is so rare as amongst the Irish.' He might have said also, that there is no people, whatever they may be at home, more industrious than the Irish in every country but their own. He might have said more, that they are a people of a cheerful and joyous temperament, that they are singularly grateful for kindness, and that of all people of our race, they are filled with the strongest sentiment of veneration. And yet, with such materials, and with such a people—after centuries of government,—after sixty-five years of government by this House—you have them embittered against your rule, and anxious to throw off the authority of the Crown and Queen of this realm. This is merely an access of the complaint Ireland has been suffering under during the lifetime of the oldest man in this House—that of chronic insurrection." (*Bright's Speeches*, Vol. I., p. 351.)

I find the following amongst my own notes on the subject of this chapter, when travelling through the country in 1880:—

"The industry of the peasants was simply marvellous. The women and children, as well as the men, often forced themselves on the contractors of public works in spite of them, and young boys and girls of tender years might be seen helping their father in breaking stones on

the roadside; while girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty may, at any time, be commonly observed carrying weighty baskets of mould or sand on their backs for long distances—in fact engaged in doing the work of cattle."

Mr. J. H. Tuke, also, repeatedly bears testimony to the great industry and labour of the peasants. He sees men, women and children hard at work on their little plots of land, or carrying up heavy loads of seaweed, to be used as manure, on their backs considerable distances. Mr. Tuke observes:—

"I have thought once or twice, as I have seen them thus labouring, that had it been in France I should have said, 'See here what peasant proprietorship does!' To speak of the people as idle when they have anything to do seems, therefore, unjust. When I say so to my Irish friends [of the landlord class], they smile at my credulity and say, 'Oh, yes, it is spasmodic.' Then when I reply, 'See how they work at our English harvest, and take every penny back with them,' they say again, 'Oh, yes, wait till they get home, and then you will see them doing nothing but sitting over the fire and amusing themselves with fiddling, &c.' And when I say, 'Is it not because there is no employment for them?' I am told that I do not understand the people; had I lived among them as long as they have, I should know better. Of course, I do not for a moment profess to think these people perfect, or without many faults, but it seems just to give them their due." (*Donegal and Connaught*, p. 59.)

How little the character and necessities of the people have changed within the last hundred years may be gleaned from the following observations of Arthur Young, one of the keenest of English travellers:—

"The idleness seen among many when working for those who oppress them is a very contrast to the vigour and activity with which the same people work when themselves alone reap the benefit of their labour. To what country must we have recourse for a stronger instance than lime carried by little miserable mountaineers, thirty miles on horses' backs to the foot of their hills, and up the steeps on their own." (*Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II., Part ii., Sec. vi.)

The Rev. H. Ward Beecher, a competent witness, was lately (October, 1886) asked at an interview by a Press representative—Do you find the Irish in America to make good citizens? Mr. Beecher replied:—

"They do, indeed, after they have been taught, make most useful citizens, and have a very large share in the government of the country. They are judges, and are distinguished in

all professions and businesses. They are most industrious, hard-working, and thrifty, and they have rendered good service to the State. I addressed a meeting where there were 600 Irishmen celebrating St. Patrick's Day, not one of whom had come out to America with money, and yet they were all men who had amassed large fortunes by their own energy and industry. The Irish in New York invest their savings first in one brick house and then in another. This is also the custom of the Germans. The foreign element is a great assistance to America." . . . In some districts even "the school boards have passed out of the hands of the old Yankee farmers into the hands of the Irish labourers; and they have better schools now than when the stingy old farmers had the care of them."

Professor Sigerson quotes from the Boston *Transcript*, a purely American journal, some observations which, though written at a somewhat earlier period, find confirmation in the views expressed by Mr. Ward Beecher:—

"The Irish formerly seen only as hired labourers, building our railways and cities, are found in this region in possession of farms, which they manage very well. In our school district their children compose the majority of the scholars, and the teachers say they are the more bright and better behaved portion of the school. In a small adjoining town the Irish compose the majority of the population. This brings forward the indomitable, all-pervading race under a new aspect. Are they to own and till our soil as well as build our works of improvement?" (*Modern Ireland*, Second Edition, p. 249.)

Finally, Mr. John Morley, M.P., when Chief Secretary for Ireland, speaking at Bradford, June 19th, 1886, made these observations on the subject:—

"I, for one, have long had a high appreciation of the great qualities of the Irish people. They are called idle, restless, discontented. Idle? The Irish people have done the greatest part of the hard work of the world. Idle? when the Irish peasants and generations of Irish peasants have reclaimed the land, the harsh, thankless land of the bog and the mountain side; have reclaimed that land *knowing that the fruit of their labour would be confiscated in the shape of rent.*" (*Times*, June 21st, 1886.)

Chapter III.

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

"*We cannot name a point in which the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland and in Great Britain are the same, except only in what may be called the abstract and general idea.*"—GLADSTONE.

Hardly anything belonging to the Irish agrarian question is so little understood in England and Scotland as the precise nature of the relations of the landlord with the tenant. Before a Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1825, the peculiar characteristics and incidents which distinguish the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland from that relation in England were well pointed out by an English landlord, who was also the proprietor of estates in Ireland—Sir Franklin Lewis, who said:—

"Nothing is more striking in Ireland than that a number of burdens which English landlords are willing to take upon themselves, the Irish landlords do not find it necessary to take upon themselves. In the maintenance of a farm in England all the expensive part of the capital employed upon a farm is provided by the landlord; the houses, the gates, the fences, and the drains, are all provided by the landlord. Everybody knows that in Ireland that is not the practice; at the same time that the landlord obtains as rent in Ireland a much larger proportion of the value of the produce of the land than he obtains in England, and in parts of Ireland it appears to me that the landlord sometimes obtains for rent more than is produced by the land."

The Devon Parliamentary Report (1845) also explains the difference:—

"It is admitted on all hands that according to the general practice in Ireland, the landlord neither builds dwelling-houses, nor farm offices, nor puts fences, gates, &c., in good order, before he lets his land to a tenant. The cases where a landlord does any of these things are the

exceptions. In most cases, whatever is done in the way of building or fencing is done by the tenant; and in the ordinary language of the country, dwelling-houses, farm-buildings, and even the making of fences, are described by the general word 'improvement,' which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts to a farm, without which in England or Scotland no tenant would be found to rent it."

"Between the respective systems of taking land in England and Ireland there is a material difference," observes Mr. Binn, an English author:—

"So material as to render any analogy that may be drawn a very imperfect and fallacious mode of reasoning. An English farmer, when ejected, having little or no difficulty in getting another farm, has nothing to dread. In Ireland, when a man is ejected it is next to impossible for him to find a farm at liberty." (*Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 419.)

In 1829, Bicheno in his *Economy of Ireland*, p. 64, said:—

"The laws in the landlord's favour are already more summary and stronger than they are in England, and he is yet calling for additional assistance. . . . The condition of the peasantry is reduced to a lower scale by every new power that is created. Every fresh law exonerates the proprietors more and more from cultivating the good opinion of their dependants, and, moreover, removes the odium of any oppression from the individual, who ought to bear it, to the State."

Baron Pennefather's words were:—

"The entire landlord and tenant code goes to give increased facilities to the landlord. It never entered the head of the Legislature to make provision for the tenant; and all these enactments, at least thirty-two, *are invasions of the common law*, without any declared intention to invade." (Charge to a jury in an ejectment case, Hilary Term, 1843.)

The late Mr. Isaac Butt, M.P., who was a distinguished lawyer, thus states the difference between English and Irish yearly tenants in the matter of ejectment:—

"In Ireland tenants holding from year to year, constituting now the immense majority of Irish tenants, are subject to ejectment for non-payment of rent—a process which in England cannot be used against such tenants. That process is enforced under a penal code against the tenantry, which is unknown in English law, and it is enforced in a local tribunal, and in a summary and expeditious manner; while in England the landlord seeking to get rid of such a tenant, must first serve him with a notice to quit, and then proceed to evict him by the costly and dilatory process of an action in the superior courts. The result is, that in England a

recourse to ejectment is a rare and exceptional resort. In Ireland it is an ordinary occurrence, actually a part of the routine management of some estates—employed upon others, as Lord Dufferin tells us, as a pressing mode of demanding the rent." (*The Irish People and the Irish Land*, p. 190.)

The following passage will explain the necessity for the often quoted "Healey Clause" in the Land Act, giving the tenant compensation for retrospective improvements. Lord Clarendon, sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in a speech at the West Herts Agricultural Society, on the 26th of September, 1869, said:—

"If he were to take a farm at will upon which the landed proprietor never did and never intended to do anything, and were to build upon the farm a house and homestead, and effectually drain the land, and then be turned out on a six months' notice by his landlord, would any language be strong enough, not forgetting the language made use of at the public meetings and in the Press recently in this country, to condemn such a *felonious act* as that?"

Mr. Gladstone, at the head of a great Liberal majority, disestablished the Irish Church in 1869, and on the 14th March, 1870, his first attempt to "Amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland" came on for second reading. In the course of a debate on this Bill, Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the difference between England and Ireland, said:—

"It is only the skeletons of the laws of the two countries that bear any resemblance to each other. The flesh and the blood with which the figures are invested are wholly different. All the circumstances, all the associations, and all the accretions that have grown around the native ideas, are different in the one country from what they are in the other. We cannot name a point in which the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland and in Great Britain are the same, except only in what may be called the abstract and general idea."

The difference in the agrarian and social usages of the two kingdoms is further illustrated by the author of *The Parnell Movement*, as follows:—

"And here let it be remarked that one of the insurmountable difficulties of the Irish question is that things bear the same name in England and Ireland without having the same meaning. Thus, the Irish and the English owners of the soil are both known by the name of landlords, yet is there no similarity whatever in the relations of the two to the general tenure of land or to the tillers of the soil. It has

already been shown how the relation differs: first, in the great essential point that the landlord, in England, supplies the farm-houses, the farm-buildings, the drainage, and practically all the other outfit of a farm; while in Ireland the contribution of the landlord has been confined to the bare soil. It is known that the occupier in Ireland was, as a rule, a small farmer, while in England the occupier was usually a large farmer who invested a considerable capital in land. But the moral difference between the relations was still greater. In England the community of race, and generally of creed, as well as a strong sense of duty in the landlord class and a healthy public opinion, often made the relations between the owner and the occupier of the soil kindly. If one is to judge of these relations by their portraiture in fiction, it has been regarded as a duty by the men and women of the squire's household to attend to the wants of those placed beneath them. The Lady Bountiful who visits the sick agricultural labourer, and gives him both physical and spiritual consolation, is one of the stock characters in English fiction, and, I assume also, in English life. All such relations as these between the family of the Irish landlord and that of the Irish tenant are practically unknown. Between them there is a chasm of difference of race and creed, with the contempt of a master to a serf on the one hand and the sullen hatred of the serf to the master on the other."

Quite recently, on the 21st of December last, Mr. Labouchere, M.P., in a speech at a public meeting in Northampton, thus accurately defined the peculiar nature of the Irish tenure of land, and the complications arising therefrom at the present moment in the sister country. Lord Salisbury's reverence for property, as it is understood in England, will not permit him to proceed to a logical conclusion with regard to the "dual ownership" in Ireland; though this has a veritable existence there:—

"It is desirable, in view of the attempt which is now being made to prejudice public opinion against the Irish by terming their struggle for their existence anarchy, that the facts should not be obscured. In Ireland there is a dual ownership of land. It belongs to the landlord and the tenant. This was laid down by the Devon Commission as far back as 1845. Mr. Gladstone's Land Act gave effect to this principle, and it went further, for it established that the tenant was the preferred owner and the landlord the deferred owner. The first charge on the land was declared to be the amount from its produce which sufficed to enable the tenant to live and thrive; the rent was any margin that might remain after this. The Land Courts laid down what, in each particular case, that margin was likely to be. The Conservatives denounced this as an attack upon property. But the Legislature held that a nation cannot starve in order that a few men should be allowed to suck its life blood. Since then the price of produce has fallen, and

it has become impossible for the tenants to earn enough from the land to live, much less enough to thrive, and at the same time to pay the judicial rent. Last Session Mr. Parnell brought in a Bill to allow the tenants who paid 50 per cent. of their rents into a Court to submit to the Court whether, on the live and thrive principle of the Land Act, they were entitled to some remission of rent. The Government admitted that rents could not in many cases be paid, but expressed a hope that they would be able to persuade landlords to make such reductions as would enable the tenants to live. In vain it was pointed out that, since the days of Shylock, there are men everywhere who will exact their pound of flesh, regardless of the consequences to their victims." (See *Times* Report.)

Chapter IV.

THE CHARACTER OF THE IRISH LANDLORD BEFORE AND SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

"*Their good, ill-health, wealth, joy, or discontent,*
Being, end, aim, religion, rent, rent, rent."—Byron.

One of the commonest contentions amongst persons attempting a defence of Irish landlordism is that "a man should be allowed to do what he likes with his own"; a maxim which presupposes an absolute ownership in land, though this is a thing which in reality has no existence. According to a recognised legal text-book, "the first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership [of land]. Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands. He can only hold an estate in them." . . . "All landowners are merely tenants in the eye of the law." (*Williams on Real Property*, pp. 16-55.)

Mr. Herbert Spencer, who should be esteemed an authority on the subject also, in his *Social Statics*, Chap. ix., Sec. 2, says:—

"Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, held for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of its surface may be so held, and our planet may thus lapse into private hands. It follows that if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners have no right at all to its surface. Hence such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by permission of the landlords they can have no room for the soles of their feet—nay, these landless men may be equitably expelled from the earth altogether."

And John Stuart Mill, from whom the English-speaking world is still content to take no inconsiderable share of its thinking, observes as follows:—

"What has been epigrammatically said in the discussion on 'peculiar burthens' is literally true when applied to them; that the greatest

burthen on land' is the landlords. Returning nothing to the soil, they consume its whole produce, minus the potatoes strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of famine: and when they have any purpose of improvement, the preparatory step usually consists in not leaving even this pittance, but turning out the people to beggary, if not to starvation. When landed property has placed itself on this footing it ceases to be defensible, and the time has come for making some new arrangement of the matter. When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should always be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No MAN MADE THE LAND. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust."

The agrarian agitation of the Victorian era would appear to have had its prototype three centuries ago; for in the State Papers for 1577, there is a report from the Irish Chancellor to Walsingham, denouncing the "cruelty of the landlords" reducing the "tenants to be starved beggars"; and a despatch from the Lord Deputy to Elizabeth recommending "Commissioners to settle the rent" landlords should take of their tenants, and also "a Commission to compound for arrears."

I dislike extremely compiling what looks like an attack on a class of men already beaten to their knees, for there are, as there always have been, some good landlords, if there are and have been very many bad ones. It is perhaps one of the unavoidable evils of a revolutionary epoch that good, bad, and indifferent should be tarred with the same brush. I have already, in my preface, taken occasion to disclaim responsibility for the strong denunciatory language employed by the *Times* towards Irish landlords when striving to relieve the British Government, whose "garrison" they have ever been, of the odium and disgrace of English rule in Ireland; and no landlord's name occurs in these pages. It is impossible, however, to afford the reader an accurate historical view of the conduct and general course of action of Irish landlords, in their relations to their tenants, without collating the following unprejudiced, if severe authorities on the subject of landlord rule in Ireland, past and present. Although those upon whom censure ought to be pronounced may not be many at the present time, they are undoubtedly the heirs of a sad inheritance. "They have taken up," as Mr. Gladstone observes, "and been compelled to take up, dismal and deplorable traditions, and when oppression has wrought its

very painful experience into the heart and mind of the people, it is not in a moment, not in a year, not in a generation, that the traces of that painful, of that dreadful process can be effaced." (*Irish Speeches*, p. 76.)

Edmund Spenser (1552-1559):—"The landlords there most shamefully rack their tenants."

Dean Swift (1667-1745):—"Rents squeezed out of the blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars." (*Short View*, Vol. IX., p. 206.)

Archbishop Boulter (1671-1742):—"Here the tenant, I fear, has hardly ever more than one-third for his share; too often but a fourth or a fifth part." (*Letters*, Vol. I., p. 292.)

Bishop Berkeley (1734) gives his opinion on the subject of high rents, by describing Irish landlords as "men of volturine beaks with bowels of iron"; much as the *Times*, forty years ago, said that the same class were "exercising their right with hands of iron and fronts of brass."

Arthur Young, F.R.S, in 1779 wrote:—

"It must be very apparent to every traveller through that country that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are in all respects so little considered that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission. . . . The landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics is a sort of despot, who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but that of his will. A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer, or cotter dares to refuse to execute. Were they to complain, they would, perhaps, be horsewhipped. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the Justice issues a summons, it is a fixed affront, and the Justice will be infallibly called out."

Lord Clare (when Attorney-General in 1737) said:—"The peasantry are ground to powder by enormous rents."

"It is an undoubted fact that, as landlords, they exact more from their tenants than the same class of men in any other country," observes Wakefield (1812). (*Account of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 795.)

In 1825, Mr. John Leslie Foster, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, gave evidence on oath that the proprietors in Ireland took measures the most violent and the most deplorable against

the increase of the population; that a great number of labourers were obliged to take refuge in the towns; and that they were a prey to "such misery as it is impossible to describe."

"The Irish landlords," observes Bicheno, "as a class, are needy, exacting, unremitting, harsh, and without sympathy for their tenantry." (*Economy of Ireland*, 1829.)

Inglis, an English tourist of 1834, said:—"It is undeniable that the condition of the Irish poor is immeasurably worse than that of the West Indian slave."

His countryman, Barrow, the next year said:—"No picture drawn by the pencil, or done by the pen, can possibly convey an idea of the sad reality. . . . There is no other country on the face of the earth where such extreme misery exists as in Ireland."

Foreigners, too, have gazed in profound astonishment at the fruits of centuries of English rule in Ireland; in regard to which Kay, in his *Social Condition of the People*, says:—"All the world is crying shame upon us, but we are equally callous to the ignominy and to the results of our misgovernment."

Benjamin Franklin, in a letter written after a tour of Ireland, in 1772, said:—

"The bulk of the people are tenants, extremely poor, living in the most sordid wretchedness, in dirty hovels of mud and straw, and clothed only in rags. . . . Had I never been in the American colonies, but were to form my judgment of civil society by what I have lately seen, I should never advise a nation of savages to admit of civilisation, for I assure you that in the possession and enjoyment of the various comforts of life, compared to these people, every Indian is a gentleman, and the effect of this kind of civil society seems to be the depressing multitudes below the savage state that a few may be raised above it."

M. Duvergier de Hauranne, who visited Ireland in 1826, drew the following picture of it in the *Globe*:—"Ireland is the land of anomalies, the most deplorable destitution on the richest soils. . . . Nowhere does man live in such wretchedness. The Irish peasant is born, suffers, and dies,—such is life for him. Hunger is the only limit,—it is but too true,—to the Irish population."

Gustave de Beaumont, the celebrated French publicist, who was in Ireland in 1835 and 1837, says:—"I have seen the Indian in his forest and the negro in his chains, and I thought that I beheld

the lowest term of human misery, but I did not then know the lot of Ireland. . . . Irish misery forms a type by itself, of which there exists nowhere else either model or imitation. In seeing it, one recognises that no theoretical limits can be assigned to the misfortunes of nations."

Friedrich von Raumer, Professor of History at Berlin, who visited Ireland in 1835 and 1841, found it impossible to describe the misery he saw there. It convinced him that "Europe, too, has its pariahs—yet not Europe, but Ireland alone."

Kohl, a famous German, in his *Travels in Ireland*, in 1844, says:—

"He had pitied the Letts of Livonia for living in huts built of unhewn logs of trees, with the crevices stopped up with moss; but having seen the West of Ireland, he regarded the Letts, Esthonians, and Finlanders as living in a state of comparative comfort. He doubted whether in the whole world a nation could be found subjected to the physical privations of the peasantry in some parts of Ireland. A Russian peasant was a slave, but he was housed and fed to his contentment; the Hungarians were not the best used people in the world; but even the humblest had good wheaten bread and wine for his daily fare; in Servia and Bosnia, if the people were badly housed, they were well clad; the Tartars of the Crimea were poor and barbarous, but they looked at least like human beings; in short, nowhere but in Ireland could be found human creatures living from year's end to year's end on the same root, berry or weed. There were animals, indeed, that did so, but human beings nowhere save in Ireland."

Let us now return to English authorities of more recent date, as regards the results of landlord rule in Ireland. Speaking in the House of Lords, on the 13th March, 1846, Lord Grey said: "It was undeniable that the clearance system [effected by the landlords] prevailed to a great extent in Ireland; and that such things could take place, he cared not how large a population might be suffered to grow up in a particular district, it was a disgrace to a civilised country." And again, referring to a Coercion Bill which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to inflict taxation on the tenants of a proclaimed district for additional police, as well as for compensation to the relations of murdered or injured persons, he said:—

"It was not just to exempt the landlords; though they were not the cause of these outrages and evils, Ireland never would have got into its present state, the existing state of society there would never have been such as it was, if the landlords, as a body, had done their

duty to the population under them; . . . he believed that of late years an improvement had taken place in the conduct of the landlords of Ireland towards their tenantry; but if they looked to the past history of that land, the awful state of things now existing would be seen to be a direct consequence of the dereliction of their duty by the upper classes of that country, which was an historical fact known not only to England but to all Europe." (*Hansard*, lxxxiv., pp. 694, 695.)

In March, 1854, the *Quarterly Review* exclaims:—"Moderation," indeed! when one witnesses "the cabins of the peasantry pulled down in such numbers as to give the appearance, throughout the whole regions of the south, and still more of the west, of a country devastated and desolated by the passage of a hostile army."

In a speech on the *Regium Donum* in the House of Commons, 6th July, 1854, something like the same thought occurs to Mr. Bright, who speaks of the depopulated districts in Ireland "in which no man can travel without feeling that some enormous crime has been committed *by the government under which that people live.*"

Mr. Froude, who is no great friend of the Irish peasants, thus delivers himself in respect of the Irish landlords:—

"The landlord may become a direct oppressor. He may care nothing for the people, and have no object but to squeeze the most that he can out of them fairly or unfairly. The Russian government has been called despotism, tempered with assassination. In Ireland landlordism was tempered by assassination. . . . Every circumstance combined in that country to exasperate the relations between landlord and tenant. The landlords were, for the most part, aliens in blood and in religion. They represented conquest and confiscation, and they had gone on from generation to generation with an indifference for the welfare of the people which would not have been tolerated in England or Scotland. The law had to interfere at last to protect the peasantry in the shape of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act—the best measure, perhaps the only good measure, which has been passed for Ireland for the last 200 years." (*Short Studies on Great Subjects*, Vol. III., p. 287.)

The vices of Irish society have often been described. Mr. Lecky observes:—

"The worst of them was the oppression of the tenantry by their landlords. The culprits in this respect were not the head landlords, who usually let their land at low rents and on long leases to middlemen, and whose faults were rather those of neglect than of oppression. They were commonly the small gentry, a harsh,

rapacious, and dissipated class, living with an extravagance that could only be met by the most grinding exactions, and full of the pride of race, and of the pride of creed. Swift and Dobbs bitterly lament this evil, and nearly every traveller echoed their complaint. Chesterfield, who as Lord Lieutenant studied the conditions of Irish life with more than ordinary care, left it as his opinion that 'the poor people in Ireland are used worse than negroes by their lords and masters, and their deputies of deputies of deputies.'" (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., Chap. vii, pp. 290-1.)

In 1882, after a tour in Ireland, Mr. John Morley, M.P., wrote respecting the Irish landlords as follows:—

"They talk about the rights of property as if they were not living on the confiscated improvements of the cultivators of the soil. They denounce the incorrigible indolence of a population whose toil it is that supports luxurious palaces of indolence for their masters. Themselves the neediest aristocracy in Europe, they have no language too strong for the improvidence of their inferiors. Great lords who never go near their estates from year's end to year's end are very edifying on the ruin that will befall the hapless tenantry if they are left to themselves. With virtuous indignation the class that has for generations been in the habit of spending its Irish rents to the tune of millions a year in any place in the world except Ireland, solemnly warns the tenants that they are depleting the country of its capital."

Putting these few stereotyped opinions and facts together, then, and coupling them with the testimonials to character of the Irish landlord for centuries past; it may not unreasonably be asked—seeing that no man owes a moral obligation to an exterminating decree—if Irish peasants have proved themselves the fierce, vindictive, and bloodthirsty savages they are so often represented to be by their traducers.

CHAPTER V.

PERENNIAL FAMINE.

"*Famine is in thy cheeks, need and oppression starveth in thine eyes, upon thy back hangs ragged misery.*"—SHAKESPEARE.

In order not to weary the reader by too long a list of Irish famines, it is not proposed to go back beyond the eighteenth century for proofs on the subject. It must not be concluded on this account that famines did not occur at an earlier period, for they were, alas! but too common. After the suppression of the Desmond rebellion, in the reign of Elizabeth, for instance, there was a famine of which a contemporary English historian has furnished the following description:—

"The land itself, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corne, full of cattel, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become waste and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattel, the aire no birds; the seas (though full of fish), yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, every waie the curse of God was so great [Walpole, a modern English Protestant historian, attributes the famine to the "appalling ferocity" of Elizabeth's commanders, p. 143], and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travell from the one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smeerweeke, which is about six score miles, he would not meet anie man, woman, or child, saving in towns and cities; nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them laie dead, being famisht, and the residue gone elsewhere." (*Holinshed*, vi., 459.)

The Protestant Bishop Nicholson, an Englishman, in 1718 writes:—

"'Never did I behold even in Picardy, Westphalia, or Scotland, such dismal marks of hunger and want as appeared in the countenances of most of the poor creatures I met on the road.' One of his horses, accidentally killed during his travels on an occasion, was surrounded by 'fifty or sixty famished cottagers, struggling desperately to obtain a

morsel of flesh for themselves and their children.'" (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., p. 216.)

In 1727, Boulter, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that since his arrival in that country the famine had not ceased among the poor people. The dearness of corn in the preceding year was such that thousands of families were obliged to quit their dwellings to seek means of life elsewhere; and "many hundreds perished."

Dr. Sheridan, in 1728, declares that "the poor are sunk to the lowest degree of misery and poverty—their houses dunghills, their food the blood of their cattle, or the herbs of the field." With reference to the expression, "their food the blood of their cattle," there is a curious Irish proverb. Kerry is one of the poorest of the Irish counties, and it was said, "Kerry cows know no Sundays," because that was the day the cattle were partly drained of their blood to give food to the peasants.

In 1734 the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, the revered Berkeley asked these questions in *The Querist*:—

(Q. 132.) Is there on the face of the earth any Christian and civilised people so destitute of everything as the mass of the people of Ireland?

(Q. 173.) Can it be said that the quantities of beef, of butter, of wool, and of leather exported from this island are the superfluity of the country, when so great a number of the inhabitants are naked and starving?

The year 1741 was called the "year of slaughter," of death and desolation. The cemeteries became too small for the burial of those who died on the roadside, or those whose bodies had to be sought for in their abandoned cabins. This, *the third famine within twenty years*, is thus referred to by Mr. Lecky (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 218, 219):—

"Of that famine—the famine of 1740-41—we have many contemporaneous descriptions. According to one writer, 400,000 persons died. Bishop Berkeley has left behind touching descriptions of the misery that came before his own eyes and smote his loving heart; and another writer gives a picture as terrible as any even in the history of famines. 'I have seen,' says this writer, 'the labourer endeavouring to work at his spade, but fainting from want of food, and forced to quit it. I have seen the aged father eating grass like a beast, and in the anguish of his soul wishing for his dissolution. I have seen

the helpless orphan exposed on the dunghill, and none to take him in for fear of infection; and I have seen the hungry infant sucking at the breast of the already expired parent.'"

It was not regarded with any particular interest in England, however, and is scarcely alluded to in the literature of the day. "No measures were adopted, either by the Executive or the Legislature, for the purpose of relieving the distress," observes the late Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Bart., though an Act was passed (15 Geo. II., cap. 8) *for the more effectual securing the payment of rents and preventing frauds by tenants.* (*Irish Crisis*, p. 13) And in the midst of the famine, when about 200,000 of the people had died of hunger and pestilence, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Devonshire) ordering *a general fast* for the success of his Britannic Majesty's arms against the King of Spain!

About this time appeared Swift's extraordinary prose tract, *The Modest Proposal*, a masterpiece of irony, in which, owing to the proved incapacity of successive English Governments in Ireland, and with a view to express his sovereign contempt in their regard, he proposes to relieve the distresses of the poorer Irish by converting their children into food for the rich.

On the 16th December, 1778, in the House of Commons, Lord Nugent described the Irish people as suffering all the destitution and distress which it was possible for human nature to endure. Nine-tenths of the people earned no more than 4d. a-day. In summer, their whole food consisted only of potatoes and buttermilk; in winter, of potatoes and water.

Speaking in the course of a debate in the Irish House of Commons, in 1787, the Attorney-General, Mr. Fitzgibbon, said:—

"I am well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry of that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords. I know that far from being able to give the clergy their just dues [Protestant tithes], they had not food or raiment for themselves; the landlord grasps the whole. The poor people of Munster live in a more abject state of poverty than human nature can be supposed able to bear; their miseries are intolerable."

In 1817, the fevers caused by indigence and hunger attacked

1,500,000 persons in Ireland, of whom vast numbers perished. (*De Beaumont.*)

The report of a Parliamentary Committee in 1819, under the presidency of Sir John Newport, to inquire into the state of disease and the condition of the labouring poor, opens by stating that the general distress and deficiency of employment "*are so notorious, as to render the production of any particular evidence to establish the extent and variety of the evil unnecessary.*"

The report of the Select Committee of 1823 tells the usual tale of misery and want. The condition of the people is described as "wretched and calamitous to the last degree." We are told that they lived in a state of the utmost destitution, with scarcely an article of furniture in their miserable cabins, using as bed covering a "little fern and a quantity of straw thrown over it."

In 1830 a Committee of the House of Commons attested that a fourth part of the population was in want of work, and that this cause, in addition to the mode of working the land, produced destitution and suffering such as it was impossible for human tongue to describe; the tenant class having reached the last degree of distress, a great number of those who were obliged to seek refuge in the towns having died of want. Addressing the House of Commons on the 11th of November, in the same year, the Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Doherty, said that "there was then in Ireland the existence of a condition of things which the lower animals in England would scarcely endure, and which, in fact, they did not endure."

In 1835, Commissioners charged with an important inquiry into the social condition of Ireland, estimated at nearly three millions the number of individuals who are every year liable to fall into absolute destitution. Besides these three millions of poor, there are also millions of other unfortunates, who are not counted, because not actually dying of hunger.

In 1838, the Duke of Wellington made in Parliament this avowal, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1848, that there never was a country in which poverty existed to such a degree as it exists in Ireland; that he occupied a high position in that country as Chief Secretary thirty years before, and that he must say that ever since then *there had hardly been a single year in which the Government had not had the most serious reason to fear a famine.*

In the debate on the Irish Registration Bill, February, 1841, the late Lord Derby stated:—

"That persons having from fifteen to twenty acres of land are generally from April to September in a state of the greatest destitution, living on potatoes, without either milk or meat, and considering themselves very happy if they have dry potatoes enough—men who during a great part of the year lived on dry potatoes—men whom the landlords, letting their lands at a rack rent, may upon any day turn loose upon the world, to starve in the last degree of misery."

In 1843, Thackeray in his *Irish Sketch Book*, recounts as follows what he saw: that in the South and West of Ireland the traveller has before him the spectacle of a people dying of hunger, and in the very richest counties—"men are suffering and starving by millions"; and that: peasants full of strength and life lie in bed "for the hunger, *because a man in bed has not as much need of food as a man that is up.*" And this, be it observed, was the normal condition of things even before the great famine of 1847.

"The facts of Irish destitution," observes the *Times*, on the 26th June, 1845, "are ridiculously simple:—

"They are almost too commonplace to be told. The people have not enough to eat. They are suffering a real, *though an artificial famine*. Nature does her duty; the land is fruitful enough, nor can it be fairly said that man is wanting. The Irishman is disposed to work, in fact man and nature together do produce abundantly. The island is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever intervenes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet. The famished victim of a mysterious sentence, stretches out his hand to the viands which his own industry has placed before his eyes, but no sooner are they touched than they fly. A perpetual decree of *Sic vos non nobis* condemns him to toil without enjoyment. Social atrophy drains off the vital juices of the nation."

As to the sufferings endured by Ireland in 1846 and 1847, they exceeded everything that had been seen up to that time. It is only those that lived in the midst of this horrible destitution,—wrote Captain Mann, an eye-witness,—that can conceive it; "as for me, I often remember it as a *frightful dream!*" A whole book should be written to retrace all the scenes of horror and despair of which Ireland was then the theatre.

"Famine advances on us with giant strides," wrote Captain Wynne, one of the officials of the time, in the autumn of 1846; and his words were soon confirmed. Towards the end of August

the calamity began to be universal and its symptoms everywhere to be seen. Some of the people rushed into the towns, others wandered listlessly along the high roads in the vague and vain hope that food would somehow or other come to their hands. They grasped at everything that promised sustenance; they plucked turnips from the fields; many were glad to live for weeks on a single meal of cabbage a day. In some cases they feasted on the dead bodies of horses and asses and dogs; and there is at least one horrible story of a mother eating the limbs of her dead child. In many places dead bodies were discovered with grass in their mouths and in their stomachs and bowels. In Mayo, a man who had been observed searching for food on the seashore, was found dead on the roadside, after vainly attempting to prolong his wretched life by means of the half-masticated turf and grass which remained unswallowed in his mouth. Nettle-tops, wild mustard, and water-cress were sought after with desperate eagerness. The assuaging of hunger with seaweed too often meant the acceleration of death, but seaweed was greedily devoured, so also were diseased cattle; and there were inquests in many places on people who had died from eating diseased potatoes.

Meantime, another, and a bitter calamity was added to those from which the people were already suffering. Pestilence always hovers on the flank of famine, and combined with wholesale starvation there were numerous other circumstances that rendered a plague inevitable—the assemblage of such immense numbers of people at the public works and in the workhouses, the vast number of corpses that lay unburied, and finally the consumption of unaccustomed food. The plague which fell upon Ireland in 1846-7 was of a peculiarly virulent kind. It produced at once extreme prostration, and every one struck by it was subject to frequent relapses; in Kinsale Union, out of 250 persons attacked, 240 relapsed. The name applied to it at the time sufficiently signified its origin. It was known as the "road fever." Attacking as it did people already weakened by hunger, it was a scourge of merciless severity. Unlike famine, too, it struck alike at the rich and poor —the well-fed and the hungered. Famine killed one or two of a family; the fever swept them all away. Food relieved hunger; the fever was past all such surgery.

Many of the people, worn out by famine, had not the physical

or mental energy even to move from their cabins. The panic which the plague everywhere created intensified the miseries of those whom it attacked. The annals of the time are full of the kindly, but rude attempts of the poor to stand by each other. It was a common custom of the period to have food left at the doors or handed in on shovels or sticks to the people inside the cabins; but very often the wretched inmates were entirely deserted. Lying beside each other, some living and some dead, their passage to the grave was uncheered by one act of help, by one word of sympathy. It was the terrible mortality of these epidemics, and especially of the fever, that led to the most sinister invention of the time. This was the hinged coffin. The coffin was made with a movable bottom; the body was placed in it, the bottom unhinged, the body was thrown into the grave, and then the coffin was sent back to the workhouse to receive another body. Sometimes scores of corpses passed in this way through the same coffin.

Such are the chief features of the story of the Irish famine of 1846-7, as told by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., in his *Parnell Movement;* every line of which is confirmed by the Government Census Commissioners' Report for 1851, Part V.; *Table of Deaths*, Vol. I., pp. 243 to 277, *et seq.*

Some approximation to the amount of the immense mortality that prevailed during this calamitous period may be gleaned from the published tables of the Census Commissioners. Taking the recorded deaths from fever alone, between the beginning of 1846 and the end of 1849, and assuming the mortality at 1 in 10, which is the very lowest calculation, and far below what they, the Commissioners, believe really did occur, above a million and a half, or 1,595,040 persons, being 1 in 4·11 of the population in 1851, must have suffered from fever during that period. "But no pen," continue the Commissioners:—

"Has recorded the numbers of the forlorn and starving who perished by the wayside or in the ditches, or of the mournful groups, sometimes of whole families, who laid down and died, one after another, upon the floor of their miserable cabins, and so remained, uncoffined and unburied, till chance unveiled the appalling scene. No such amount of suffering and misery has been chronicled in Irish history since the days of Edward Bruce, and yet, through all, the forbearance of the Irish peasantry, and the calm submission with which they bore the deadliest ills that can fall on man, can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of

any people." (*Government Census of Ireland for the Year 1851—Report on Tables of Deaths.*)

One of the Commissioners sent by the Society of Friends to organise the distribution of relief, Mr. William Edward Forster (afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland, and recently deceased), wrote (on the 22nd January, 1847), after mentioning his arrival at the village of Cleggan, near Clifden, Co. Galway:—

"Having heard an alarming account of this village I had ordered two bags of meal to meet me. . . . . The distress was appalling, far beyond my power of description. I was quickly surrounded by a mob of men and women, more like famished dogs than fellow-creatures, whose figures, looks, and cries all showed that they were suffering the ravening agony of hunger. . . . . I went into two or three of the cabins. In one, there were two emaciated men lying at full length on the damp floor, in their ragged clothes, too weak to move,—actually worn down to skin and bone. In another a young man lay ill of dysentery; his mother had pawned everything, even his shoes, to keep him alive; and I never shall forget the resigned uncomplaining tone with which he told me that *all the medicine he wanted was food*."

"During that period," writes Mr. Tuke, the Quaker philanthropist, who is happily still alive to attest his report, "roads in many places became as charnel-houses, and several car and coach drivers have assured me that they rarely drove anywhere without seeing dead bodies strewn along the roadside, and that in the dark they had even gone over them. A gentleman told me that in the neighbourhood of Clifden one inspector of roads had caused no less than 140 bodies to be buried which he found along the highway." (*Visit to Connaught in* 1847, p. 8.) "In our district," writes the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "it was a common occurrence to find on opening the front door in early morning, leaning against it, the corpse of some victim who in the night-time had rested in its shelter. We raised a public subscription, and employed two men with horse and cart to go around each day and gather up the dead."

The scenes that were revealed when some of the cabins were entered were even more horrible. When the inmates found that death was inevitable, they made no further struggle, sought the assistance neither of the Government nor of their neighbours; and occasionally, as Mr. Tuke tells us, the last survivor of a whole family "earthed up the door of his miserable cabin to prevent the

ingress of pigs and dogs, and then laid himself down to die in this fearful family vault." (*Visit to Connaught in* 1847, p. 8) Men entering the cabins found the dead and the dying side by side—lying on the same pallet of rotting straw, covered with the same rags. "The only article," says an eye-witness of a scene in Windmill Lane, Skibbereen, "that covered the nakedness of the family, that screened them from the cold, was a piece of coarse packing stuff which lay extended alike over the bodies of the living and the corpses of the dead; which served as the only defence of the dying and the winding-sheet of the dead." (*New Ireland*, pp. 65-272.)

Irish writers are accustomed to speak angrily of the action and intentions of the Government at this epoch. The theory of some is that the terrors and horrors of the famine were the result of a deliberate conspiracy to murder wholesale an inconvenient, troublesome, and hostile nation. Such a theory may be rejected, and yet leave a heavy load of guilt on the Ministers. In political affairs, we have to look not so much to the intentions as to the results of policies; and it is undeniable that in 1846 and in 1847, there were as many deaths as if the deliberate and wholesale murder of the Irish people had been the motive of English statesmanship. It is maintained that, in spite of the failure of the potato, there was food sufficient produced in Ireland during the famine years to have prevented the death by starvation of a single person in the country. Lord John Russell admitted that the wheat crop, for instance, in 1847 was above rather than below the average, and cattle there were in abundance. But these two commodities were borne away from the Irish ports daily, *in sight of a starving people*, out of deference to the new discovery of Free Trade doctrines, while Indian meal was being imported into Ireland during the crisis at a figure averaging double its normal price. "Statesmen," observes Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., the most recent Irish writer on the subject,—"must be judged by the results of their policy. The policy which created the famine was the land legislation of the British Parliament. The refusal of the British Legislature to interfere with rack rents; the refusal to protect the improvements of the tenants; the facilities and inducements to wholesale eviction—these were the things that produced the famine of 1846; and such legislation, again, was the result of the

government of Ireland by a Legislature, independent of Irish votes, Irish constituencies, Irish opinion." Mr. O'Connor might have put in the forefront of his accusation the total destruction of Irish industries at an earlier period, on account of the jealousy of England. Debarred from every other trade and industry, as observed by Lord Dufferin, "the entire nation flung itself back upon the land, with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilised." It was not the English people who were to blame for the horrors of the Irish famine, for they behaved throughout with a humanity which is characteristic of their race in modern times, as Mr. O'Connor freely admits. The Act of Union was the great criminal, which has produced, and continues to produce, undeserved and preventable suffering in Ireland, as well as a perennial flow of hatred and ill-will towards England.

These horrors make us understand the tone in which the *Times*, in 1847, spoke of the destitution of Ireland, and of the culpable state of things to which that destitution was to be attributed. The ulcer of Ireland—said that journal—drains the resources of the Empire. It was to be expected that it should be so. "The people of England have most culpably and foolishly connived at a national iniquity." Without going back beyond the Union, and only within the last half century, "it has been notorious all that time that Ireland was the victim of an unexampled social crime." The landlords exercise their rights there with a hand of iron, and deny their duties with a brow of brass. Age, infirmity sickness, every weakness is there condemned to death. The whole Irish people is debased by the spectacle and contact of beggars and of those who notoriously die of hunger;—and "England stupidly winked at this tyranny." "We begin now," added the *Times*, "to expiate a long course of neglect: such is the law of justice. If we are asked why we have now to support half the population of Ireland, the answer lies in the question itself; it is that we have deliberately allowed them to be crushed into a nation of beggars." (*Times*, 27th Feb., 1847.)

On the 17th of April, 1860, an Irish member of the House of Commons asked the Government "what measures it proposed taking in reference to the great destitution which then prevailed amongst the peasants and the labouring classes in the West of

Ireland? The Secretary of State for Ireland replied that: "It was his painful duty to state that a large amount of destitution did in fact exist in some of the Western districts." The newspapers of this period were full of the most harrowing details. It was already known from the agricultural statistics of 1859 that the harvest of 1859 as compared with of that 1858 presented a large falling off, and that potatoes in particular had yielded but five-sixths of the average crop; in other words that the population were short of two months' food. Hence they were obliged to dole out and measure their fare as though on board a ship short of provisions. It was not the agricultural labourers and the ordinarily poor peasants alone who were reduced to all kinds of suffering; the small farmers themselves, suddenly deprived of their ordinary resources and without funds to meet the pressing necessities of the moment, were reduced to the same distress. Absolute want of everything, both food and seed: such was, according to the report of a Government Poor Law Inspector, Mr. Bourke, their condition during the spring of 1860. "Many families there are," he believed, "utterly without means. . . . They know that if they surrender their holdings and go into the workhouse, they become paupers for life; and in many cases they will die sooner than adopt such a course." (14th Gen. Rep., p. 39.) Even the Tory *Morning Herald*, in February, 1862, complained of the attempts made by Government to lull English opinion into a false state of security with regard to the true state of Ireland. It asked why Ireland was progressively losing in all the elements which among other nations go to make wealth and prosperity; why, after having been relieved by emigration of such a multitude of men, she was still in the pangs of want and famine, and destitution was still the normal lot of the Irish peasant?

In 1879, again, there is yet another famine. In that year the country was paying £1,011,888 in taxes for the support of its poor, against £523,000 twenty years before; it was paying £117,275 in out-door relief alone, against £3,239 in 1859. According to the Local Government Report, the number of poor actually in the workhouses reached 59,870 in February, 1880; the highest number during the famine of 1846 having been 51,302. In the spring of 1880 there was the enormous number of 117,454 persons receiving relief at the expense of the taxpayers; many of

the latter themselves being little removed above the necessity of relief. (*Proceedings* of Mansion House Relief Committee, p. 17.) The number of persons relieved in addition by the Dublin Mansion House Relief Committee for the week ending 28th February, 1880, was 512,625. And the Mansion House Committee was only one of several organisations employed in doling out charitable help to the destitute at this period; that of the Duchess of Marlborough, particularly, being in receipt of very large funds also for the purpose.

In a paper read by Dr. Hancock, the Irish official statistician, before the Statistical Society, in February, 1880, he estimated the losses of the Irish harvest-men in 1879, from the failure of English wages alone, at £250,000; it being the habit of a considerable section of the small farmers of Mayo, Galway, and Donegal to migrate to England and Scotland for the harvest season every year. In 1879, the potato crop, the chief sustenance of the Irish people, was in great part a failure. The official estimate of the crop (*Thom's Directory*, 1881, p. 687,) was:—

1876,	4,154,784	tons	(@ 60s. per ton)	£12,464,382
1877,	1,757,274	„	„ „	5,271,822
1878,	2,526,504	„	„ „	7,579,512
1879,	1,113,676	„	„ „	3,341,028

and the potato was the sole resource of the population against yet another famine! The English newspaper correspondents were overcome by the scenes of poverty and wretchedness which they daily witnessed in Ireland. The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, writing in February, 1880, declared he could "stand it no longer," and, after inquiring if anyone suspected that his pictures were overdrawn, he adds, with marked emphasis, "On my honour, I have not swerved a hair's breadth from the awful truth." The proprietors, however, with characteristic energy, sent another "special," cast in a sterner mould, to take his place, who reported as follows from the West of Ireland:—

"I have been in many lands, and I have seen many so-called oppressed people at home, but I declare that neither in the Russian steppes, nor in the most neglected Bulgarian villages, still less in the poorest Hindoo hamlets, have I ever seen such squalid kraals as these Irish farmers inhabit. An officer of one of her Majesty's regiments, who lately served with honour in Zululand, declared to me that not even in the worst parts of Cetewayo's dominions did he come across anything so bad as here; and I am inclined to believe that he was not exaggerating in the slightest." . . . "It is manifestly impossible that

these men can make a living off poor land so heavily burdened —land brought under cultivation by themselves or their predecessors, without the owner stirring a finger or investing a sixpence in its improvement. The rent, in point of fact, has to be made up by labour in England, and it is just this state of things which should be borne in mind by people who are disposed to complain of the Irish tenant's revolt. His life is often one of slavery, for the benefit of the men who own the soil of a country where agriculture is the only industry."

The *Daily News* correspondent in like manner is shocked beyond expression, and writing in November of the same year, from a different part of the country, observes that "there is something strangely appalling in the pallid looks of people who live mainly in the open-air, and that the finest air in the world," . . . . . but "there can be no falsehood in their gaunt, famished faces—no fabrication in their own rags and the nakedness of their children." The correspondent of the *Standard*, whose investigations did much to dispel the incredulity which was even then largely prevalent in England, writing from Kerry, in January, 1880, speaks of the people whom he met thus:—

"All life and spirit seemed crushed out of them, their energies are prostrate, they can think about nothing but hunger. If you meet them on the footpaths they do not turn aside; if you push them gently from your path, they move mechanically, as if unconscious of the presence of external objects. Humanity shrinks, startled and appalled, from the contemplation of such abject misery, and nothing but the feeling of deep responsibility could induce me to describe it."

The *St. James's Gazette* also sent a correspondent to Ireland, who rendered excellent service to the cause of charity, about the same time.

The truth is, the famine of 1879-80 was a very real one, and, but for the charity of the world, to which the Australasian Colonies were large contributors, might have proved disastrous to human life, as in the case of previous famines. The following extracts, comprising the results of personal investigations in Cork, Mayo, and Donegal, three of the largest Irish counties, lying far apart from one another, and all three conducted by more or less competent witnesses, are sufficiently instructive on this point. Mr. J. H. Tuke writes:—

"This townland of Meenacladdy (Co. Donegal) stretches over a wide extent of wet bog-land, bounded on the west by a wild rocky coast, against which the waves of the Atlantic were dashing half-way up the cliffs in huge masses of foam; on the other side the bog-land extends towards the mountains of Donegal, whose slopes

were covered with the snow recently fallen. Imagine, over this wild waste, little dwellings scattered at wide intervals, some of rough stone and some of mere peat sods, scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding surface; add to this the blinding squalls of sleet or snow which swept over it, and some idea may be gained of the district we explored. A few of the dwellings were, of course, on the roadside, but the access to many was over the wet bog where there is no road. . . . Of the destitution and misery found in these bog-dwellings, *I feel, after a lapse of twenty-four hours, that I can hardly bring myself to write.* It is not merely the unusual distress of to-day, arising from the causes which I have enumerated, but the every-day life, the normal condition of hundreds, nay thousands, of families on the west coast of Donegal, and of many other parts of the West of Ireland, which oppresses me. But on this normal condition—this every-day contest with existence and hardships—I must not dwell here. The question involves considerations and issues too vast for any hasty notes." (*A Visit to Donegal and Connaught, in the Spring of* 1880, p. 25.)

Referring to Camus (Co. Galway), the same writer says:—

"I wish I could produce that rocky coast and wild miserable village, or, rather introduce it into England for a while, that English people might realise how, in these remote places, so many thousands of people are living. Half-a-mile away, and I will venture to say no one would think it possible that any human being could live, or even find foothold on this rock-strewn shore; but, by degrees, you see the little 'smokes' arising, and here and there little dark strips of land, which show that the ground is being prepared for the potatoes they *hope* to obtain, for they have none left to plant. Then you see peering above the road little dark heads of men, women, and children, who, attracted by the unusual sight, come out of their cabins to reconnoitre. As you walk among them on landing, they watch you with curious eyes; they do not beg, and cannot answer your inquiries, for most do not understand, and few can talk, English. They are a race of wild people, poorly clad, and living with the cattle in their houses, often lying on the damp ground on hay like them. No distribution of meal had taken place last week, and several families were sitting round small quantities of the smallest (old) potatoes I ever saw, and with nothing else to eat with them. In one house which I entered three children, under one covering, ill with fever, were lying on the ground; others also were ill. For these miserable places among the rocks they were each paying from £4 to £8 a year. This would seem incredible at any time. No wonder that none had paid their rent last year. I heard that the agent had talked about evicting them, but I think had deferred his intention. We gave a little money to the most destitute, which was gratefully received." (P. 76.)

Does not this remind us of the picture drawn by La Bruyère, of the agricultural classes in France in the reign of Louis XIV.:—

"We see certain wild animals, male and female, scattered over the country; black, livid, all burnt by the sun; attached to the earth, which they dig with invincible obstinacy; they have a sort of articulate voice, and when they rise up on their feet they show human features, and in fact they are human beings; they retire at night into dens, where they live on black bread, roots, and water; they spare other men the trouble of sowing, of tilling, and of reaping for their food, and thus they deserve not to be in want of the bread they have sown." (*De l'Homme.*)

In a report officially addressed to the Dublin Mansion House Relief Committee, of which he was a member, on the condition of the Mayo peasantry in 1880, pp. 11-13 and 34-35, Mr. J. A. Fox, the present writer, says:—

"I have taken the precaution of seeing with my own eyes many of the recipients of relief in their miserable hovels, which so far as I have yet observed are a shocking reproach to the civilisation of the nineteenth century. . . . I do not believe that tongue, or pen, however eloquent, could truly depict the awful destitution of some of those hovels. The children are often nearly naked. Bedding there is none, everything of that kind having long since gone to the pawn-office, as proved to me by numerous tickets placed in my hands for inspection in well nigh every hovel. A layer of old straw, covered by the dirty sacks which conveyed the seed potatoes and artificial manure in the spring, is the sole provision of thousands—with this exception, that little babies sleeping in wooden boxes are occasionally indulged with a bit of thin, old flannel stitched on to the sacking. Men, women, and children sleep under a roof and within walls dripping with wet, while the floor is saturated with damp, not uncommonly oozing out of it in little pools. In one case I asked a gaunt, starved looking man, whom I found literally endeavouring to sleep away the hunger, where his little children slept, when he pointed to a corner in the moist room, in which I could see no sign of bedding. 'Do they wear their clothes at night?' 'No.' 'How then do they keep warm?' 'There is,' he replied, with the most amazing simplicity and composure, 'a deal of warmth in children,' signifying that they obtained warmth by huddling together like little animals. This occurred at Carrycastle. . . . I invariably found them on the occasion of my visit crouching around the semblance of a fire lighted on the open hearth. And this at midsummer, showing how terribly low must be the vitality amongst them. . . . It was only when I was accompanied by a Catholic priest I could get an insight into the appalling want. Alone, some of the most destitute tried to screen from me the poverty of their truckle beds, upon which the straw was often so thin that I could touch the bare boards with my hand. These received me with a dull, passive surprise, wondering what might be the object of my curiosity in so wretched a country. And even the priest himself had occasionally to use no little persuasion to

overcome this modest feeling, by assuring them that I was present in the capacity of a friend. Everywhere the condition of the children was otherwise dreadful, besides, there being for them nothing but the Indian-meal, badly cooked, to live upon, and the parents only too glad if the charitable funds provided the family with half enough even of that. Sometimes there was a miserable cow about the premises—for in every case I am referring to the class of small farmers, mostly residing on three to five acres of land, which in North Mayo is generally found to be reclaimed bog or mountain slope; and this cow was supplying milk, principally *gratis*, to a small number of children other than the owner's, to mix with the Indian-meal. Occasionally people appealed privately to my companion on no account to cut off the charitable supplies from the possessor of the cow, seldom worth more than a few pounds, and just then unsaleable in any market, as the animal was the hope of so many little ones. At other times cooked cabbage, without a morsel of condiment save salt, was found where there was no meal, and in some instances one was found mixed with the other. But in numerous cases there was neither milk, meal, nor cabbage, about the premises, and in those I gave some temporary relief, to fill up the interval till the next general distribution of the local committee. Sometimes even charity itself had failed, and the mother of the tender young family was found absent, begging for the loan of some Indian-meal from other recipients of charitable relief—the father being in almost every instance away in England, labouring to make out some provision for the coming winter. Yet in the most destitute cases hardly a word of complaint was uttered on the subject, it being a habit with, if not the nature of, the Mayo peasant submissively to ascribe his lot in times of scarcity as well as plenty to the 'will of Providence.' We visited more than thirty hovels of the poor, principally in the townlands of Culmore and Cashel, in which I beheld scenes of wretchedness and misery wholly indescribable. In some of those hovels evicted families had lately taken refuge, so that the overcrowding added to the other horrors of the situation. In one hovel, in the townland of Cashel, we found a little child three years old, one of a family of six, apparently very ill, with no person more competent to watch it than an idiot sister of eighteen, while the mother was absent begging committee relief, the father being in England. In another an aged mother, also very ill, lying alone and unattended, with nothing to eat save long-cooked Indian-meal, which she was unable to swallow. In another, in the townland of Culmore, there were four young children, one of whom was in a desperate condition for want of its natural food—milk—without which it was no longer capable of eating the Indian-meal stirabout, or even retaining anything whatever on its stomach. I took off my glove to feel its emaciated little face, calm and livid as in death, which I found to be stone cold. My companion gently stirred its limbs, and after a while it opened its eyes, though only for a moment, again relapsing into a state of coma, apparently. It lay on a wallet of dirty straw, with shreds

and tatters of sacking and other things covering it. The mother was in Foxford begging for relief, the father being in England in this case also. In no Christian country in the world probably would so barbarous a spectacle be tolerated, except Ireland. It is but right to add, that the mother of one of the evicted families, whose husband was in England, acknowledged with much gratitude some assistance which she had received from the funds of the Land League."

In the South of Ireland things were little better, and the late General Gordon, the hero of Khartoum, writing from Roche's Hotel, Glengariff, Co. Cork, in November, 1880 (in the *Times*) said :—

"I must say, from all accounts and from my own observation, that the state of our fellow-countrymen in the parts I have named is worse than that of any people in the world, let alone Europe. I believe that these people are made as we are—that they are patient beyond belief, loyal, but at the same time broken-spirited and desperate, living on the verge of starvation in places where we would not keep our cattle. The Bulgarians, Anatolians, Chinese, and Indians are better off than many of them are. . . I am not well off, but I would offer Lord —— or his agent £1,000 if either of them would live one week in one of these poor devils' places, and feed as these people do."*

The perennial misery and famines of Ireland are frequently set down to over-population and to the evil of early marriages. To refute this, Mr. Joseph T. Pim, a member of the Society of Friends, in his *Ireland in 1880*, proves from the Census Returns that the proportion of the population who are

* As every item of intelligence concerning this lamented soldier is of more or less interest, it deserves to be mentioned that he was deeply moved by the wretchedness he witnessed in Ireland. He gave away, not alone his money, but his clothes there. He called on me in London on his return in 1881, in quest of further information on the subject; at a moment, too, when I was receiving a visit from Mr. J. H. Tuke, whose name frequently occurs in these pages. He asked numerous questions of both of us, in a quiet but earnest way; made few observations himself; and vouchsafed no opinions. My impression at the time was that he, Colonel Gordon, intended to write something more of his experience in Ireland. At parting, he begged I would call to see him at his club, which I meant to do. Next day, however, I spent with Mr. Tuke, at Hitchin, and the following morning started for Ireland, where I was quickly plunged into the vortex of Irish agrarianism, including those heartrending scenes of eviction. On returning home, a few months later, I called upon him at the United Service Club, but he was then out of town, and alas! I never set eyes on the hero again. One incident of Colonel Gordon's unexpected visit I recollect perfectly. While accompanying him to the door, I reminded him pleasantly that some of the Society journals had, only a few months back, suggested that he was just the man to establish "law and order" in Ireland, with the keen edge of the sword! He made no reply, but I shall never forget the look of ineffable disdain which instantly came into his face. The truth is, though it is difficult to convince some of our stay-at-home journalists of it, hardly any Englishman or Scotchman goes to Ireland, to investigate the social or economic condition of the country, who does not blush for the shameful misgovernment which has brought about such a humiliating result as that which he sees everywhere around him. I suppose we may now reasonably conclude that General Buller, another brave soldier, has already experienced something of the same feeling.

married is smaller in Ireland than in either England or Scotland; that the Irish do not marry at so early an age as the English and Scotch do; and that the percentage of natural increase of population in the ten years ending in 1871 was only half as great in Ireland as in England. He gives the following tables, and there is no reason to suppose that the proportions have altered since. I should premise that the Irish Registrar-General in his report for 1885 distinctly says that "the percentage of persons married in Ireland who were under age is very far below the corresponding rates in England and Scotland":—

PROPORTION OF POPULATION UNMARRIED AND MARRIED (PERCENTAGE), 1871.

	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
England and Wales	37·22	53·98	8·80
Scotland . . .	43·77	46·78	9·45
Ireland	44·99	44·74	10·27

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BETWEEN THE AGES OF 15 AND 25 UNMARRIED, 1871.

	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.	
Ages.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
15 and under 20	99·44	96·82	99·66	97·82	99·77	98·08
20 ,, 25	76·71	65·16	84·16	73·79	91·28	78·12

NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION, 1861-71.*

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Population, 1871	22,704,108	3,358,613	5,402,759
Emigration, 1861-71	649,742	158,226	866,626
	23,353,850	3,516,839	6,269,385
Population, 1861	20,066,224	3,062,294	5,798,967
Increase, 10 years.....	3,287,626	454,545	470,418
Percentage of Increase.....	16·4	14·84	8·1

* Census of England and Wales, 1871. Preliminary Report, p. xxv.

The *Statesman's Year Book* for 1886 shows that the marriages per 1,000 of population are—in England, 8·1; Scotland, 7·2; and Ireland, 4·8, while the births respectively are, 35·1, 34·7, and 26·4. The same work gives the density of population per square mile in the following European countries:—

Belgium	510	Germany	213
Netherlands	338	France	184
G. Britain with Ireland	300	Switzerland	181
Italy	256	Austria	161
Ireland	151		

But there is another way of replying to those who like to make people think that continuous famine in Ireland is the outcome of over-population. The earliest records of the number of the population in Ireland are given in *Thom's Almanac of the United Kingdom*, as follows:—

Date.	Authority	Population.
1672.	Sir William Petty	1,320,000
1695.	Treasurer of Royal Society, London	1,034,102
1712.	Thomas Dobbs, Esq.	2,099,094
1754.	Hearth Money Collectors	2,372,634
1788.	Do. Do.	2,845,932
1791.	Do. Do.	4,088,226

The population at the time the Act of Union was passed in 1800 has been estimated at 5,300,000, and the Census Commissioners have subsequently ascertained the following figures:—

In 1821	6,801,827
„ 1831	7,767,401
„ 1841	8,196,597
„ 1851	6,574,278
„ 1861	5,798,967
„ 1871	5,412,377
„ 1881	5,174,836

Now, seeing that during the whole of the intervening period famine was continuous throughout the country, whether the population was great or small, the argument of the Malthusians will not hold water. Paley rightly considered population superior to every other national advantage, and it is a remarkable fact that some of the highest authorities, Sir William Temple, Lord Clarendon, Dean Swift, Sir William Petty, &c., even attribute the prevailing want of food, in their day, to the want of people.

(*Sadler*, p. 26.) No impartial person can for a moment disagree with the *Times* that famine in Ireland is *artificial*, or doubt in his own mind that it is the direct result of centuries of oppression and misgovernment; and this in a country fertile almost as any in the world for agricultural or pastoral purposes, and singularly gifted by Providence, according to the high authority of Sir Robert Kane, in his *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, with the resources indispensable to manufacturing enterprise. Ireland is in fact still as it was described by Swift a century and a half ago, "the poorest of all civilised countries, with every advantage to make it one of the richest."

CHAPTER VI.

EVICTION.

"*It appearath by the Statute, 4th Henry IV., c. 2, that* depopulatores agrorum *were great offenders by the ancient law. They were called* depopulatores agrorum, *for that, by prostrating or decaying of the houses of habitation of the King's people, they depopulate, that is dispeople, the touns.*"—COKE: Poulter's Case, 11 Rep. 29, *b.*

The result of consolidating farms in Italy is deplored in prose and verse by many ancient authors, viz., Pliny, Tacitus, Seneca, Virgil, and even Horace. "To confess the truth," says Pliny, "large farms have ruined Italy, and now the provinces." (*Nat. Hist.*, I., xviii., c. 7.) If large farms, converted from tillage to pasturage, consolidation, and depopulation, ruined Italy, as Pliny confesses, may not the same cause, operating in Ireland, be also silently compassing vital injury to England? Famine, eviction, and coercion have compelled millions of Irish to emigrate to America, where, as Grattan prophesied, they "sting" us, and whence we daily hear the rumblings of their maledictions and their menaces travelling across the Atlantic. If, as Mr. Bright once declared, force is no remedy for the condition of things in Ireland, no more is emigration a patriotic alternative. The Queen has surely enemies enough in the United States and elsewhere already—enemies burning with the desire for a war against her Empire. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of good land in Ireland, the property of absentee landlords alone, frequently extending like a wilderness far beyond the horizon, and only inhabited by sheep (or bullocks), which contribute nothing to the Imperial treasury, consume no British manufactures, and are incapable even of defending the Crown in an emergency. Nor are they any longer, in the face of foreign competition, an indispensable article of food. Ajax was certainly mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but, as Swift once declared, in his bitter humour, we shall never be

sober till we are of the same way of thinking. The Irish peasant, having such a prospect daily before his eyes, must often envy, if he do not hate, the animals feeding on this rich pasturage, while he and his are condemned, as it were by some inexorable law, to occupy only the almost barren and almost uncultivable lands in the adjacent district.

In England Coke tells us (4 Rep., 39), that "the common law gives arable land the precedency and pre-eminency over meadows, pastures, ruins, and all other grounds whatsoever." And Hale once swore by his God, referring to the *depopulatores agrorum*, that "if an husbandman is bound that he shall not sow his land, the bond is against the common law." (11 Rep., 53.) Nor was the Church of England, Catholic or Protestant, silent regarding the "Clearance" System. John Rous, the celebrated monk and antiquary of Warwick (*temp.* 1450), invokes the vengeance of Heaven on the evictors of his day, whom he likened to basilisks, "whose devouring eyes consume all they fall upon"; and who are "more culpable than thieves, whom the law condemns to be hanged." . . . "You oppressors of the poor," he exclaims, "God and all the host of Heaven detest your infamous society, and the devil only, with his satellites, can with pleasure admit you into his company." (*History of the Kings of England*, pp. 88-95.) The Protestant Latimer, "Honest Hugh," was not behind his Catholic predecessor in denouncing the Clearance System, and politely consigning the "Crowbar-brigade" to the bottomless pit in like manner:—

"You landlords, you rent raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. Well, well, this one thing I will say unto you—from whence it cometh, I know, even from the devil." As for those "surveyors," who mapped out the lands for consolidation, "the greedy pit of the hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them"; and he solemnly expresses a hope that the dreadful day of judgment is at hand, "which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries." (*Strype*, Vol. II., pp. 133-35.)

The story of Irish evictions is too long and too dreadful to admit of a full and faithful narrative within the compass of this chapter. The process of extermination in Ireland commenced after the conclusion of the Williamite War, in 1690, proceeded vigorously, by the consolidation of farms, in 1709, according to Swift,

but was infinitely aggravated by the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829; after which, Lord Donoughmore explained to the Rodn Parliamentary Committee, "the gentlemen began to clear their estates of the forty shilling freeholders who had been done away with by the Act"; and were therefore a redundant population, having no longer any political importance in the eyes of the landlord. From this period the fate of the poorer classes, especially those known as "tenants-at-will," was sealed. In order to give an idea of the extremely precarious position of this class of Irish tenants, F. von Raumer, a German publicist, endeavours, in an account of a journey made by him in Ireland, to make up by a combination of German roots a word exactly equivalent to the expression "tenant-at-will." He asks:—

"How shall I translate this word? Shall I say *serfs*?—no, in feudal times the condition of the serf was to be attached to the soil, and in nowise to be driven off it. A vassal of those times would be a lord compared with the *tenant-at-will* of Ireland, to whom the law affords no protection. Why not call him 'the hunt-off-able?' (*Wegjagdbare.*) There is even here a difference, which lessens the analogy; for the game laws prevent the hunting of hares, stags, and does so during certain seasons of the year, whilst tenants-at-will are lawful game the whole year round. And if one of them was disposed to defend his farm—whilst the fox and badger are supposed to defend their cover—that would be termed '*rebellion.*'"

From Appendix H to the Poor Inquiry Report, it appears that in the six years previous to 1833, ejectment processes were entered in seventeen counties alone out of the thirty-two Irish counties, against 31,000 defendants, who probably represented a population of 155,000 human beings. From this date our information of the clearance system, as it was called, is much fuller, and enables us to furnish detailed results of the process to the commencement of the present year; for it must be understood that it is still in active operation in the sister country. According to Thom's *Official Directory* for 1861 (p 78), the number of tenanted dwellings in Ireland in 1841 was 1,328,839, which was reduced to 1,046,294 in 1851; revealing the awful fact that 282,545 human dwellings, whether houses, cabins, or hovels, were destroyed by the hands of the evictor within the intervening period of ten years! By 1856 this number must have been considerably enlarged; and as each holding abolished represented a family dispossessed, it is

probable that "not less than a million and a quarter of human beings abandoned their hold upon the land of the country," in the opinion of the late Professor Cairnes, of University College, the distinguished political economist.

The following is a detailed Parliamentary Return of the number of evictions throughout Ireland in each of the years from 1849 to 1885 (inclusive), as compiled from subsidiary returns supplied to the Executive Government by the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary; but it must be confessed it is wholly illusory and insufficient, as will be explained presently:—

YEAR.	EVICTED.		YEAR.	EVICTED.	
	FAMILIES.	PERSONS.		FAMILIES.	PERSONS.
1849	16,686	90,440	1868	637	3,002
1850	19,949	104,163	1869	374	1,741
1851	13,197	68,023	1870	548	2,616
1852	8,591	43,494	1871	482	2,357
1853	4,833	24,589	1872	526	2,476
1854	2,156	10,794	1873	671	3,078
1855	1,849	9,338	1874	726	3,571
1856	1,108	5,114	1875	667	3,323
1857	1,161	5,475	1876	553	2,550
1858	957	4,643	1877	463	2,177
1859	837	3,872	1878	980	4,679
1860	636	2,985	1879	1,238	6,239
1861	1,092	5,288	1880	2,110	10,457
1862	1,136	5,617	1881	3,415	17,341
1863	1,734	8,695	1882	5,201	26,836
1864	1,924	9,201	1883	3,643	17,855
1865	942	4,513	1884	3,978	20,025
1866	795	3,571	1885	3,127	15,423
1867	549	2,489			
			Total	109,471	558,050

Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, a work of repute, gives the number of the evicted as being many times—*more than a million and a half*—in excess of the figures contained in the Parliamentary Returns. How is the discrepancy to be accounted for? Perhaps Professor Cairnes's explanation may help to solve the difficulty. He observes that virtually eviction was carried on to a far greater extent than the recorded returns would indicate. He says:—

"No eviction appears in these returns which has not come under judicial cognizance, and been actually carried into effect by the judicial authorities; whereas it is notorious that a mere 'notice

to quit' will frequently do all the work of an eviction, and that a single example of the rigour of the law will naturally reduce many tenants to submission."

And after giving it as his opinion, further, that "not far from one in every five" of the multitude who swarmed across the Atlantic between 1848 and 1856 "*had been driven by positive physical violence from his home*," he observes—in reply to the allegation that two-thirds of these evictions took place for non-payment of rent—"granting that the fact was so, does this constitute their moral justification? Before answering this question, it may be well to recall what an eviction, as conducted in Ireland, commonly is." Professor Cairnes proceeds:—

"Most frequently, then, the evicted tenant has for himself and those dependent upon him absolutely no means of support, or place of shelter outside his farm. The evictions, moreover, having almost invariably taken place for the purpose of consolidating farms; even where non-payment has been the legal ground, the pulling down of the tenant's house has been an almost constant incident in the scene—an incident too generally performed in the sight, if not over the very heads, of the retiring family, who are thrust forth, it may be in mid-winter, frequently half naked and starving. In the rare instances in which they have saved enough to procure them a passage to New York, they will probably emigrate at once; where this is not the case, they will cower, often for days and weeks together, in ditches by the roadsides, depending for their support upon casual charity." . . . "This being what is meant by an eviction in Ireland, the question might be raised, whether the strict enforcement of contracts for rent by such means, in such times as Ireland has lately passed through, be altogether reconcilable with that Christian charity of which we all make such loud profession; whether, when a great national convulsion has made the performance of contracts impossible, the exaction by landlords of the tenant's pound of flesh is the precise duty which in that crisis they owe their country; in a word, whether the bare plea that rent is written in the bond, ought, under all circumstances, to be taken as a complete discharge from responsibility for any amount of misery inflicted in enforcing it;—this, I say, is a question which might be raised; but for the present I have no need to entertain it. It will suffice to call attention to the admitted fact that for a large proportion of the evictions there did not exist even this technical justification [on account of non-payment of rent]." (*Political Essays*, pp. 193-5.)

As being typical of the extent and cruelty of the eviction campaign in Ireland even before the period of the great famine,

Mr. G. Poulett Scrope, an English M.P., has described how, in 1845, entire villages were destroyed near Belmullet:—

"In the neighbouring villages fifty houses were levelled. All this in midwinter!—forty miles from the nearest workhouse!—and no less than one hundred and forty *families* out of those thus dispossessed are now seeking relief from the union, while the proprietor who evicted them has not paid the rates due from him, though sued at law for them." (*A Plea for the Rights of Industry*, p. 78.)

To anybody who desires to obtain a detailed and realistic picture of what Irish evictions in the days of the famine of 1846-7 really meant, the perusal of the Blue Book, No. 1089, entitled, "Reports and Returns relating to Evictions in the Kilrush Union," will be of absorbing interest. Ministers, in order to give Parliament some idea as to the merits of the controversy between them and the landlords, presented in this volume a series of extracts from the report of Captain Kennedy, who had been sent down to this union as a representative of the Poor Law Commissioners. These extracts begin on November 25th, 1847, and conclude on June 19th, 1849. They tell over and over again the same tale, until the heart grows sick with the repetition of ghastly and almost incredible horrors. *Kilrush was by no means one of the most poverty-stricken Irish unions.* It was, however, specially referred to by Sir Robert Peel in Parliament on account of Captain Kennedy's report, from which a few extracts are appended as follows:—

"*April* 6, 1848.—While hundreds are being turned out houseless and helpless daily on one small property in Killard division, no less than twenty-three houses, containing probably 100 souls, were tumbled in one day, March 27. I believe the extent of land occupied with these twenty-three houses did not exceed fifty acres. The suffering and misery attendant upon these wholesale evictions is indescribable. The number of houseless paupers in this union is beyond my calculation; those evicted crowd neighbouring cabins and villages, and disease is necessarily generated. On its first appearance the wretched sufferer, and probably the whole family to which he or she belongs, is ruthlessly turned out by the roadside. The popular dread of fever or dysentery seems to excuse any degree of inhumanity. The workhouse and temporary hospital are crowded to the utmost extent they can possibly contain; the crowding of the fever hospital causes me serious anxiety. The relieving officer has directions to send no more in: yet, notwithstanding this caution, panic-stricken and unnatural parents frequently send in a donkey-load of children in fever a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for admission. How to dispose of them I know not."

"*April* 13, 1848.—Destitution, I am concerned to say, steadily increases, together with a corresponding increase of disease. The numerous evictions tend to this when (as is frequently the case) thirty or forty cabins are levelled in a single day; the inmates crowd into neighbouring ones till disease is generated, and they are then thrown out without consideration or mercy. The relieving officers thus find them, and send them to the hospital when beyond medical aid. These wholesale evictions are most embarrassing to the Guardians. The wretched and half-witted occupiers are too often deluded by the specious promises of under-agents and bailiffs, and induced to throw down their own cabin for a paltry *consideration of a few shillings*, and an assurance of 'out-door relief.'"

"June, 1848.—The misery attendant upon these wholesale and simultaneous evictions is frequently aggravated by hunting these ignorant, helpless creatures off the property, from which they perhaps have never wandered five miles. It is not an unusual occurrence to see forty or fifty houses levelled in one day, and orders given that no remaining tenant or occupier should give them even a night's shelter. I have known some ruthless acts committed by drivers and sub-agents, but no doubt according to law, however repulsive to humanity; *wretched hovels pulled down, where the inmates were in a helpless state of fever and nakedness, and left by the roadside for days.* As many as 300 souls, creatures of the most helpless class, have been left houseless in one day."

"*July* 5, 1848.—Twenty thousand, or one-fourth of the population, are now in receipt of daily food, either in or out of the workhouse. Disease has unfortunately kept pace with destitution, and the high mortality at one period since last November, in and out of the workhouse, was most distressing. I have frequently been astonished by the sudden and unexpected pressure from certain localities; this naturally induced an inquiry into the causes, and eventually into a general review of the whole union. The result of this inquiry has convinced me that destitution has been increased and its character fearfully aggravated by the system of wholesale evictions which has been adopted; that a fearful amount of disease and mortality has also resulted from the same causes, I cannot doubt. I have painful experience of it daily. To make this understood, I may state, in general terms, that about 900 houses, containing probably 4,000 occupants, have been levelled in this union since last November. The wretchedness, ignorance, and helplessness of the poor on the western coast of this union prevent them seeking a shelter elsewhere; and, to use their own phrase, 'they don't know where to face'; they linger about the localities for weeks or months, burrowing behind the ditches, under a few broken rafters of their former dwelling, refusing to enter the workhouse till the parents are broken down and the children half-starved, when they come into the workhouse to swell the mortality one by one."

"*October* 21, 1848.—The lands have been already literally swept for

rent. I frequently travel fifteen miles without seeing five stacks of grain of any kind; all threshed and sold. Rent has seldom or ever been looked for more sharply, and levied more unsparingly, than this year. Of the proprietors there are but few resident. I cannot speak of their means; I only know that there has not been any amount of poor rate levied in this union seriously to injure them; no more than any man of common humanity ought voluntarily to bestow in disastrous times. . . . *In most instances the plan adopted by the landlords has been to proceed by civil bill against the person of the tenant, and on his being arrested, to discharge him from gaol on his having the house thrown down, and possession given to the landlord by the remainder of his family, or by his friends.*"

"*May* 7, 1849.—I find that my constant and untiring exertions make but little impression upon the mass of fearful suffering. As soon as one horde of houseless and all but naked paupers are dead, or provided for in the workhouse, another wholesale eviction doubles the number, who, in their turn, pass through the same ordeal of wandering from house to house or burrowing in bogs or behind ditches, till, broken down by privation and exposure to the elements, they seek the workhouse, or die by the roadside. The state of some districts of the union during the last fourteen days baffles description; sixteen houses, containing twenty-one families, have been levelled in one small village in Killard division, and a vast number in the rural parts of it. As cabins become fewer, lodgings, however miserable, become more difficult to obtain. And the helpless and houseless creatures, thus turned out of the only home they ever knew, betake themselves to the nearest bog or ditch, with their little all, and, thus huddled together, disease soon decimates them. Notwithstanding that fearful, and (I believe) unparalleled numbers have been unhoused in this union within the year (probably 15,000), it seems hardly credible that 1,200 more have had their dwellings levelled within a fortnight."

"*May* 7, 1849.—In a cow-shed adjoining this wretched cabin I found 'Ellen Lynch' lying in an almost hopeless stage of dysentery. She had been carried thither by her son when 'thrown out' of her miserable lodging, and was threatened with momentary expulsion from even this refuge by the philanthropic owner of it; her only safety rested in the fears of all but her son to approach her. I was ankle deep in manure while standing beside her. . . . Her husband had been lately evicted and died. I had all conveyed to the workhouse. While inspecting a stone-breaking depôt a few days since, I observed one of the men take off his remnant of a pair of shoes and started across the fields; I followed him with my eye, and at a distance saw the blaze of a fire in the bog. I sent a boy to inquire the cause of it, and the man running from his work, and was told that his house had been levelled the day before, that he had erected a temporary hut on the lands, and while his wife and children were gathering shellfish on the strand, and he stone-breaking, the bailiff or 'driver' fired it. *These*

ruthless acts of barbarity are submitted to with an unresisting patience hardly credible."

What became of the homeless people?

Mr. Bright, speaking in the House of Commons, on the 25th August, 1848, observed:—

"Let us think of the half-million who within two years past have perished miserably in the workhouses, on the highways, and in their hovels—more—far more—than ever fell by the sword in any war this country ever waged; let us think of the crop of nameless horrors which is even now growing up in Ireland, and whose disastrous fruit may be gathered in years and generations to come."

The result of these wholesale clearances was to extort from Parliament, in 1848, an Act which compelled the landlord to give forty-eight hours' notice to the Poor Law Guardians of his district, so that they might be able to make provision for giving food and shelter to those whom his eviction had left starving and homeless. The Act was called "An Act for the protection and relief of the destitute poor evicted from their dwellings in Ireland." There is no Act of the Legislature which throws so ghastly a light on the social condition of Ireland. The first section enacts that notice of an eviction must be given forty-eight hours before to the relieving officers, and prohibits evictions two hours before sunset or sunrise, and on Christmas Day and Good Friday! The seventh section made the pulling down, demolition, or unroofing of the house of a tenant, *before he was evicted*, a misdemeanour.

Strange devices were used to accomplish the purpose of the evictor. For instance, a Tipperary landlord, of a mechanical turn, invented a machine of ropes and pulleys for the speedier unroofing and demolition of homesteads, which enabled the "Crowbar-brigade," as the *Times* called them, to effect their fell purpose with greater surety as well as despatch. It consisted of massive iron levers, hooks and chains, to which horses were yoked. By deftly fixing the hooks and levers at the proper points of the rafters, at one crack of the whip and pull of the horses the roof was brought away. By some similarly skilful gripping of coign-stones, the house-walls were torn to pieces. It was found that two of these machines enabled a sheriff to evict ten times as many peasant families in a day as could be got through by a Crowbar-brigade of fifty men. (*New Ireland*, p. 122.) Even this was not sufficiently

ingenious always. In the course of a Pastoral issued by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, Dr. Nulty, in February, 1871, he gives an awful picture of an eviction scene witnessed by himself some years before. Space forbids more than the barest extract from it. The Bishop observes :—

"At length an incident occurred that varied the monotony of the grim, ghastly ruin which they [the sheriff and his myrmidons] were spreading all around. They stopped suddenly, and recoiled panic-stricken with terror from two dwellings which they were directed to destroy with the rest. They had just learned that a frightful typhus-fever held those houses in its grasp, and had already brought pestilence and death to their inmates. They therefore supplicated the agent to spare these houses a little longer; but the agent was inexorable, and insisted that the houses should come down. The ingenuity with which he extricated himself from the difficulties of the situation, was characteristic alike of the heartlessness of the man and of the cruel necessities of the work in which he was engaged. He ordered a large winnowing-sheet to be secured over the beds in which the fever victims lay—fortunately they happened to be perfectly delirious at the time—and then directed the house to be unroofed cautiously and slowly, 'because,' he said, 'he very much disliked the bother and discomfort of a coroner's inquest.'"

It was under these circumstances that the Bishop—then a curate—administered the last consolations of religion to the dying, with nothing but the winnowing-sheets between him and the canopy of heaven, he solemnly declared. How meek these Irish Bishops are! The idea occurs to one instantly, that John Rous of Warwick, or Hugh Latimer of Worcester, would, in the circumstances, have "administered" something not quite so consoling to the agent and the sheriff at the same time.

Dr. Macaulay, editor of the *Leisure Hour*, in a new work, entitled *Thrilling Tales*, prints a pathetic story, of which the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan was the author, of wholesale eviction which took place in Donegal in 1861.

Of course there were, from time to time, denunciations in the Press and in Parliament of these terrible outrages on humanity—as there are now. It were strange otherwise. But they were, with few exceptions, merely rhetorical flourishes, as was subsequently proved by the impunity with which the landlords have persevered—even to this day—in their evil work. The *Morning Chronicle*, in one of its leaders, thus dealt with the subject :—

"We shall here state at once our opinion, in plain terms, respecting this clearance system, by which a population, which has for generations lived on the land, is, on the plea of legal rights, suddenly turned adrift, without a provision, to find a living where there is no living to be found. It is a thing which no pretence of private right or public utility ought to induce society to tolerate for a moment. No legitimate construction of any right of ownership in land, which it is the interest of society to permit, will warrant it."

The *Times* declared, in 1852, that "the name of an Irish landlord *stinked* in the nostrils of Christendom." And referring to evictions on the part of the late Protestant Bishop of Tuam, Lord Plunket, in 1860, the *Times* of the 27th November in that year contained a leading article of which the following is an extract:—

"There are things perfectly defensible, and which it is accordingly dangerous to say a word against; but when all is done and conclusively defended, there remains a hideous scandal. . . . . A bishop had better sit down and die, or cast himself on the charity of his diocese, than figure to the world in the unseemly character of a wholesale evictor, collecting 'red armies,' and 'black armies,' and pulling down houses over the heads of their aged and long settled occupants. . . . We hedge round the bishop with a propriety which makes large demands upon us, and may make some demands upon him. We cannot help feeling that the *crowbar* comes under this class of restrictions. We may not always bear in our minds the imaginary crozier, but at least we expect an open palm and a gentle pressure, not a heave at the crowbar followed by falling thatch and crumbling masonry, out of which some poor old couple escape into the waste around."

In the House of Commons Lord John Russell terrified his hearers by going into the details of an eviction in which "a whole village containing 270 persons was razed to the ground, and the entire of that large number of individuals sent adrift on the high road to sleep under the hedges, without obtaining shelter even among the walls of the houses." And Sir Robert Peel said, referring to the official report which had reached him from Captain Kennedy, on the evictions which had taken place at Kilrush, Co. Clare:—"I do not think that the records of any country, civilised or barbarous, present materials for such a picture. Three such tragical instances I do not believe were ever presented, either in point of fact or conjured up in the imagination of any human being;" referring to the case of two children lying asleep on the corpse of their dead father while their

mother was dying fast of dysentery; the case of Ellen Lynch; and the case of the man who ran away from breaking stones when he saw the fire put to the hovel in which he had placed his wife and children. (*Hansard*, June 8th, 1849.)

Writing on this subject, Mr. Joseph Kay, an honourable man, who really meant what he said, in his *Social Condition of the People* (Vol. I.), observes:—

"We have made Ireland—I speak it deliberately—we have made it the most degraded and the most miserable country in the world . . . all the world is crying shame upon us, but we are equally callous to the ignominy and to the results of our misgovernment."

I was myself asked by the Dublin Mansion House Committee for the Relief of Distress in Ireland, of which I was a member, to make a tour through the county of Mayo in the summer of 1880, with a view to report upon the condition of the peasantry in the distressed districts. The results of my inquiries on that occasion having been published by the Committee in the form of a pamphlet, was deemed of sufficient importance to merit more or less attention in Parliament and the Press. It was of the most painful nature, showing that extreme destitution everywhere prevailed, and that many thousands of human beings were kept from death by starvation through the agency of public charity alone. The normal condition of the peasantry of Mayo, at the best of times, is one bordering on starvation, so that the slightest touch of misfortune is sufficient to produce the most acute suffering. And misfortune visited them in many forms in 1880, and the three preceding years. There was the failure of the potato crop, the general depreciation in the value of stock, and the serious falling off in the matter of English wages, which, to the Mayo migratory labourer, is perhaps the weightiest misfortune of all; as it is on this source of supplies he mainly depended to seed his farm as well as pay his rent. As regards his dwelling it would be impossible adequately to describe, much less exaggerate, its discomforts, its unsuitableness for human habitation, and the utter wretchedness of its surroundings generally. It is of course only in accordance with the fitness of things that the beings inhabiting such dwellings should be commonly found half starved, often nearly naked, and

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* *Reports on the Condition of the Peasantry in Mayo in* 1880.

otherwise physically degraded. The clothes of the head of the family, and still more the clothes of his wife and children, are of that scanty, shapeless, worn-out character, the pencil of an artist alone could truly describe their dreadful poverty; while the daily food of these unhappy people, young and old, consisting of Indian-meal and inferior potatoes, is such as no Englishman would think good enough for his pigs. Yet these simple peasants, thus starved and naked, have many virtues. They are strictly moral, and the attachment between husband and wife, as well as between parents and children, is proverbially strong. Nor is it weakened by even the longest absence. The Mayo peasant used to take his departure for England annually with the punctuality of the swallow, and with never-failing devotion returned at the end of the harvest, bringing with him his little store of hard-earned money as a provision against the idle winter months. His youthful son or daughter still courageously crosses the Atlantic in pursuit of labour in a country unknown and remote, and never, till death intervenes to sunder the tie, forgets the needs of the aged, infirm, or infantile members of the little family in their miserable hovel at home. But the Mayo peasant has hitherto been trying to eke out a miserable existence on a few acres of reclaimed bog, whose value is solely due to the long years of labour which he and his fathers have devoted to its cultivation. For this he paid an exorbitant, and, at times, even a preposterous, rent, averaging from twenty to thirty shillings an acre; but the land is so deficient in quantity as well as quality, if it were even free of rent altogether, human existence would be yet an impossible condition under the circumstances. It is, as has been already observed, English wages—no longer available on account of English agricultural depression—and the loving gifts from his children in America, which enable him to exist, to seed his ground, and pay his rent, the produce of the land being inadequate for any one of these purposes. What pen could describe his miserable hovel, the like of which has never yet been discovered by any traveller, ancient or modern, in any country, civilised or savage. Yet the Queen is not more attached to her mountain home in Scotland than is this paradox of a man to his in the bogs of Mayo. Rather than submit to removal from this hovel, wretched though it be, he will commonly suffer the most terrible privations, and oftentimes

even death itself, in preference to immuring himself and his little ones within the cheerless portals of an Irish workhouse. But this man belongs to the very class which suffers most at the hands of the evictor, whose cupidity so often involves the Executive Government in painful embarrassment. The illustrious title of the first lady in the land is daily dishonoured by association with evil things done in this county, as in many other Irish districts, in connection with evictions, Her Majesty's uniform is degraded, and the name and prestige of the English people and the English Parliament are misused, under the pretext of law and legality, to screen a condition of things which is only worthy the savage rule of some Asiatic barbarian. And I feel warranted in saying further, that such would be the judgment of any Englishman having the opportunities I have had of determining the question at issue. Such an one would feel himself personally humiliated by the reflection that barbarities of the kind could be practised, not in some remote dependency of the Crown, away from the immediate influence of English public opinion, but rather under the very shadow of the British Constitution, and within twenty-four hours' journey of the capital of the British Empire. It is surely a reproach to constitutional government that the best and most enlightened of English statesmen should be compelled, by the exigencies of party, to uphold such an iniquitous law at the point of the bayonet. Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel lived to deplore, when it was too late, the result of the evictions in other days; in regard to which Mr. Bright spoke so severely in the House of Commons on the 6th July, 1854. Mr. J. H. Tuke, than whom no man living is more likely to know, has given it to me as his opinion that, speaking generally, two-thirds of the evicted in these distressed Irish districts for the non-payment of rent *are unable to pay any rent.* Yet, sad to relate, the Queen's soldiers, armed policemen, and, along the coast, even H.M. gunboats (the "Wasp," carrying over fifty men, was lost on the Donegal coast in 1884 while thus engaged), are there employed to aid absentee and other scarcely reputable landlords in evicting from their wretched holdings, men, women, and children by the thousand annually; that is, exterminating, as though they were vermin, the young and old of both sexes, God's creatures, born in the image of Christ; who are, as General Gordon has feelingly

expressed it, "people made as we ourselves are, and patient beyond belief."

In the spring of 1881 I visited this county again for the purpose of seeing the condition of the evicted peasants. From my printed notes I have selected a few typical cases at random, which go to confirm the general statement contained in the present chapter:—

"Making Castlebar, the county town, headquarters, one of the first places visited, and in which I made a house to house inquiry, was Knockaragha, the property of an absentee landlord, residing alternately in London and Paris. And the first hovel inspected was that of Luke Leonard, a widower, with seven children, the oldest of whom was able to do a little work when he could get it, and the youngest only three years. Leonard's holding was of the usual beggarly dimensions so common in the West of Ireland, and the quality so bad that it may be fairly estimated an entire acre of it was composed of flags and boulders. He had been compelled, by his inability to pay the rent, to surrender his grass land two years ago, and now held the few acres used for tillage. His family was only saved from starvation by the Relief Committees last year, and this year even some part of his limited tillage has been sown by the aid of private charity. In fact, Leonard's case is so bad, his family was lately, though only for a short time, in receipt of out-door relief. He was himself away in England, whence he sent what wages he could spare to keep his little ones alive. The mother of the family had died in October, and now was most faithfully represented by the eldest girl of seventeen, whose quiet, modest, careworn face might have provided a subject for the Royal Academy. She had pawned with Andrew Hawkshaw, of Castlebar, the mother's cloak, on the 26th of February, 1881, for three shillings. It was the last presentable garment of the family, and since she had parted with it, had not been able, for very shame's sake, she explained, to go to chapel on Sunday. And now was revealed to me a dreadful fact, only too common in Mayo, and enough to move any Christian man or woman to compassion. The six children around me (the eldest boy was absent), including this motherly girl of seventeen, were so completely denuded of anything that might properly be described as clothing, they had long been compelled to give up going to both chapel and school. The eldest girl alone had borrowed a dress and a shawl to enable her to attend to her religious duties at Easter. Nor had they a blanket between them to cover their nakedness at night. They slept on dirty straw, having for covering the filthy sacking which had conveyed to them or their neighbours the seed potatoes and artificial manure from the Union, in the spring of the previous year. The possessions of the family consisted of four hens, two ducks, three geese, and eight goslings. They had also, indeed, two sheep, worth £1 each, and on these poor animals rested the hopes of the girl to regain legal possession of the hovel, to

which they were now only admitted as care-takers; for Luke Leonard had already paid a portion of his arrears. The household gods of the family consisted of a ricketty table, two old wooden chairs, three pots, two broken dishes, a mug, a cup, and a chest. 'Do you often hear from your father?' the girl was asked. 'Yes, every fortnight, when he has any money to send;' and on being asked further if she had any objection to show his last letter, she drew it lovingly from her almost naked bosom, and presented it to the kindly Catholic clergyman, Mr. Thomas, who was my companion on the occasion. Here it is, *ipsissima verba*—('Will,' so touchingly referred to in course of the letter, is, it should be explained, a boy of thirteen, of weak intellect.)

"'Northwich, May 1st, 1881.

"'DEAR SON JOHN,—You will find a post-office order, which I remit you, enclosed in this letter, for the full sum of nine shillings sterling, which you will receive at the post-office, Castlebar. I am very uneasy about you. I was dreaming of you last night, a terrible dream. You must not submit nor give in even if you were turned out of the house. I could stand that rather than let that greedy little robber [a "land-grabber"] come on the land any longer. So you must not give yourselves any hunger for the sake of selling anything you have; and as for any part of the land, I hope you will have no occasion to part with it. I will have my wages in full [as a harvestman] on the 21st of May, and I will be able to send some every week for that matter. The Captain, my master, is very good to me. Keep Will to school, and make him learn if possible; he touches my heart the most. I send my love and blessing to you all, hoping that we may have good news when I get the answer of this. Don't be afraid, speak up, and tell ——— [the agent] that we were wronged before he got the agency. Direct as before.—Your affectionate father, LUKE LEONARD.'

"Luke Leonard's two little sheep have since been sacrificed to appease the agent, and provide for the necessities of the impecunious, absentee landlord; the rent, in fact, has been paid out of the very vitals of the unhappy peasant family; snatched, as it were, from the blood, and tears, and tatters of the half-starved and nearly naked Leonards.

"At Lugnashlara, John Higgins, his son and young wife—all of whom are Protestants—had been evicted a few days before the date of my visit. I found the two latter sitting in a bye-road, in front of three sods of lighted turf, the older Higgins having gone into the workhouse. It was Sunday, and the young woman, ashamed of her tatters, endeavoured to run away. Her husband, however, called her back, when it was seen that she wore only one broken shoe, very much like one picked out of a dust-heap, and no stockings. They showed me the unroofed cart-house in which they slept the first night of their eviction, and from which they were rescued by a poor Catholic woman, who was then sheltering them at night; all bitter memories of William of Orange and the Boyne Water notwithstanding. Not so much in the speech as in the bearing of the younger Higgins there was something

resolute and determined, as though the land question might soon be rudely settled in Mayo if there were only a few more of his sort interspersed amongst the evicted. Anyhow, it required twenty-three carloads, or eighty police, to overawe himself and his neighbouring victims into submission to the sheriff and bailiffs. I sought for the Protestant clergyman of the parish in vain, and was told afterwards by a brother Protestant clergyman that he had been virtually evicted by the same landlord, an absentee, and that his successor had not yet arrived. In this dilemma, having given some trifling assistance to the young woman, I left something further with the Catholic priest for the relief of the family, Higgins having spoken of the latter, Mr. Brennan, with marked respect and confidence. But having taken an inventory of their wretched furniture, consisting of a dresser, an old chest, a table, a chair, two stools, a can, and a tongs; and convinced myself otherwise that they had nothing left them except a small quantity of very small potatoes, which the police tacitly gave them permission to remove from time to time from the hovel they were no longer allowed to inhabit, I felt it my duty to call on the venerable Protestant Archdeacon Cather at Westport, some fifteen miles distant, with a view to secure the younger Higgins and his wife some provision against the workhouse.

"Around Bohola, in another direction, and about fifteen miles from Castlebar, there were found quite a number of evicted persons, all being of the same miserable type, men, women, and children. One poor woman, having five children, squatted on the side of the high road, the youngest of the little ones aged only two and a half years, and evidently rendered very ill by the exposure, though clasped closely to the bosom of its unhappy mother. Without the aid of the Catholic clergyman you can obtain no satisfactory account of such cases, strangers being at once set down as emissaries of the landlord or the police. In this instance my companion, Mr. O'Grady, a large-minded man without the slightest tinge of sectarian bitterness, feeling rather done up by a long day's exhausting inquiry, at nine o'clock in the evening I had for my guide a respectable young man from the village, who was instructed to take me to the last case on my list of the evicted. In a dry drain, on an open unsheltered bog, was found half-an hour later a family of little children lately turned out of a hovel close by. The youngest lay in a wooden cradle, and the oldest, a little girl, might be about (as well as I could see in the dim light) twelve years old. The mother, the head of the family, was away at a distance begging. Two sods of turf were burning in the drain, and the intermittent light thus reflected around gave to the situation a weird aspect. What was to be done? What could be done except to throw down the stones blocking up the doorway of the hovel, restore the little family to such shelter as it afforded, and report the proceeding to the police at Castlebar in returning. The uppermost row of stones was in process of scattering when my guide came to inform me of another possible makeshift for the night, in the hovel of a lone, half-imbecile man, at some distance further in the bog, who consented to admit the outcasts on receiving some

small assistance for himself as well. A procession was speedily formed, the guide and oldest child carrying the cradle and its baby occupant in front; and never shall I forget the frightened, fluttering heart of the little one, whose tender years rendered it incumbent upon me that I should carry it in my own arms. All were, however, safely housed at 10.30 p.m.; the only person taking exception to the proceedings being the impatient car-driver, who declared that it was not 'good for man or beast to have to pass by Stab-all-Hill [a haunted corner, near Castlebar], at one o'clock in the morning.'"

Here, again, is the matter-of-fact report of one of the Guardians of the Poor at Tubbercurry, on the borders of Sligo, sent by the Board to investigate the condition of the evicted tenants in another district two years later. It will be seen that it is the plain, unvarnished statement of one who would naturally take an official view, and whose representation of the needs of the poor would take its colour rather from his consciousness of the over-burdened poor-rate than from any sentimental compassion with those on whose circumstances he is reporting. His letter is given at considerable length, because the very sameness of its oft-repeated story gives it its chief value as an evidence of what landlordism means in Ireland. He addresses the Guardians as follows:—

"Tubbercurry, May 5th, 1883.

Gentlemen,—In accordance with your resolution of Monday last, asking me, as a member of the Board, to visit the evicted tenants in the parish of Curry, on the estate of Messrs. ——, and report thereon, I beg to state that, accompanied by the Very Rev. Thomas Conlon, P.P., and the relieving officers of the district, I went there on Wednesday last, and beg to submit the following as an accurate description of how they are at present circumstanced:—

Patrick Waters—His family consists of wife and seven children, varying in ages from three to seventeen years. They are trying to live as best they can in an open shed unfit for housing cattle, and are not possessed of any means whatever.

Pat Cafferty—His family, consisting of wife and ten children, dwelt for three nights after eviction in a shed rudely constructed of some sticks and straw, after which he removed to the house of Michael May, which he was about leaving on Wednesday for Cully, Mrs. May having that morning noticed him to leave, giving as her reason for doing so *that she was afraid of the bailiff to afford him lodgings any longer.*

James Durcan (Charles) is at present in England. His wife and

children (three in number), the eldest of whom is only six years, are living with children's grandmother, an aged woman, whom I found sick and confined to bed.

John Cardle has wife and five children, all of whom I found grouped round a small fire in a sandpit, quite unprotected.

William Durcan has wife and seven children, five of whom are females, all living beside a ditch, where they have erected a temporary structure as shelter.

James Durcan (John) has wife and four children. Found the children round a fire beside a ditch. Durcan stated that his wife was unwell, and at present staying in the neighbourhood.

James Durcan (Edward) is in England. His wife and six children are living in a wretched cabin unfit for human habitation.

John Gannon has wife and two children; found them in a temporary shed erected beside a ditch.

Michael Frain is at present in England; his wife and four children live in a hut *erected by a child only nine years old.*

Thomas Kennedy has wife and six children varying in ages from two to thirteen years; they were collected around a fire beside a ditch without any shelter whatever.

Peter M'Entyre has wife and one child, whom I found at a fire beside a ditch, the wife appearing weak and sick.

Philip Durcan and three sisters, orphans, are living in a miserable shed.

Bridget Durcan, widow, has two children, and at present occupies a neighbour's barn.

Patrick Brennan has wife and seven children; found them living in a rudely constructed shed beside a ditch.

I think it necessary to add that the people, both young and old, in these cases presented a most miserable appearance, and seemed (particularly the children) to be in great want of necessary clothing; and I give it as my opinion that if these poor people are obliged to remain much longer in their present sad state, diseases may arise, from which very serious consequences may issue.

NICHOLAS H. DEVINE."

The foregoing list of the evicted is taken from *A Personal Visit to Distressed Ireland* (London: 1883), by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, an English writer, and is inserted here (1), inasmuch as it is an official public document, and (2), because it sheds a lurid light over the reflections contained in a leading article from the *Times*, which will be found in the chapter on Emigration. As to the occurrence itself, it is, unfortunately, an everyday one throughout all parts of Ireland at the present time, and has long

ceased to attract attention or excite indignation, anywhere outside, *except perhaps in the United States of America.* There every incident of the landlord war, with his civil and military allies, against the peasants, is carefully treasured up, and, when the suitable occasion offers, the harrowing details are read or spoken to monster audiences of excited or infuriated Irishmen, some of whom are perhaps themselves the sons of the evicted.

It is the same sad and disgraceful story in other parts of Ireland as well. Writing from near Listowel, on the borders of Kerry County, in May last, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, of Egyptian fame, says in a published letter:—

"I have been present during the last two days, to my shame and sorrow, at these evictions near Listowel, and have seen tenants of several generations' standing, *and who had sunk hundreds of pounds in building and reclaiming their farms,* turned remorselessly out, beggars without a penny, when a little leniency and human feeling would have saved them from ruin."

Mr. (now Sir George) Trevelyan, Chief Secretary for Ireland, speaking in the House of Commons in 1882, said:—

"Every day the Government gets reports of evictions, and whenever these evictions are of tenants who can pay their rents and will not, the Government is very carefully informed by their officers. That is not the case with all evictions, *and at this moment in one part of the country men are being turned out of their houses, actually by battalions, who are no more able to pay the arrears of these bad years than they are able to pay the National Debt.* I have seen a private account from a very trustworthy source—from a source anyone would allow to be trustworthy—of what is going on in Connemara. In three days 150 families were turned out, numbering 750 persons. At the headquarters of the Union, though only one member of each family attended to ask for assistance, there was absolutely a crowd at the door of the workhouse. It was not the case that these poor people belonged to the class of extravagant tenants. They were not whisky drinkers; they were not in terror of the Land League. One man who owed £8 borrowed it on the promise of repayment in six months with £4 of addition—a rate of interest which hon. members could easily calculate—that he might sit in his home. The cost of the process of eviction amounted to £3 17s. 6d. I am told that in this district there are thousands in this position—people who have been beggared for years, people who have been utterly unable to hold up their heads since those bad years, and whose only resource from expulsion from their homes is the village money-lender." (*Hansard*, pp. 1328-9.)

Referring to such evictions, Lord Aberdeen (lately Lord Lieu-

tenant of Ireland), speaking at Leith, in the month of October last asked :—

"Was it difficult to conceive the kind of feeling towards the British authority with which the children in these homes must have grown up? These evictions were always carried out in the Queen's name, and many an ignorant peasant had probably never been brought into contact with the authority and emblems of the throne except in connection with these dismal proceedings."

What manner of landlords, asks Mr. T. M. Healy, in his pamphlet, *A Word for Ireland*, were these who required restraints to be imposed upon them by statute, to prevent evictions on Christmas Day and Good Friday; as well as an enactment that the roof of his cabin was not to be pulled off till after the unfortunate tenant had, with his wife and family, quitted it? Rather ask, Mr. Healy, what manner of Government it is that permits the clearance system still to flourish, and even supplies soldiers as well as policemen (with firearms) to facilitate the process; that permits defenceless women and innocent children—the victims of centuries of misrule, as admitted by successive English statesmen themselves—to be cast out on the roadside, often in midwinter, to perish of cold and hunger, unless, indeed, they choose to enter the workhouse; which, as a teacher of immorality, is a curse instead of being a blessing to Ireland. English men and women who study your facts will not be in the least offended by the conclusion. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone himself distinctly accepts this responsibility, no doubt with shame and sorrow. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 16th of April last, he made this observation :—

"The deeds of the Irish landlords are to a great extent our deeds. We are *particeps criminis*; we, with power in our hands, looked on; we not only looked on but we encouraged and sustained."

Alas! we are daily witnesses of those evil deeds still, many of us without either shame or sorrow encouraging and sustaining them! Another English statesman, Mr. Stansfeld, M.P. an ex-Cabinet Minister, who has earned the respect and confidence of large bodies of his countrymen, thus manfully spoke out on the subject, amidst repeated cheering, at an important public meeting held at Exeter, on the 21st of December last. He said :—

"The Government, must either amend or enforce a law. They

refused the opportunity of amending the law on Parnell's Bill last Session, and driven on by the dissentient Liberals they were now compelled to enforce that law they would not amend. But it seemed to be forgotten that the Government themselves, by putting the screw on Irish landlords, had made out a case for the starving tenants who were unable to pay. There were hundreds, nay thousands, of tenants who were practically paupers. They would never be able to pay their rents except by money earned in England in harvest time, and it was out of the sweat of their brows and the starvation of their families that their landlords and oppressors had built up their iniquitous rent rolls. The Government in consequence of its present action had been inevitably driven to declare the conduct of the Irish tenants to be illegal, but it was not necessarily and consciously dishonest. He said that in the face of Lord Salisbury, and he would not hesitate to say it in another place. He sincerely pitied the man who could stigmatize these starving people as thieves or embezzlers, and tell them, 'Take your choice; you have freedom of contract; pay or go.' To evict these men, on the grounds of contract, in the name of law and honesty, to use police and military to evict them from their hovels and to leave them starving and cursing by the roadside, was iniquitous. He knew of nothing that any Land League had ever preached so atrociously wicked and insane. The present would, in his opinion, be the very last of the foolish experiments in Coercion, and with it Coercion would vanish for ever."

Nor are Protestant clergymen in England silent either. The Rev. John Urquhart, of Weston-super-Mare, boldly denounces Irish evictions as "legalised murder," in a pamphlet of which 20,000 copies have been sold during the present year. He observes:—

"Evictions still go on. One hundred and ten families, numbering 700 persons, have just been evicted at, and around, Carraroe, Galway, [on the property of an absentee landlord]. These people are actually dying of starvation, and yet the forces of the Crown are sent to burn down their miserable houses because they cannot pay impossible rents. Similar scenes occur weekly. It seems utterly incredible that this system of *legalised murder* could be persisted in by beings claiming to be human. But month after month, year after year it went on. It went on, too, under the very eyes of a well-informed British Government, and no restraint was laid upon it. Would this have been possible under any system of Home Rule? Could any Irish Parliament have sat amid those wholesale evictions, and not found some help for the people? With that awful cry in their ears could they have sat on and done nothing? It would have been impossible. It needed distance and ignorance to complete the misery and destruction of a people whom God's hand had stricken, and whom in their misery men ruthlessly crushed. And yet to those very men we are asked to continue the power they have so fearfully abused, and to enable them to abuse it still longer by twenty years' 'resolute and consistent government'—by

twenty years, that is to say, of the same terrible oppression." (*The Story of Ireland*. Mack, London, 1886.)

There is an impressive passage in the writings of an author of acknowledged authority whom I have already quoted, as regards one result of the eviction campaign which is of serious import for England. Professor Cairnes, who (at the time of his death), in 1875, was, according to Mr. Leslie Stephen, "undoubtedly at the head of living political economists," thus closes his observations on the subject in his *Fragments on Ireland*:—

"Not a few public writers feel much difficulty in accounting for the persistent hatred manifested by a portion of the Irish people for the English name. Such a state of feeling is regarded as incomprehensible, in presence of the many and great benefits conferred on their country by modern legislation, and of the good disposition which is known to animate most English statesmen; and, as generally happens, in like cases, the phenomenon is commonly referred to some ineradicable vice or flaw in the Celtic character. It might help those writers to a solution of their difficulty, if they would reflect on the condition of mind in which the victims of the violent expulsions just described must have crossed the Atlantic. Is it strange if, in after years, the picture of the sheriff and his *posse*, with crowbar and torch, and the smoking ruins of their hovels tumbling to pieces over their heads,—if the nights spent in the ditch by the wayside, and all the wretchedness of the tramp to the port,—if these things should find a more permanent place in their imagination than the advantages of Catholic Emancipation, Corporate Reform, the National Schools, or the Encumbered Estates Court? Men leaving their country full of such bitter recollections would naturally not be forward to disseminate the most amiable ideas respecting Irish landlordism *and the power which upholds it*. I own I cannot wonder that a thirst for revenge should spring from such calamities; that hatred, even undying hatred, for what they could not but regard as the cause and symbol of their misfortunes—English rule in Ireland—should possess the sufferers; that it should grow into a passion, into a religion, to be preached with fanatic zeal to their kindred, and bequeathed to posterity—perhaps not the less effectually that it happened to be their only legacy. The disaffection now so widely diffused throughout Ireland may possibly in some degree be fed from historical traditions, and have its remote origin in the confiscations of the seventeenth century; but all that gives it energy, all that renders it dangerous, may, I believe, be traced to exasperation produced by recent transactions, and more especially to the bitter memories left by that most flagrant abuse of the rights of property, and most scandalous disregard of the claims of humanity—the wholesale clearances of the period following the famine." (*Political Essays*, pp. 197-8.)

In proof of the fact that the "devilish enginery" (to use a

newly-coined phrase of Mr. Gladstone) of the eviction war still proceeds gaily in Ireland, A.D. 1887, while we are yet in the enjoyment of our Christmas festivities here in England, I close this chapter with an extract from the Irish correspondence of the *Times*, of the 8th of January, in reference to a scene in the county of Kerry on the festival of the Epiphany :—

"This morning fifty police started from Killarney to carry out two evictions on the estate of a Mr. ——. . . . The scene of the evictions was at Cappagh, about eight miles from Killarney, at the foot of Mangerton Mountain, a wild and desolate district. . . . Patrick O'Leary, who was first evicted, has nine children, most of them of tender years. His wife carried a young baby in her arms. The scene was of an exceptionally distressing character. The mother and children cried piteously to be allowed to remain in their homestead, but the bailiffs said they were instructed by the agent, Mr. S. M. Hussey, not to permit them to stop there as caretakers. To add to the unpleasantness of the scene, the eviction was carried out under a heavy downpour of rain, and the children, all of whom were barefooted, sought shelter by the side of the ditch. The next tenant evicted was a man named Timothy Looney, and here also a scene somewhat similar to the previous one was witnessed. Looney has seven children, his wife, and his father, an old man eighty years of age, who had to be assisted on crutches out of the house. As they also would not be re-admitted as caretakers, they improvised shelter by the side of the ditch."

Under what different circumstances Christ "manifested" Himself to the O'Leary-Looney children sheltering in a ditch "under a heavy downpour of rain"—evicted outcasts—and the family circle of, say, the Prime Minister in their less uncomfortable quarters at Hatfield House on that eventful morning!

While these pages are going through the Press, the following further report of eviction scenes in Ireland appears in the *Times* of the 13th January :—

"Some very exciting eviction scenes were witnessed yesterday at Glenbeigh, County Kerry. The tenants are very poor and their farms exceedingly small. There are seventy tenants on the estate, against all of whom decrees have been obtained, and the total rental amounts to £1,600. Judge Curran recently tried to effect a settlement between the owners and the occupiers, all the arrears being forgiven on condition of one year's rent being paid. A few of the tenants agreed to this proposal, but the vast majority of them said they could not pay even a year's rent. The evicting party consisted of the sub-sheriff's deputy, four bailiffs, Mr. Roe, the agent, and six emergency bailiffs, protected by a force of about fifty policemen. Glenbeigh was reached at the earliest hour at which the law allows evictions to be carried out. The

farm of Reardon, of Droum, which lies in the heart of the wild glens some three miles beyond Glenbeigh, was selected for the starting point. The people, who were aware of the evictions, had collected in numbers, and followed the evicting party, without, however, indulging in any hostility. Reardon informed the agent that he was unable to pay Judge Curran's stipulation, and received the reply that his house would be burnt down, *and so quickly was the threat put into execution that he was scarcely allowed time to get out his furniture when a match was put to the roof.* As the door was being removed by one of the family a bailiff began to hack it with his hatchet. While the flames roared the agent stood by and looked on, while his staff attacked the walls with their crowbars and only ceased when all was demolished. The tenant's rent is £4 10s., his valuation £2 17s. He has eight in family and has no stock. The holding of Thomas Burke, of Droum, was then proceeded to. The rent in this case is £4 19s., and the valuation £3; there is a family of six. The bailiff tried to set the roof on fire, but the thatch, or rather surface soil, with which it was covered would not ignite with all their efforts. The agent then ordered the house to be pulled down, and the bailiffs at once attacked the walls with crowbars, and at length laid every stone of it level. The scene was a sad one. *The inmates of the house were half-naked, and emaciated by hunger.* In the next case the holding was a joint one, the tenants being Patrick Diggin and Thomas Diggin. The former had eight in family and the latter ten. The judicial rent is £8, having been reduced from £12, and the valuation £5 15s. There were four cows [commonly worth about 30s. each in those parts] on the entire place. The match was again put to the roof, and no sooner had this been done than the sheriff's representative drove off and left the agent looking at the conflagration from the body of the police. Patrick Diggin, an old man of eighty, taking his little grandchild in his arms, wandered up the glen aimlessly. His wife, unnoticed in the excitement, lay swooning on the ground. Roar after roar of indignation went up from the crowd, and the position seemed very threatening, when Mr. Harrington, M.P., appeared on the scene. The police seemed affected, and many of them eagerly came forward to subscribe to a sum which a sergeant was collecting for the benefit of the poor evicted people. All along the agent stood watching, and was proceeding to get up on his car when the roof had fallen in."

"The evictions are to be continued for some days," the *Times* correspondent adds. Meanwhile, if the reader will turn to p. 50, wherein Captain Kennedy officially reports those similar scenes of barbarity, which so much shocked Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in their day, he will see what little improvement has taken place in our government of Ireland during the intervening period of forty years, and understand more fully, perhaps, why our Irish fellow-subjects want Home Rule.

Chapter VII.

HOW OUTRAGES AND DISCONTENT ORIGINATE.

"*We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of these outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people, and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live.*"—Macaulay.

The misery of the Irish people naturally led, as it always leads, to crime and outrage; and various illegal secret combinations, such as the Whiteboy and kindred organisations, spread amongst them. Speaking of the rising of the "Right Boys" in Cork and Kerry, in 1787, the Attorney-General, Mr. Fitzgibbon, declared, in a debate in the Irish House of Commons, it was owing solely to the cruelty of the landlords, and that "the peasantry of Munster, bound to pay £6 an acre rent, and to work for their landlords at 5d. a day, could no longer exist under the wretchedness they endured."

Mr. Justice Fletcher, in his charge to the Grand Jury of the County of Waterford, in July, 1814, said:—

"What is the wretched peasant to do? Hunted from the spot where he had first drawn his breath—where he had first seen the light of Heaven—incapable of procuring any other means of subsistence—can we be surprised that, being of unenlightened and uneducated habits [*education having been denied him by the Penal Code*], he should rush upon the perpetration of crimes followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet? Nothing remains for peasants thus harassed, thus destitute, but with a strong hand to deter the stranger from intruding upon their farms, and to extort from the weakness of their landlords—from whose gratitude and good feelings they have failed to win it—a sort of preference for the ancient tenantry."

Said Sydney Smith, sixty years ago:—

"The mild and the long-suffering may suffer for ever in this world.

If the Catholics had stood with their hands before them, simpering at the Earls of Liverpool and the Lords Bathurst of the time, they would not have been emancipated until the year of our Lord four thousand. As long as the patient will suffer the cruel will kick. . . . If the Irish go on withholding and forbearing, and hesitating whether this is the time for discussion or that is the time, they will be laughed at for another century as fools, and kicked for another century as slaves (*Works*, Longman's Edition, p. 555.)

Mr. Binn, an English Assistant-Commissioner of Agriculture in his *Miseries and Beauties of Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 414-19 declared that:—

"The wrongs which the Irish tenants have endured would have justified a course of conduct incomparably more violent than any which Ireland, in her wildest moments, in her fiercest paroxysms of excitement, has displayed. . . . It cannot certainly be denied that, systematically and wickedly oppressed as the Irish labourers are, to rise in self-defence is at least a natural course of proceeding, however fearful in its consequences."

Lord Melbourne observed, on the 18th March, 1831, that all the witnesses, Catholic and Protestant, magistrates and others, who were examined before the various Select Committees with reference to Ireland, had with one voice ascribed the disturbed state of the country to the relations subsisting between landlord and tenant. And when Chief Secretary for Ireland, the same statesman gave utterance to a judgment on one victim of assassination amongst the landlords, which, observes the author of *Young Ireland*, might stand for many of his class, as follows. He wrote:—

"If one half of what is told of him be true—and it comes from many different quarters—if he had forty-thousand lives, there would be no wonder if they had all been taken." (*Torrens's Life of Lord Melbourne*, Vol. I., p. 288.)

This reminds one of the savage saying of Lord Chesterfield, sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, referring to the Whiteboys, and an earlier period, which the English Protestant historian Walpole says was sadly too near the truth. Having first ascribed Whiteboyism "to the sentiment in every human breast that asserts man's natural right of liberty and good usage, and that will and ought to rebel when oppressed and provoked to a certain degree," . . . he declared:—

"If the military force had killed half as many landlords as it had Whiteboys [whom they had driven into revolt], it would have contri-

buted more effectually to restore quiet. For the poor people in Ireland," Lord Chesterfield added, "are worse used than negroes by their masters." (*Kingdom of Ireland*, p. 379.)

What the unhappy Irish people must have suffered in the past from the officials who, under the name of magistrates, were too often placed over them, may be imagined from the comments of contemporary historians. For instance, Wakefield, an Englishman, thus writes on the subject:—

"When insurrections take place in Ireland the whole blame is attributed to the people, although they most commonly occur from the corruption or the neglect of the magistracy. It is seldom, however, that the hand of justice is raised to punish *them* for their misconduct. The accounts of disturbances never reach my ears from Ireland, without exciting a wish that an inquiry might be instituted into the manner in which magistrates conduct themselves on such occasions." (*Wakefield's Account*, II., 338.)

Again, in Cobbett's *Parliamentary Debates*, IX., 993, Lord Kingstown is reported to have said:—

"The magistrates in the County of Sligo were the real promoters of disturbances. The conduct of many of them was such as to disgrace the magistracy, *and some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made magistrates.*"

Finally, Mr. Nassau Senior, another Englishman, writing as late as 1862, reports the following conversation he had held with a certain S—— on the subject:—

"'Do you believe,' I said, 'R——'s [meaning Lord Rosse's] description of a portion of the magistracy to be accurate?"—'I do,' he answered; 'I believe that in some parts of the adjacent counties [*i.e.*, in the very centre of Ireland] they are as bad as can be. I believe that if they had the absolute control of the police, not only would they make corrupt appointments; not only would they employ the police for their own purposes; *but they would sometimes use them to get up accusations against their enemies.*'" (*Journals and Essays*, II, 253.)

In 1838, when Mr. Drummond was Secretary for Ireland, in a public letter he used these words:—

"When the character of the great majority of serious outrages occurring in many parts of Ireland is considered, it is impossible to doubt that the causes from which they mainly spring are connected with the tenure and occupation of land." And then he adds a sentence which ought to be engraved on every landlord's heart:—"*Property has its duties as well as its rights.* . . . To the neglect of those duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in

which such crimes take their rise; and it is not in the enactment or enforcement of statutes of extraordinary severity, but chiefly in the better and more faithful performance of those duties, and the more enlightened and humane exercise of those rights, that a permanent remedy for such disorders is to be sought."

This letter was suppressed by the landlords of Tipperary, to whom it was specially addressed, because they thought it a dangerous one!

Speaking in 1846, after the Devon Commission sent in its Report, Lord John Russell said:—

"However ignorant many of us may be of the state of Ireland we have here (in the Devon Report) the best evidence that can be procured—the evidence of persons best acquainted with that country—of magistrates of many years' standing, of farmers, of those who have been employed by the Crown; and all tell you that the possession of land is that which makes the difference between existing and starving amongst the peasantry, and that, therefore, *ejections out of their holdings are the cause of violence and crime in Ireland.* In fact, it is no other than the cause which the great master of human nature describes when he makes a tempter suggest it as a reason to violate the law: 'Famine is in thy cheeks, need and oppression starveth in thine eyes, upon thy back hangs ragged misery. The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law; the world affords no law to make thee rich. Then be not poor, but break it.'" (*Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. LXXXVII., p. 507, 1846.)

Referring to the outrages to which the people were driven by this perennial destitution and legalised system of oppression, Mr. Bright thus spoke in 1849:—

"The first thing that ever called my attention to the state of Ireland was the reading an account of one of these outrages. I thought of it for a moment, but the truth struck me at once, and all I have ever seen since confirms it. When law refuses its duty—when Government denies the right of the people—when competition is so fierce for the little land which the monopolists grant to cultivation in Ireland, when, in fact, millions are scrambling for the potato—these people are driven back from law, and from the usages of civilisation, to that which is termed the law of nature, and if not the strongest, the laws of the vindictive; and in this case the people of Ireland believe, *to my certain knowledge*, that it is only by these acts of vengeance, periodically committed, that they can hold in suspense the arm of the proprietor, of the landlord, and the agent, who, in too many cases, *would, if he dared, exterminate them.* Don't let us disguise it from ourselves, there is a war between landlord and tenant—a war as fierce and relentless as though it were carried on by force of arms."

Again, in 1852, Mr. Bright said:—

"It was in the eternal decrees of Providence that so long as the population of a country were prevented from the possibility of possessing any portion of their native soil by legal enactments and legal chicanery, these outrages should be committed, were they but as beacons and warnings to call the legislature to a sense of the duties it owed to the country which it governed."

And once more, in 1869, giving expression, it may be presumed, to his own feelings of indignation on the subject, Mr. Bright declared to his constituents, that were Ireland removed one thousand miles westward into the Atlantic, the Irish proprietors would, almost one and all, be hurled into the ocean in a day. (*Collected Addresses.*)

Speaking before the Statistical Society, in Dublin, May, 1864, Mr. Serjeant Heron (who became, in 1881, a prosecuting counsel in *The Queen* v. *Parnell and Others*) said:—

"Under the present laws, no Irish peasant able to read and write ought to remain in Ireland. If Ireland were an independent country, in the present state of things, there would be a bloody insurrection in every county, and the peasantry would ultimately obtain the property in land, as they have obtained it in Switzerland and in France."

Mr. Gladstone in a speech on the state of Ireland, 16th March, 1868, thus delivered himself:—

"It is impossible to express the satisfaction with which we may now say that it was nothing but the extremity of want and misery which led to those outrages, prompted by what Mr. O'Connell called 'the wild justice of revenge,' which so long formed the scandal of Ireland. Immediately the sharp sting of want is either removed or rendered less pungent in its application, the Irish people, by their immunity from vice, attract the admiration of this country."

Mr. Goldwin Smith palliates agrarian outrages in a memorable sentence:—

"Has property in land, according to the English system," he says, "presented itself [to the Irish peasants] in the form of security, independence, domestic happiness, dignity, and hope? Has it not rather presented itself in the form of insecurity, degradation, and despair? It would be too much to say that modern Irish agrarianism is the direct offspring of primitive Irish institutions; but it is not too much to say that even modern agrarianism *is rather the offspring of a barbarism prolonged by unhappy circumstances and bad government* than by anything more deserving of unqualified indignation." Again he says, "It is safe to observe that no inherent want of respect for property is shown by the Irish people if a proprietorship which had its origin

within historical memory, in flagrant wrong, is less sacred in their eyes than it would be if it had its origin in immemorial right." (*Irish History and Irish Character*, pp. 21, 101.)

Even the *Times* finds something of extenuation in the circumstances of Irish agrarian outrages:—

"What, we ask, are likely to be the feelings of a man cast into the road, with his wife and wailing children around him, without shelter, without food, without hope? Burning indignation is in his heart—ignorant, and mad with desperate recklessness, he turns in his anger on the direct instrument of his misery. . . . Revenge weaves itself a fatal web of sophistry, and eagerly listens to any suggestion which gives to the gratification of its passion and hate, the character of the wild justice which was long since declared to be the slave's sole protection." (*Times*, May 30th, 1850.)

Most English readers are acquainted with *Realities of Irish Life*, which created no slight sensation some years back. The late Mr. W. S. Trench, the author, an extensive land agent, belonged to what is called the "Realistic School"; but his romances were not nearly so much of a reality as his conversations, in 1862, with Mr. Nassau Senior, the late well-known English political economist, which are duly tabulated in that gentleman's "Journals." That evictions—"felonious acts," as Lord Clarendon, sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, designated them—are the principal cause of agrarian disturbances, may be seen very clearly from Mr. Trench's confessions on the subject. After stating that he had himself been the object of conspiracies for a period of twenty years, he adds:—

"And yet I deny that the Irish are a sanguinary people. There are ten times as many murders committed in England as there are in Ireland. I never take up an English newspaper in which I do not find murder after murder, heading a column. . . . The English ruffian murders for money. . . . The Irishman murders patriotically. He murders to assert and enforce a principle—that the land which the peasant has reclaimed from the bog, the cabin which he has built, and the trees that he has planted, are his own, subject to the landlord's right, by law, to exact a rent for the results of another man's labour. In general he pays the rent; generally he exerts himself to pay it, even when payment is difficult to him. But he resolves not to be dispossessed. He joins a Ribbon lodge, and opposes to the combinations of the rich the combinations of the poor. . . . If I had been born an Irish peasant, and had been brought up in the ignorance and in the prejudices of an Irish peasant, or taught as he has been, I should, probably, have been a Ribbonman myself." (*Senior Journals*, Vol. II., pp. 220-3.)

It must be understood that Mr. Trench was a man of English rather than Irish sympathies, and altogether an earnest friend of the English connection. He must have been goaded into those invidious remarks in respect to English crime by some inconsequential retort, not printed, by Mr. Senior, who, conjointly with Archbishop Whateley,* was never tired of spinning politico-economical theories with anybody who had the patience to listen to him: which, if reduced to practice—a thing not humanly possible—must have resulted in the starvation or expatriation of another million or two of Irish peasants. For the facts Mr. Trench was, unhappily, too well justified, as a reference to the Blue Book of Criminal Statistics of England and Wales for 1885, lately issued, painfully exhibits in hideous detail. At the end of last year, for instance, there were 15,457 known thieves and depredators in England, 1,170 receivers of stolen goods, and 18,599 suspected persons. It shows further that 43,962 indictable offences were committed during the year, and that 19,207 persons only were apprehended in connection with them, a state of things which shows that sympathy with criminals, if it is to be judged as in Ireland, by the number of unpunished crimes, prevails in England as in other countries. In the year 1885 there were 136 murders in England, 49 attempts to murder, 652 cases of shooting at, wounding, stabbing, &c.; 269 cases of manslaughter, 156 unnatural offences, 290 cases of rape, 569 unsuccessful indecent assaults, 633 other assaults, 3,169 burglaries, 2,302 attempts at burglaries, 373 cases of robbery with violence, 276 cases of horse stealing, 181 of sheep stealing, and 27,797 larcenies—all of which make up a catalogue of horrors which Ireland—where the vast

* Archbishop Trench, Whateley's successor in the Protestant See of Dublin, was a man cast in an altogether different mould. It was an ostentatious boast of Whateley that he never gave a penny to a beggar in his life, and he justified himself on the grounds of political economy; thus degrading a noble science with the meanest of associations. It is this unevangelical doctrine which makes Mr. John Ruskin fear, he says, when giving a shilling to a starving wretch in the street, lest some one of the Senior-Whateley school should be watching him round the corner. Trench, on the other hand, behaved nobly during the distressed period of 1879-80, attending daily at the Dublin Mansion House, though crippled by age and infirmity, to assist the Relief Committee of the Lord Mayor (Mr. Dwyer Gray, M.P.) in staving off many thousands of deaths by famine and pestilence. Later on, when the agrarian agitation began to grow in intensity, the present writer called one day to visit the Archbishop, who was reported to be suffering rather severely in his own pocket by the rent war. Not a word of complaint escaped his lips on the subject notwithstanding; on the contrary, he spoke with impressive sympathy and gentleness of the unhappy condition of the Irish peasantry.

majority of criminal offences are purely agrarian in their character—could scarcely hope to emulate.*

Singularly enough, the same retort occurred to Sir John Davies, an Englishman, who was Attorney-General in Ireland in the reign of James I. It is not unreasonable to suppose he was addressing his remarks to some prototype of Mr. Nassau Senior in his own day:—

"I dare affirm that in the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death, in all the six circuits of this realm, which is now divided into thirty-two shires at large, as in one circuit of six shires, namely, the western circuit in England! For the truth is, that, in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever." (*Davies*, p. 200.)

And Mr. J. H. Tuke has a similar observation to make also, in his *Donegal and Connaught in 1880*:—

"It cannot be doubted," he says, "that the bitter cry of distress, the political unrest and discord, the angry, defiant menace, the murderer's uplifted arm,—all spring from one and the same source. And that the source is poverty; poverty springing from want of employment; a want of employment arising from the undeveloped resources of the country." . . . As regards ordinary crime, Mr. Tuke proceeds, it is "less frequent [in Connaught] than in England, and as readily published." . . . "To nine-tenths of the population of Connaught the possession of a bit of land is the sole means of existence. Of manufacture there is none; and (the majority of farms being too small to need hired labour) of agricultural labour there is very little. Take away from the tenant his little holding, and nothing is left to him but the workhouse. Except in some of the towns there is not even an unoccupied house which a man could hire if he obtained work apart from his holding. Hence the tenacity with which the holding is retained and defended. They are like shipwrecked sailors on a plank in the ocean; deprive them of the few inches by which they 'hold on,' and you deprive them of life. Deprive an Irishman of the few feet of land by which he 'holds on,' and you deprive him of all that makes life possible. For the workhouse—distasteful enough to an English labourer—

* If merely the coping of a wall be thrown down in Ireland, the incident is carefully telegraphed by the ubiquitous "Our Correspondent" as *an agrarian outrage*. Under the head of "Malicious Offences and Wilful Damage" in England and Wales, the same Blue Book reports as follows:—

Destroying Fences, Walls, and Gates	2,903
,, Fruit and Vegetable Productions	1,416
,, Trees and Shrubs	1,666
Other Offences	16,683

In the same year there were no less than 12,563 *aggravated assaults* committed on peace-officers.

is simply unendurable to an Irish peasant. That this is no mere sentiment is often impressed upon the visitor who enters the cabins of the people, where it is so common to find some infirm or aged person dependent on the kindness of the family for the miserable subsistence he obtains, and who in England would, without doubt, have been sent to the workhouse long before. Who would wish to lessen this kindly feeling, or break down the almost insurmountable repugnance to the workhouse?" (pp. 94-8.)

Mr. Tuke does not state why the workhouse is "unendurable" to the Irish peasant. It is highly desirable the English reader should understand it. In looking over the returns of the Irish Registrar-General for 1885, which are very voluminous, it seems that half the illegitimate births occur in workhouses. In some poor-law unions, such as Mullingar, there was not a single illegitimate birth in 1885, except in the division marked "W.," which stands for workhouse.

Here we might take a peep into the looking-glass, and ask ourselves whether there is any parish—not to speak of a poor-law union, composed of many parishes—in Great Britain of which the same thing can be said. Except in parts of Antrim, where, on the showing of the Irish Registrar-General, collated by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Orangeism and bastardy go together, you can pick out the workhouses by glancing down the columns and taking the largest figures. As teachers of immorality, workhouses are a curse to Ireland. Poor women and girls, when forced by direst poverty to enter within their walls, are obliged by law to associate with the lowest of their sex who are to be found there. There are no women in the world more to be pitied than those who lose their virtue in the greater part of Ireland. The family they disgrace cast them out utterly. No matter what may be their repentance, there is for them no forgiveness. A return home, if once they have left it, is almost impossible. Hence, when the Irish peasant is evicted, and has no alternative but the workhouse, apprehensions of moral ruin often goad him to fury, when he looks into the innocent faces of his little ones. The tempter appears to him in the guise of an avenger, and he, weakly yielding, forthwith agrees to slay his oppressor. The *Times* recognised this fact long ago, since, in 1850, it declared a "judgment of eviction" to be a "judgment of death"; the tenant's only alternative being "the workhouse or the grave."

There is a view of Irish agrarian crime, held by many eminent writers on Irish subjects, to which expression is given in the following passages from the writings of Mr. Lecky. It is well deserving the consideration of English readers. The historian observes:—

"In modern times, concerning which alone we can speak with confidence, infanticide, desertion, wife murder, and other crimes indicating a low state of domestic morality have been much rarer among the Irish poor than among the corresponding classes in England. . . . A proneness to crimes of combination has been one of the worst and most distinctive evils of modern Irish life. But that proneness has been nowhere more conspicuous than in counties where the inhabitants are chiefly descended from Englishmen; it has not been a characteristic of other Celtic nations; and it is a curiously significant fact that it has never been shown among the great masses of Irishmen who are congregated in England, the United States, and the Colonies, though in other respects their moral character has often deteriorated." (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 315-82.)

The fact is also noticed by Sir Cornwall Lewis, in his *Irish Disturbances;* and Mr. Pike has collected evidence to show that long after the Norman invasion, agrarian crimes of combination, directed by the Saxons against the ascendant race, were quite as prevalent in England as they have ever been in Ireland. (*History of Crime in England*, Vol. I., pp. 62-4.)

Mr. (now Sir George) Trevelyan, Chief Secretary for Ireland, speaking in the House of Commons in 1882, observed as follows:—

"I only put into other words what was said by the right hon. member for Bradford [Mr. Forster] when I say that the sudden rise in Irish agrarian crime which took place in 1879-80 was connected with the discontent which was fostered in an atmosphere of misery. There were some parts of the country where the people could not pay their rents. They could not keep body and soul together without charitable assistance, and the helplessness and despair of these people gave the first material thirst for agitation." (*Hansard*, Vol. CCLXIX., pp. 1327-8.)

Lord Hartington, speaking at Accrington, December 1st, 1883, used these words:—

"Lawless agitation was brought prominently forward, but had there been nothing in Ireland in the past two or three years but lawless agitation? Were there no grievances, no confiscation of the tenants' improvements, no evictions for impossible rents? Was there no general opinion, not only amongst the disaffected as well as the most respectable classes in Ireland, that judicial interference in some-

shape was required to settle the relations between the landlords and tenants? The evidence of this opinion did not rest only on the report of Lord Bessborough's Commission, but on the report of the Agricultural Commission, the Duke of Richmond's Commission, and on the opinion of almost every person entitled to speak with authority on the affairs of Ireland."

Writing in a Dublin newspaper in May last, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, of Egyptian fame, observes as follows:—

"The district of North Kerry has acquired a bad reputation for lawlessness, on account of the moonlighting near Castleisland. I have recently been to Castleisland, and am convinced that *the whole of the trouble there arises from cruel evictions*, precisely similar to those now going on at Listowel, in past years. Already the peasant farmers are again in an angry state. Men, turned out of their houses and without employment, are discussing their wrongs; and if in a few weeks we hear of outrages renewed in Kerry, whose fault will it be? . . . The English public will cry out once more that the Irish people are lawless and unfit for self-government. But I undertake to say, that if a tithe of the injustice now going on in Ireland were to be ventured on by the landlords in England, we should soon witness before Christmas a general 'Jacquerie.'"

Here is one more eloquent passage from the speeches of Mr. Gladstone:—

"In the varied incidents of social life there are unhappily many marriages which are barren, and many families which die out; but there is one marriage that is never without issue. When oppression on the one hand is married to misery on the other, then there springs from the union a fatal and a hideous progeny of crime; and that crime is endowed with a vitality that prepetuates itself, and hands on the baleful and miserable inheritance from generation to generation. That is the case of absenteeism in Ireland—that is the case of the rooted tendency to crime which springs from causes most disgraceful to those who were charged with the government of Ireland and the care of its population—most disgraceful to them, and most perplexing and embarrassing to us." (*Irish Speeches*, p. 80.)

"The number of offences against property with violence seems to vary in each year with the extent of distress prevailing in the country," said Dr. Neilson Hancock, Government Statistician, in his Report for 1868; thus connecting outrages with destitution; which is, in turn, the natural outcome of eviction and other systems of oppression. And the London *Echo*, going into the matter a little more in detail, in its issue of the 3rd December, 1886, observes as follows:—

"The startling increase in agrarian crime in Kerry, an increase to which Chief Justice Morris drew attention yesterday, supports the opinion, so stoutly contested by many, of the close connection between outrages and evictions. There are no fewer than between 150 and 160 cases on the calendar from Kerry alone, and these are but a small proportion of the number of crimes reported to the police. Yet the number of outrages which the police have been able to fasten upon particular individuals is nearly as many as the total number reported to them for the whole of Munster in the quarter ended June. Now it is well known that the Crowbar-brigade has been more active in Kerry during the past few months than at any time since 1881, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that to this increase in evictions is to be attributed in the main the increase in outrages. It has always been so. In 1850 the evictions numbered 104,163, the outrages 1,362; in 1852 the evictions had fallen to 43,494, the outrages to 913. In 1879 the evictions were 4,515, the outrages 870; in 1881 the evictions had increased to 17,341, the outrages to 4,439. Taking the last forty years, the fewest number of agrarian outrages reported in any one year was eighty-six, in 1866, and in that year the evictions were fewer than in any preceding year, being only 3,571. So with Kerry. The evictions, which were comparatively few in the beginning of the year, have been steadily, and of late rapidly, increasing. For a time the increase in the number of outrages was not proportionate, but that may be attributed in some degree to exceptional causes which no longer operate, and once again we find evictions and outrages increasing *pari passu*."

Perhaps it is right to add that numerous additional witnesses might be quoted to connect agrarian crime with misery and oppression—with bad laws badly administered—as, for instance, Lord Granard, Major Warburton, Dr. Campbell, Mr. Wiggins, Mr. Barrington, Colonel Shaw Kennedy, Sergeant. Howley, Mr. Piers Gale, Mr. Kemmis, Mr. Tompkins Brew, Mr. Tabiteau, Lord Powerscourt, Judge Moore, Mr. Sylvanus Jones, Mr. Barnes, &c.,—all of whom were either landlords, land agents, judges, magistrates, or other persons in responsible positions, and nearly all of whom gave explicit evidence on the subject before English Parliamentary Committees. But it is simply impossible to find room for more than the bare mention of the fact within the limits of a publication of this kind. Enough, however, has been put in evidence, it is hoped, to convince candid minds that Irish agrarian outrages have their origin in oppression and misgovernment.

CHAPTER VIII.

COERCION.

"By Coercion we may goad Ireland on to fury; but by Coercion we shall never break her spirit."—BROUGHAM.

This policy of Coercion has been one of the great distinguishing facts in the history of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. It has been carried out almost without intermission since 1800. The Acts of Parliament embodying this policy have been called by various titles, many of them seemingly harmless; but whatever the title, every one of the Acts referred to suspended in one respect or another, and for varying periods, the ordinary law and the operation of one or more of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, under the pretext of putting down crime but in reality to maintain a shameful system of misgovernment. These Coercion enactments, in fact, have been so numerous, and have been in force so continuously for the last eighty-five years in Ireland, that for that period what is called the "ordinary law" has been the exception in that country, and extraordinary legislation utterly subversive of the ordinary law has been the rule. That is to say, "maintaining the undisputed supremacy of the law" has meant in the course of the last *eighty-five years* the passing of *eighty-six Coercion Acts*, either new or continuations of old ones; the existence, almost continuously, ever since the first year of the Union, of one or two Coercion codes which, as we shall see, outrage the most cherished principles of public and personal liberty; the all but complete and continuous supersession during that period of the ordinary law, as it is known in England and Scotland.

The following is a list of the various Coercion Acts in force in Ireland between 1800 and 1886, compiled from Mr. T. P. O'Connor's recently published volume, *The Parnell Movement*, and from a

pamphlet published a few years since by Mr. I. S. Leadam, an English writer :—

1800 to 1805 Habeas Corpus Suspension. Seven Coercion Acts.
1807 1st February, Coercion Act. Habeas Corpus Suspension. 2nd August, Insurrection Act.
1808-9 Habeas Corpus Suspension.
1814 to 1816 Habeas Corpus Suspension. Insurrection Act.
1817 Habeas Corpus Suspension. One Coercion Act.
1822 to 1830 Habeas Corpus Suspension. Two Coercion Acts in 1822 and one in 1823.
1830 Importation of Arms Act.
1831 Whiteboy Act.
1831 Stanley's Arms Act.
1832 Arms and Gunpowder Act.
1833 Suppression of Disturbance.
1833 Change of Venue Act.
1834 Disturbances Amendment and Continuance.
1834 Arms and Gunpowder Act.
1835 Public Peace Act.
1836 Another Arms Act.
1838 Another Arms Act.
1839 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1840 Another Arms Act.
1841 Outrages Act.
1841 Another Arms Act.
1843 Another Arms Act.
1843 Act Consolidating all Previous Coercion Acts.
1844 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1845 Additional Constables near Public Works Act.
1845 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1846 Constabulary Enlargement.
1847 Crime and Outrage Act.
1848 Treason Amendment Act.
1848 Removal of Arms Act.
1848 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1848 Another Oaths Act.
1849 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1850 Crime and Outrage Act.
1851 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1853 Crime and Outrage Act.
1854 Crime and Outrage Act.
1855 Crime and Outrage Act.
1856 Peace Preservation Act.
1858 Peace Preservation Act.
1860 Peace Preservation Act.
1862 Peace Preservation Act.
1862 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1865 Peace Preservation Act.
1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act (August).
1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1867 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1868 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1870 Peace Preservation Act.
1871 Protection of Life and Property
1871 Peace Preservation Con.
1873 Peace Preservation Act.
1875 Peace Preservation Act.
1875 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1881 to 1882 Peace Preservation Act (suspending Habeas Corpus).
1881 to 1886 Arms Act.
1882 to 1885 Crimes Act.
1886 to 1887 Arms Act.

The following were some of the penalties prescribed by the Act of 1843 for the violation of certain of its provisions :—

The police could search any house, pointed out to them as suspected by a magistrate, at any hour of the day or night.

To give an inexact answer to a policeman questioning you concerning your having arms, or as to any circumstances connected with such fact, was an offence open to certain punishment.

To be possessed of a lance or a pike, or any other instrument capable of being turned to the same purpose, was a crime punish-

able with seven years' transportation. Smiths were subject to these laws, both with respect to the making and keeping of any such arms.

By way of climax: If arms were found in a house or any of its dependencies, outhouses, poultry-yard, &c., the occupant was to be found guilty, unless he could prove they were there without his knowledge—the most elementary principles of law current among civilised nations being reversed in this case.

A very ingenious parallel has been drawn between these laws and those dictated by the political shrewdness of the Philistines, when masters of Israel. "Now, there was no smith to be found in all the land of Israel; for the Philistines had taken this precaution, lest the Hebrews should make them swords or spears. So all Israel went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his ploughshare, and his spade, and his axe, and his rake. So that their shares, and their spades, and their forks, and their axes were blunt, even to the goad, which was to be mended."

Here are a few articles of a Bill laid on the table of the House in 1846, *at the beginning of the great famine*, by Sir James Graham.

The contents of this Bill had force of law in the whole country, or district, "proclaimed" by the Lord Lieutenant; *i.e.*, where he suspended the ordinary course of the Constitution.

Every inhabitant of a proclaimed district found abroad an hour after sunset might be imprisoned, and kept in custody till his trial.

Any one convicted of the above offence was liable to fifteen years' transportation, unless he proved that he was abroad upon business allowed by the law; the police might enter any house from one hour after sunset, until after sunrise next morning.

In case of murder, pecuniary compensation was to be made to the relatives of the deceased: for this purpose a tax was levied upon the entire population of the locality, and the police might distrain for payment; the law protected with a Bill of indemnity whoever acted in virtue of this provision.

Would not many of these articles seem to have been taken literally from the ancient Saxon laws of Ethelred and Ina? It is to be remarked, however, that in these barbarous codes of the sixth and seventh centuries, it is the murderer who pays the "wehrgeld

to expiate his crime, and to requite the relations of the victim; but nowhere do we read that the inhabitants of a village, in which murder had been committed, were held responsible for it, and fell under the rigour of the law.

This Bill, brought in by the Tories, met with the stoutest opposition from the Whigs. "It is full time," was the noble language of the chiefs of the latter party, and particularly of Lord John Russell, and Earl Grey, "it is full time to have done with coercion; Ireland has been misgoverned: there have been too many Arms Acts and Curfew Acts: it is justice that is wanted now." It was during this debate (March, 1846) that Lord Grey reviewed the history of all the martial laws and exceptional measures in force in Ireland from the time of the Union; reminding the House how, in 1800, Habeas Corpus had been suspended under the action of a law "for the suppression of the rebellion,"—how that law had been put into force both in 1801, and again in 1804,—how it had been superseded in 1807 by the "Insurrection Act," in force until 1810,—how, revived in 1814, it had been enforced during the years 1815, 1816, 1817,—how, renewed in 1822, and sanctioned successively by the Parliaments of 1823, 1824, and 1825, it had, with only some slight modifications, been enforced in 1833 and 1834, and had ceased only in 1839. For eighty-six years the British Parliament has been legislating for Ireland. What has it accomplished, and by what means? The reply is by no means flattering. One of the very first conditions of national prosperity is in the undisturbed continuance of wise and righteous laws. This point cannot be better put than in the words of Earl Grey:—

"Do you suppose that men can embark in great enterprises of industry and commerce when they cannot venture outside their own houses after dusk unless at the risk of being transported? *Until you can establish security on some better foundation, and make it compatible with a return to the ordinary law and constitution, restricting the executive Government to its constitutional powers—till you can do that, you have done nothing.*"

In the House of Commons, Lord Brougham, when he was still Mr. Brougham, also denounced Coercion:—

"We are driving six millions of people to despair, to madness! . . . The greatest mockery of all—the most intolerable insult—the cause of peculiar exasperation—against which I chiefly caution the House, is the undertaking to cure the distress under which Ireland

labours by anything in the shape of new penal enactments. It is in these enactments alone that we have ever shown our liberality to Ireland! She has received Penal Laws from the hands of England almost as plentifully as she has received blessings from the hands of Providence! What have these laws done? Checked her turbulence, but not stifled it. The grievance remaining perpetually, the complaint can only be postponed. We may load her with chains, but in doing so we shall not better her condition. By coercion we may goad her on to fury, but by coercion we shall *never break her spirit.* She will rise up and break the fetters we impose, and arm herself for deadly violence with the fragments."(*Speeches*, Vol. IV.).

Lord John Russell was neither less explicit nor less energetic in his speech against the Tory proposition, but despite all this opposition, the Bill passed. Some months later the Whigs were in power, with Lord John Russell at their head; *and at the very outset of the Session they brought forward a new Coercion Bill*, as much like the others, it was observed, as the carabine of one constable is like the carabine of another. The time was past for upholding in both Houses "Liberal" maxims, and for invoking justice instead of violence.

Alas! how often have we not witnessed the same inconsistency, to use no stronger term, amongst eminent statesmen bidding for power in more recent times, when the happiness of the Irish people was at stake? The conquest of Ireland was begun in the twelfth century. To-day even that conquest is not definitely accomplished, and it would seem as though the victor feared that, at any moment, the prize might slip from his grasp. Hence the system of distrust and legal precaution, and those coercive measures which are subversive of the general principles of the British Constitution. Hence that contempt for common right, and the reign of exceptional legislation which brands a whole people with suspicion, and perpetually thrusts upon them the stigma of their composing a vanquished nation. It is said that the British Constitution is based upon trial by jury and the Habeas Corpus Act; but the foregoing list of Coercion Acts shows what becomes of these fundamental safeguards whenever State reasons interfere between the governors and the governed in Ireland. "The first of all laws," said the sanguinary and merciless St. Just, in a report of the Committee of Public Safety to the French National Convention, "is the preservation of the

Republic." And for an English Ministry, no matter of what party, the first and cardinal principle with regard to Ireland has been, *per fas aut nefas*, to maintain English rule there. Is it at any time necessary to gag the Press, or violate the sacredness of private correspondence passing through the post? The State reason permits not a moment's hesitation, though such a system is in flagrant contradiction of the traditions which govern political and social life in England and Scotland. In 1819 England was in a perilous condition; a revolt was projected here, and large bodies of men were drilled nightly in the use of arms. In this emergency an English Arms Act was introduced by Lord Castlereagh, who had served his apprenticeship in Ireland, but it was comprised in a single page, and inflicted no penalty for the possession of arms; whereas the stereotyped Arms Act employed in Ireland constituted an entire volume of elaborate coercion, rendering the Irishman liable to seven years' transportation for merely having arms found in his possession. Yet this mild English measure was vehemently denounced by Lord Grey in one House of Parliament, and by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham in the other. "Am I an Englishman?" the latter exclaimed; "I begin to doubt it when measures so abhorrent to the first principles of British liberty are audaciously propounded to us."

It is scarcely necessary to add, as the fact is still fresh in the public mind, that the last Coercion Act, of 1882, which expired in 1885, was, in many of its provisions, the most drastic measure of the kind which ever passed through Parliament. It has been described as the quintessence of the innumerable enactments of the same kind by which it was preceded. It contained, in one form or another, almost all the worst provisions of almost all the other Coercion Acts, with an additional provision for doing away with juries altogether, and making the members of the judicial bench act as jurymen as well as judges. This provision was so revolting to one judge—Mr. Baron Fitzgerald—that he is said to have resigned his office on the passing of the Act, rather than have to carry it out. The Coercion system, thus, instead of becoming milder with time, became in its latest development extremely harsh and stringent, and, in some respects, even more harsh and stringent than ever before; because the Crimes Act of 1882 brought into play, simultáneously, a number of coercionist

instruments which previously had not been provided for in any single statute.

It is painful to be obliged to record it here, but truth compels the record, that a statesman so eminent as Sir Robert Peel made use of the Insurrection Act of 1814, not only to put down crime, but also to put down the agitation for Catholic Emancipation. Under it the Catholic Board was suppressed, and the political meetings organised by it prevented; and similar use was made of similar Acts passed in 1825 and afterwards. In 1827 Peel declared solemnly in the House of Commons that nothing would induce him to assent to Roman Catholic Emancipation. In 1829 he proposed Emancipation. What was the cause of his sudden conversion? He made no secret of it. He began by enumerating the long list of Coercion Acts that had been passed since the Union; showed what a disastrous failure that policy had been; and then asked, "Shall this state of things continue without some decisive effort at a remedy? Can we remain as we are? Have I not established the first step in my argument, that our position is untenable?" Indeed, it is set forth in his *Memoirs*, by Lord Mahon, that, later, in reply to a remonstrance from a Protestant Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Jebb, he said:—"I can with truth affirm that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829, I was swayed by no fear, except the fear of public calamity." And even the Duke of Wellington, great soldier as he was, also formally declared at the time, that Catholic Emancipation was granted, not as a spontaneous homage to truth and justice, but simply as an expedient to avert civil war. Where was the grace of concession then, any more than in 1782 and 1793, when concessions were only made also on account of an intimate conviction of their absolute necessity, or "in order to prevent greater dangers," in the language of Sir Robert?

When Mr. Forster, demanding a fresh Coercion Act in the House of Commons in 1880, had exhausted his harrowing description of outrages upon animals, what was the dread total he had to bring of such cases before Parliament? "In 1880," he said, "the number of cases of maiming cattle amounted to 101." With similar reasonableness Sir Charles Dilke, in a speech made during the previous recess, had suggested the necessity of Coercion from the fact that in ten months of 1880 there had been forty-seven cases

of maiming or killing animals. Forty-seven outrages on animals in ten months, 101 in twelve—a small total to destroy a nation's liberties! Let us, if it were only for a moment, take a peep into the looking-glass. In 1876 there were in England 2,468 convictions for cruelty to animals; in 1877, 2,726; in 1878, 3,533. In the month of November of 1880, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was able to advertise 323 convictions, or more than three times the number of cases in all Ireland for the entire year. "If the liberties of England were at the mercy of an ignorant and hostile opinion in Ireland," observes the author of *The Parnell Movement*, not unreasonably, "one can well imagine how, by a judicious manipulation of these statistics, the habits of the English people might be falsely illustrated to the Irish people as those of a nation of savages and monsters."

Perhaps this chapter cannot be more fittingly concluded than by a passage from a speech made by Mr. Bright in the House of Commons, in January, 1868. Nineteen years ago there was an outbreak of Fenianism in Ireland, and the Government brought in a Coercion Bill, as a matter of course. Mr. Bright thus spoke in words of remarkable truth and almost prophetic power on the occasion:—

"There is no statesmanship merely in acts of force and acts of repression. And worse than that, I have not observed since I have been in Parliament anything on this Irish question that approaches to the dignity of statesmanship. There have been Acts for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, like that which we are now discussing; but there has been no statesmanship. Men, the most clumsy and brutal, can do these things; but we want men of higher temper—men of higher genius—men of higher patriotism, to deal with the affairs of Ireland." . . . . "All history teaches us that it is not in human nature that men should be content under any system of legislation and of institutions such as exist in Ireland. You may pass this Bill, you may put the Home Secretary's 500 men into gaol—you may do more than this, you may suppress the conspiracy and put down the insurrection—but the moment it is suppressed there will still remain the germs of this malady, and from those germs will grow up, as heretofore, another crop of insurrection, and another harvest of misfortune. And it may be that those who sit here eighteen years after this moment [in January, 1886] will find another Ministry and another Secretary of State ready to propose to you another administration of the same ever-failing and ever-poisonous remedies. I say there is a mode of making Ireland loyal. I say that the Parliament of England, having

abolished the Parliament of Ireland, is doubly bound to examine what that mode is, and, if it can discover it, to adopt it."

And then Mr. Bright proceeded thus, with a solemnity which was characteristic of him:—

"Take the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is there in any legislative assembly in the world a man, as the world judges, of more transcendent capacity? I will say even, is there a man with a more honest wish to do good to the country in which he occupies so conspicuous a place? Suppose it were possible for this man, with his intellect, with his far-reaching vision, to examine this question thoroughly and to say for once—whether this leads to office and to the miserable notoriety that men call fame which springs from office, or not—'If it be possible, we will act with loyalty to the Sovereign and justice to the people; and if it be possible, we will make Ireland a strength and not a weakness to the British Empire.'"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer to whom that appeal was addressed was until lately the Prime Minister of England. Surely, he, Mr. Gladstone, has, at length, responded to Mr. Bright's appeal.

CHAPTER IX.

EMIGRATION.

"*What you trample on in Europe will sting you in America.*"—GRATTAN.

Emigration—forced emigration too—dates a long way back. Cromwell, in order to get free of his enemies, for instance, did not scruple to transport 40,000 Irish from their own country, "to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their own valour," observes Dalrymple. (*Mem. Great Britain*, Vol. I., Part ii., p. 267.) Nor were those below the military age spared either. According to Petty (p. 187), 6,000 boys and women were also sent away, who are said by Lynch (*Cambrensis Eversus*) to have been sold for slaves. Broudin, quoted by Lingard, numbers the exiles at 100,000 altogether, and the latter historian quotes authority for the statement that, while the husbands were sent to Spain and Belgium, their wives and children were sent to the West Indies. (*Lingard*, Vol. X., p. 306.) Of those thus transported, it is said not a single one survived at the end of twenty years. In *Thurloe's Correspondence* (IV., 23-75), the formation of press-gangs to collect the male and female youth for transportation is even set forth at length. However, it is undesirable to revive these evil memories by further details.

The question of Emigration had engaged the attention of economists and statesmen long before the famine of 1846-47. Already as early as the year 1835 a Parliamentary Commission stated that in Ireland there were 2,380,000 persons liable to die of hunger. As the country was periodically visited by famine, it was only natural to inquire whether a service would not be rendered to humanity by multiplying the means of emigration; and meanwhile thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants, weary of a struggle against irremediable misery and interminable oppression, had already solved the question for themselves by fleeing

their unhappy country, to find a new home, and found a greater, more prosperous, and more powerful Ireland beyond the Atlantic.

During the fifteen years which preceded the famine of 1846-47 Ireland alone figured in the sum total of emigrants for more than 800,000, out of a total emigration from England, Scotland, and Ireland of 1,171,485. During the thirty years which elapsed between 1831 and 1861, of the total number of emigrants from the United Kingdom (4,645,247), she figures for three-fourths, or about 3,097,415. (*Thom's Official Directory*, 1852 and 1861.) This frightful disproportion in the number of emigrants from the three kingdoms sufficiently explains why, as in the time of Moses, the word *Exodus* has been applied to the emigration movement in Ireland. The following Parliamentary Return shows the number of emigrants from the 1st May, 1851, to the 31st December, 1885, by Counties and Provinces, with the ratio to the population, according to the census returns of 1851, 1861, 1871, and 1881:—

Provinces and Counties.	Estimated Average Population.	Emigrants from 1st May, 1851, to 31st Dec., 1885.	Emigrants to every 100 of the Population.
Province of Leinster.			
Carlow County	55,891	26,059	46·6
Dublin ,, ...	411,336	89,573	21·8
Kildare ,, ...	86,715	30,560	35·2
Kilkenny ,, ...	123,235	61,541	49·9
King's ,, ...	87,898	48,770	55·5
Longford ,, ...	69,941	46,373	66·3
Louth, and Drogheda, County of Down	90,109	36,507	40·5
Meath County	108,551	55,828	51·4
Queen's ,, ...	88,816	45,742	51·5
Westmeath ,, ...	88,271	42,153	47·8
Wexford ,, ...	145,201	63,447	43·7
Wicklow ,, ...	83,635	24,830	29·7
Total	1,439,599	571,383	39·7
Province of Munster.			
Clare County	167,028	117,641	70·4
Cork ,, ...	552,054	379,512	68·7
Kerry ,, ...	209,363	147,108	70·3
Limerick ,, ...	212,249	147,311	69 4
Tipperary ,, ...	249,618	171,206	68 6
Waterford ,, ...	133,826	79,240	59·2
Total	1,524,138	1,042,018	68·4

Provinces and Counties.	Estimated Average Population.	Emigrants from 1st May, 1851, to 31st Dec., 1885.	Emigrants to every 100 of the Population.
Province of Ulster.			
Antrim County	387,269	218,489	56·4
Armagh ,, ...	182,121	77,408	42·5
Cavan ,, ...	149,477	89,010	59·5
Donegal ,, ...	229,102	96,549	42·1
Down ,, ...	300,287	120,213	40·0
Fermanagh ,, ...	99,909	43,652	43·7
Londonderry ,, ...	178,775	84,632	47·3
Monaghan ,, ...	121,476	61,640	50·7
Tyrone ,, ...	226,805	108,257	47·7
Total	1,875,221	899,850	48·0
Province of Connaught.			
Galway County	271,323	141,278	52·1
Leitrim ,, ...	100,409	54,946	54·7
Mayo ,, ...	254,461	105,775	41·6
Roscommon ,, ...	151,067	75,155	49·7
Sligo ,, ...	119,966	50,288	41·9
Total	897,256	427,442	47·6
County Unspecified	—	110,668	—
Total—Natives of Ireland ...	5,736,214	3,051,361	53·2

The exodus was accompanied by appalling suffering and mortality; 89,738 emigrants embarked for Canada in 1847. The Census Commissioners for 1851, in p. 305 of their report, quote the evidence of a Dr. Stratten as follows:—

"Up to the 1st November, one emigrant in every seven had died; and during November and December there have been many deaths in the different emigrant hospitals; so that it is understating the mortality to say that *one person in every five was dead by the end of the year.*"

We have not such full information of those who emigrated to the United States then as we have of those who went to Canada; but it may be fairly assumed that the mortality amongst both classes of emigrants was about equal. The suffering on board some of the emigrant ships was terrible; and, whatever the cause, the deaths in British ships enormously exceeded those in the ships of any other country, according to the report of the Commissioners of Emigration for the State of New York. The

"Erin Queen" sailed with 493 passengers, of whom 136 died on the voyage, amidst scenes which could hardly have been surpassed in a crowded and sickly slaver on the African Coast. It appears, writes Dr. Stratten, in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, that out of 552 passengers who sailed in the "Avon," 246 died, and amongst 476 on board another ship, the "Virginius," not less than 267 deaths took place; of 440 on the "Larch," 108 died and 150 were seriously diseased. The Chief Secretary for Ireland reported, with regard to the 89,783 persons who embarked for Canada in 1847, that 6,100 perished on the voyage; 4,100 on their arrival; 5,200 in hospital; 1,900 in towns to which they repaired. How some of these unhappy cargoes of humanity were made up has been explained by an English gentleman employed as conducting engineer of Public Works in Ireland, during the famine, Mr. William Henry Smith, C.E., who, referring to the part of Connaught in which he was stationed at the time, writes thus:—

"Hundreds, it is said, had been compelled to emigrate by ill-usage [on the part of the landlords], and in one vessel containing 600, *not one hundred survived.*"

The Irish exodus had one awful result, which, in the Irish recollections of that time, fills nearly as large a space as the famine itself. The people flying from fever-tainted hovel and workhouse, carried the plague with them on board ship. Each vessel became a floating charnel-house. Day by day the American public was thrilled by the ghastly tale of ships arriving off their harbours reeking with typhus and cholera; the track they had followed across the ocean, strewn with the corpses flung overboard on the way. The official report of the Montreal Emigrant Society for 1847 contains the following pathetic passage descriptive of the last scene of all:—

"From Grosse Island, the great charnel-house of victimised humanity, up to Port Sarnia, and along the borders of our magnificent river; upon the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie—wherever the tide of emigration has extended, are to be found the final resting-places of the sons and daughters of Erin; one unbroken chain of graves, where repose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, in one commingled heap, without a tear bedewing the soil or a stone marking the spot. Twenty thousand and upwards have thus gone down to their graves."

In all the great ports of America and Canada huge quarantine hospitals had to be hastily erected. Into these every day newly arriving plague-ships poured what survived of their human freight, for whom room was as rapidly made in those wards by the havoc of death. Whole families disappeared between land and land, as sailors say. Frequently the adults were swept away, the children alone surviving. It was impossible in every case to ascertain the names of the sufferers, and often all clue to identification was lost. The public authorities, or the nobly humane organisations that had established those lazar-houses, found themselves towards the close of their labours in charge of hundreds of orphan children, of whom name and parentage alike were now impossible to be traced.

The author of *The Parnell Movement* observes:—

"Ireland to-day bears the still fresh scars of the terrible sufferings of the years I am describing and the years which immediately preceded them. The most prominent, the most frequent, the ever-recurring feature of the Irish landscape is the unroofed cottage. There are many parts of the country where these skeleton walls stare at one with a persistency and a ghastly iteration that convey the idea of passing through a land which had been swept by rapidly successive and frequent waves of foreign invasion—by war, and slaughter, and the universal break-up of national life. Or shall I rather say that Ireland conveys the idea, not of a nation still young in hope, and daily increasing in wealth and in possibilities, but rather the image of one of those Oriental nations whose history and empire, wealth and hopes, belong to the irrevocable past. There are several counties where one can pass for miles without ever catching sight of a house or of any human face but that of the shepherd, almost as isolated as his hapless brother in the stretching plains of California."

Something of the same idea occurs to Mr. Bright, who, in the course of a speech on the *Regium Donum*, in the House of Commons, on the 6th July, 1854, speaks of "those western counties [of Ireland] *in which no man can travel without feeling that some enormous crime has been committed by the government under which that people live.*"

As to the pernicious results of Irish emigration, looking at it from an Imperial standpoint, surely nearly all sensible men are now agreed. Here is how the evil appeared in the eyes of patriotic statesmen a century ago. The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, speaking

in the Irish House of Commons on the 2nd of April, 1784, observed as follows on the subject:—

"England from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Irish manufacturers in the reign of King William III. is not the only instance that has taught that nation the ruinous effects of restrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furnished a sad instance of the truth of this assertion—furnished it in the American war. *America was lost by Irish emigrants.* These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this House; and when the unhappy differences took place [between England and America], I am assured from the best authority that the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valour determined the conquest; so that England not only lost a principal protection of her woollen trade, but also had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants." (*Irish Debates*, Vol. III., p. 130.)

Waterton, the distinguished English naturalist, in the course of his *Wanderings*, thus describes a familiar scene on board an American steamboat. There were above 500 Irish emigrants on their way between Quebec and Montreal:—

"They were going, they hardly knew whither, far away from dear Ireland. It made one's heart ache to see them all huddled together, without any expectation of ever revisiting their native soil. We feared that the sorrow of leaving home for ever, the miserable accommodation on board the ship which had brought them away, and the tossing of the angry ocean, in a long and dreary voyage, would have rendered them callous to good behaviour. But it was quite otherwise. They conducted themselves with great propriety. Every American on board seemed to feel for them. And then, they were so full of wretchedness. 'Need and oppression starved within their eyes; upon their backs hung ragged misery. The world was not their friend.' 'Poor dear Ireland,' exclaimed an aged female, as I was talking to her, 'I shall never see it any more!'"

Upon this, in the course of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, Sydney Smith makes the following reflection:—

"And thus it is in every region of the earth! There is no country where an Englishman can set his foot, that he does not meet these miserable victims of English cruelty and oppression—banished from their country by the stupidity, bigotry, and meanness of the English people, who trample on their liberty and conscience, because each man is afraid, in another reign, of being out of favour, and losing his share in the spoil." (*Works*, Longman's Edition, pp. 512-13.)

If this movement continue, said the *Times* in a remarkable article, savouring perhaps of the prophetic spirit, on the 4th of May, 1860:—

"Ireland will become altogether English, and the United States Republic altogether Irish. Yes, the time may come when Ireland will be no more Celtic than the Lowlands of Scotland are Saxon, the Eastern Counties Danish, Cornwall Phœnician, or Ireland itself Milesian or Spanish. . . . *There will then be again an Ireland, but a colossal Ireland, and an Ireland placed in the New World.* We shall only have pushed the Celt westwards;—ceasing for the future to be imprisoned between the Liffey and the Shannon, he will spread from New York to San Francisco. . . . We must gird our loins to encounter the Nemesis of seven centuries of misgovernment. To the end of time a hundred millions of people, spread over the largest habitable area in the world, and confronting us everywhere by sea and by land, will remember that their forefathers paid tithe to the Protestant clergy, rent to absentee landlords, and a forced obedience to the laws which these had made. . . . And even though the rancorous Celt were to forget and forgive, that will not prevent the sure development of an intractable race, and the introduction of intractable elements into the character of the great American nation. It will be more than half Celtic. Doubtless the Saxon, Danish, French, German, African, and other races besides will be found in it; but the preponderating race of all will be that one which has attained the climax of its perfection and its glory on the banks of the Seine, and which has been precipitated into the deepest abysses of degradation and despair on the western shores of Ireland. So we shall have nourished and brought up, by us, at home, a power which is called to rule over the New World, to extend its influence over both the oceans, and to become the master of an entire hemisphere. This New World is the last and final home of the Celtic race."

Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, says:—

"The land of Ireland, like the land of every other country, belongs to the people which inhabit it. The Legislature should have looked with a different eye upon the forced expatriation of so many millions of men; and when the inhabitants of a country leave it *en masse*, because Government does not leave them room to live, *that Government is already judged and condemned.*"

And it was once declared by Mr. Richard Cobden that when emigration arises from the necessity of fleeing legal famine, it is no longer *Emigration* but *Transportation*. Lord Devon's Commission calculated that the emigration of one hundred thousand persons per annum, if effected at the public

expense, and putting that expense at the moderate amount of six pounds sterling for each person, would cost £600,000 a year —a sum which, annually applied to the purchase and improvement of unproductive lands, would undoubtedly permit the Irish to live at home, and rescue them from the necessity for going into exile to save their lives. And this was the opinion of the late Mr. Isaac Butt, M.P., who is to-day so frequently quoted as an exponent of the moderate school of Irish politicians:—

"English statesmen ought to ask themselves whether the British Empire can afford to lose the hardy and bold population, a portion of which is every year transferring itself to the other side of the Atlantic. They should seriously reflect on the danger which arises from sending a hostile and embittered Irish colony to the American continent. All the emigrants who are now leaving the country, carry with them the most determined hatred of British power. Those whom they leave behind sympathise with them, and whenever the opportunity occurs, the Irish abroad, as well as a large portion of the Irish at home, will be ready to aid any attempt to strike a blow at that power."

Mr. Disraeli, in an election speech on July 13th, 1866, upon his accepting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, observes:—

"When I observe year after year the vast emigration from Ireland, I feel that it is impossible to conceal the fact that we are experiencing a great social and political calamity. I acknowledge that under some conditions, and even under general conditions, emigration is the safety-valve of a people. But there is a difference between blood-letting and hæmorrhage."

Sir W. Harcourt, on a recent occasion (1886), observes:—

"I have no sympathy with a policy which improves a country by getting rid of its people. It is a policy of despair. It is like the theory of Dr. Sangrado, of Gil Blas fame, for the curing of disease by blood-letting, the life of the body. I cannot accept the policy of making a solitude and calling it political economy. I am entirely against pressing people out of their own country."

Professor Sigerson, the distinguished scientist, after quoting several authorities to show that the native-born white population of the United States steadily decreases from year to year, while the Irish element is prolific in children in the proportion of at least 3 to 1, proceeds to give utterance to the following pathetic reflections on the subject:—

"The Irish in America bid fair to outnumber their kindred in the old land, whilst there also the worn and harassed Irish race appears to

have renewed its youth, and to have risen into prosperity, power, and influence. As Ossian in the 'Land of Youth' remembered his former friends, his comrades in battle and the chase, and could not resist returning to share his good fortune with them, so likewise it would appear do the Irish in America dream incessantly of their friends and fellows in the old places of their island home. So, likewise apparently, do they feel at unrest and as sojourners in the land, because their joy is incomplete and their content marred by the memory that what is the past for them is for their kindred in the East not a past, but a sad and persistent present. These are the feelings which are evident in their poetical effusions, and which are as clearly manifested in their prose literature, in their social actions, and in their political aspirations." (*Modern Ireland*, Longman's, 1869, pp. 241-2.)

Is it an unnatural supposition that the sons and daughters of those banished must still look across the wide ocean, to traverse, in spirit, again those loved Irish fields, now consolidated, and with clenched fist, set teeth, and heaving bosoms, register a vow that, one day or other, they, the children of the cruelly disinherited, shall tread that soil once more? How truly does Mr. John Morley, M.P., depict the situation as regards the newly founded power for mischief against England of the Irish race beyond the seas, in the following retort upon a "Unionist" speaker in the course of a recent debate in the House of Commons:—

"Where you had in O'Connell's time a constituency of 150,000, and a population of 8,000,000, you have now nearly 750,000 voters in a population of less than 5,000,000. O'Connell died in 1847. That was the era of the famine. The famine was followed by the great emigration and the wholesale eviction—*a chapter of which we have not yet come to the last page.* That was a dismemberment and a dispersion which planted in every quarter of the globe an enemy to your rule. That is the most important of all the changes, because the growth of an Ireland across the seas has given the Irish at home a self-confidence and a moral power, and a command of material resources of which O'Connell never dreamed." (See *Times* Report, June 4th, 1886.)

CHAPTER X.

THE HABITUAL INDIFFERENCE OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT TO REMEDIAL LEGISLATION.

"In the history of English relations with Ireland it has always been the same. By an unfortunate fatality, every concession made to the weaker State has been under pressure."—LORD DERBY.

In the early part of the present century there was no end of Commissions and Select Committees to inquire into the condition of the agricultural population whenever Parliament was roused by the prevalence of agrarian outrages. These Commissions and Committees reported, *and there the matter ended.* Between 1810 and 1814, for example, a Commission reported four times on the condition of Irish bogs. In 1819, in 1823, in 1826, and in 1830, Select Committees inquired into and reported on drainage, reclamation of bogs and marshes, on roads, fisheries,* and other schemes for giving employment. They expressed their entire conviction of the practicability of cultivating with profit an

* I did myself, a few years ago, venture to suggest to a Chief Secretary for Ireland, that a gunboat might be employed off Belmullet, in Mayo County, to warn the fishermen along the coast when shoals of herrings or mackerel appeared in Blacksod Bay, as is the custom, I am informed, amongst the northern nations. The reply of the distinguished official, who was by no means an unsympathising Englishman, proved somewhat tantalising. "Who," he promptly retorted, "is to pay the expenses of the gunboat?" It were scarcely respectful to argue with a Cabinet Minister, especially when dining at his table. So I held my peace; mindful, however, of the *dictum* of Grattan, "the nation that loses her liberty loses her revenues." Some time afterwards (23rd Sept., 1881) H.M.S. "Wasp" (the gunboat in question) was, alas! lost, with all hands on board, on the neighbouring coast of Donegal, while engaged in the somewhat inglorious and scarcely reproductive duty of aiding the sheriff and his assistants in the process of evicting a number of wretched, famishing islanders, men, women, and children. Can any one for a moment doubt that, if the Irish people had control of their own affairs, measures would not be promptly taken to promote the great fishing industry of the nation, with which English interference and neglect have played such sad havoc? This, in the words of the *St. James's Gazette* of the 30th October last, is, "one of the most clearly defined of Irish grievances." But, as it is, nothing receives the fostering care of the Government in Ireland save ill-will and discontent, the outcome of perennial hunger; which, like noxious weeds, grow apace, without any expenditure of the abstracted revenues of that country to promote their cultivation.

immense extent of land lying waste; but these Select Committees, as has been stated, never led to anything.

In addressing the House of Commons on the 11th November, 1830, the Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Doherty, said that "there was then in Ireland the existence of a condition of things which the lower animals in England would scarcely endure, and which, in fact, they did not endure." In this year riots occurred in many parts of the country, and serious collisions had taken place between the peasantry and the police. A very grave state of affairs had, in fact, arisen. The Government, however, seemed incapable of rescuing the unfortunate people from such misery, though it was, apparently, the opinion of the Duke of Wellington that the landlords were much to blame for the poverty and distress of the people. He said:—

"If persons of estate and property in Ireland would live there, and spend their incomes in it, they would do more to tranquillise the country than all the measures which His Majesty's Government could adopt."

The *Times* (25th October, 1839) says:—

"More misery is crowded into a single province of Ireland than can be found in all the rest of Europe put together. To this pass are things come: in order to benefit a small knot of haughty, unfeeling, rapacious landlords, the well-being of millions is disregarded, famine and misery stalk through the land, and all good government in Ireland is rendered impossible, and government of any kind impracticable, *except through the medium of a military force.*"

In the debate on the Irish Registration Bill, February, 1841, the late Lord Derby declared that:—

"Persons having from fifteen to twenty acres of land are generally from April to September in a state of the greatest destitution, living on potatoes, without either milk or meat, and considering themselves very happy if they have dry potatoes enough—men who during a great part of the year lived on dry potatoes—men whom the landlords, letting their lands at a rack rent, may upon any day turn loose upon the world to starve in the last degree of misery."

And, observes the *Times* of 25th February, 1847:—

"The people of England have most culpably connived at a national iniquity. . . . Property ruled with savage and tyrannical sway. It exercised its rights with a hand of iron, and renounced its duties with a front of brass. The 'fat of the land, the flower of its wheat,' its 'milk and its honey,' flowed from its shores, in tribute to the ruthless

absentee, or his less guilty cousin, the usurious lender. It was all drain and no return. But if strength and industry fared but ill in a land where capital was in perpetual flux and decay, how much more poverty and weakness? In an integral part of the British Empire, on the soil trodden by a British sovereign, the landowner was allowed to sweep away the produce of the earth without leaving even a gleaning for them that were ready to perish. And they did perish year by year continually from sheer destitution. The whole Irish people were debased by the spectacle and contact of licensed mendicancy and recognised starvation England stupidly winked at this tyranny. Ready enough to vindicate political rights, it did not avenge the poor. It is now paying for that connivance."

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 27th of February, 1847, Lord John Russell is reported to have said:—

"Their [the Irish labourers'] habitations are wretched hovels; several of a family sleep altogether upon straw or upon the bare ground —sometimes with a blanket, sometimes without even so much to cover them; their food commonly consists of dry potatoes, and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal a day. . . . The wives and children of many are occasionally obliged to beg; they do so reluctantly and with shame, and in general go to a distance from home in order that they may not be known."

And how did the people endure their sufferings in the midst of such destitution? Let the members of the Royal Commission of 1845 describe it:—

"The agricultural labourer of Ireland continues to suffer the greatest privations and hardships; he continues to depend upon casual and precarious employment for subsistence; he is still badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for his labour. Our personal experience and observations during our inquiry have afforded us a melancholy confirmation of these statements; and we cannot forbear expressing our strong sense of the patient endurance which the labouring classes have generally exhibited under sufferings greater, we believe, than the people of any country in Europe have to sustain." (*Report of the Devon Commission*; *Dig. of Evid.*, II., 1116.)

The only remedies, however, which the Government cared to apply to alter this state of things in Ireland were those with which we are, unhappily, so familiar—Arms Acts, Coercion Acts, and Suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and accordingly while remedial Bills, recommended by the Select Committees referred to, were not passed by Parliament, on the plea of want of time, abundance of time was found to force fresh coercive measures through

both Houses. From the date of the Devon Commission, in 1845, Bills upon the Land Question crowded the tables of both Houses of Parliament, giving rise to important debates, but without leading to any decisive result whatever. In 1848, at the opening of the Session, the Royal Speech directed the special attention of Parliament to this weighty matter; and in their Address to the Crown, the Commons thanked Her Majesty for the interest she evinced in Ireland, and pledged themselves to take such steps as should conciliate the rights of property with the social requirements of an unfortunate people.

Speaking in the House of Commons, on the 4th April, 1856, Lord Palmerston said:—

"Every honourable member must know the unfortunate state of Ireland, and must be aware that Ireland had for a long series of years been the victim of the misgovernment of this country. It was because Ireland was the victim of sectarian oppression and class legislation that the Government were entitled to ask for exceptional legislation."

In other words, the oppression was so great it required the old familiar coercive remedy to compel submission on the part of the oppressed. Except, perhaps, Lord Beaconsfield, no English Minister of modern times showed such a cynical disregard of the obligations of high office, justice, and truth, in respect to Ireland, as Lord Palmerston. For him, "tenant-right" meant "landlord-wrong" to the last days of his life. At least he said so. On the other hand, when at a public meeting, at which Lord Beaconsfield was speaking, some unredeemed ruffian bawled out, "Three cheers for the Irish famine," he, Lord Beaconsfield, instead of rebuking the brawler for this atrocious sentiment, merely replied dryly, "My friend, there have been many worse things than the Irish famine." There is only one known public utterance which surpasses this incident in its naked brutality, and that emanated with the *Saturday Review*, which once spoke of the famine-stricken, evicted, oppressed Irish peasants—fleeing for their very lives to the United States of America—as "the departing demons of assassination"! And yet Lord Palmerston and Lord Beaconsfield were great and deservedly popular English Ministers; and the *Saturday Review* is one of the most widely read and highly cultivated of English journals.

Speaking in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell at one period when in office, also maintained the principle of non-intervention of the law in the relations between landlord and tenant; a different principle from that which was upheld by him previously in 1846; but then he was in Opposition, and it served the purpose of the adversaries of the Tory party, and of the Peel Cabinet, to throw the responsibility of the social misfortunes of Ireland upon the existing Government. And it was said at this time by Earl Grey:—"Ireland is the one deep blot upon the brightness of British honour"; "Ireland is our disgrace"; "the evils of Ireland could only be produced by misgovernment."

On the 23rd July, 1849, Mr. Horsman (afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland) moved "that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to take into her consideration the condition of Ireland." He asked:—

"What have we done for Ireland? Ireland has been truly described as one adjourned debate. We found her prostrate in February; have we raised her in July? Ireland is now entering on the fourth year of famine; sixty per cent. of her population are receiving relief. What are the causes which have produced such results? Bad legislation, careless legislation, criminal legislation, have been the cause of all the disasters we are now deploring."

Mr. Bright said in the House of Commons, on 17th February, 1866:—

"Except on two emergencies Parliament has done nothing for the people of Ireland; and, more than that, their complaints have been met—complaints of their sufferings have been met—often by denial, often by insult, often by contempt."

In his *Irish Questions* (1868), Mr. Goldwin Smith says:—

"The Irish legislation of the last forty years, notwithstanding the adoption of some remedial measures, has failed through the indifference of Parliament to the sentiments of Irishmen; and the harshness of English public opinion has embittered the effects on Irish feeling at the indifference of Parliament. Occasionally a serious effort has been made by an English statesman to induce Parliament to approach Irish questions in that spirit of sympathy, and with that desire to be just, without which a Parliament in London cannot legislate wisely for Ireland. *Such efforts have hitherto met with no response.*"

In 1868 also Mr. Gladstone uttered this confession regarding

the fact that the Irish people had not due security for the fruits of their industry in the tenure of land:—

"Brought again and again, from the most authoritative and unsuspected sources, under the notice of Parliament; Bill after Bill was produced, and Bill after Bill was rejected or evaded, and to this hour the account of the Irish nation with England in respect of the tenure of land remains an unsettled question. The only Bill that was passed was that of Mr. Cardwell, in which an attempt was made, in terms the most restricted, to obtain some concession to the tenant on account of improvements to which the landlord was not an objecting party. That Bill was as much as by any magic could be extracted at the time from the will of Parliament. That Bill remains a dead letter, and the whole subject remains for us to face, with the painful reflection that for twenty-four or twenty-five years the Irish people in their little plots and farms have thus been conducting the daily battle of life without the shelter which the Devon Commission, and the Peel Government, and the Derby Government, *and every other Administration, declared ought to be vouchsafed to them;* and we have to make the sad confession of our impotence to discharge a primary debt of justice to that country."

Lord Derby, addressing the House of Lords on the second reading of the Land Act of 1870, said:—

"I ask you whether the Irish Church would not now have probably been standing upon its legs but for the Fenian agitation? I will also ask whether this Bill in its present form would have been likely to pass through both Houses of Parliament, if it had not been for long-continued agitation, supported by many most unjustifiable acts of violence?"

Mr. J. Boyd Kinnear, a Scotch M.P., in a leaflet published in June, 1884, "For the consideration of Englishmen and Scotchmen who wish to be just," put the contrast between the abundance of Coercion Acts and famine of remedial land legislation in the following terms:—

"From 1800 to 1870 there were some forty Coercion Bills *passed* for Ireland. Between 1819 and 1830 five Royal Commissions and Select Committees took evidence (and the evidence would break your hearts); and between 1829 and 1869 there were twenty-seven Bills and Resolutions offered by Irish members on the Land Question, and every one was *rejected.* Yet all these Bills were of the most moderate character. No matter what they proposed, the Irish members could not obtain a hearing in the English Parliament. Yet the Land Question involved the life and death of 6,000,000 of Irish human beings. *Of these* 6,000,000 *about one-half have perished or been driven into exile by evictions since* 1845. Think of it. And all this by laws which you, the people of England and Scotland, have enforced upon Ireland."

Throughout the entire period from the date of Catholic Emancipation, English statesmen, however sincere they might be in denouncing landlord oppression, and deploring continuous destitution in Ireland, were certainly not very much in earnest to find a remedy till, in 1870, Mr. Gladstone took the matter in hand for the first time; and even Mr. Gladstone met with obstruction from the House of Lords when he tried to stay eviction ten years later. So long as prosperous years continued the defects of his Irish Land Bill of 1870, which were inevitable in face of the persistent opposition its illustrious author had to contend against, were not very keenly felt. But when bad times returned, and it was seen it afforded no real protection to the tenant, Parliament was besieged with fresh proposals of amendment. The following table (though incomplete) shows the constant rejection of Land Bills from 1829, and is in grim and melancholy contrast with another table of statistics compiled to show the facility with which Coercion Acts, almost as numerous, were passed, sometimes hurriedly, through both Houses of Parliament within the same period of half a century. (See p. 81)

1829. Brownlow's Bill dropped in Lords.	
1830. Grattan's Waste Land Bill refused.	
1831 Smith's Bill for Relief of the Aged dropped.	
1835. Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1836. Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1836. Lynch's Reclamation Bill dropped.	
1845. Lord Stanley's Bill dropped.	
1845. Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1846. Mr. Sharman Crawford	Abortive.
1846. Lord Lincoln, Secretary for Ireland ...	do.
1847. Mr. Sharman Crawford	do.
1848. Sir W. Somerville	do.
1848. Mr. Sharman Crawford	do.
1849. Mr. Pusey	do.
1850. Sir W. Somerville	do.
1850. Mr. S. Crawford	do.
1851. Mr. S. Crawford	do.
1852. Mr. S. Crawford	do.
1853. Mr. Napier	do.
1853. Mr. Serjeant Shee	do.
1855. Mr. Serjeant Shee	do.
1856-1857. Mr. Moore	do.
1858. Mr. Maguire	do.

Date.	Bill.	Introduced by	Fate.
1871	Landed Property, Ireland, Act, 1847, Amendment Bill,	Serjeant Sherlock,	Withdrawn.
1872	Ulster Tenant Right Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Dropped.
1873	Ulster Tenant Right Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2	Mr. Heron,	Dropped.
1874	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2	Sir J Gray,	Dropped.
,,	Ulster Tenant Right Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Dropped.
,,	Irish Land Act Extension Bill,	The O'Donoghue,	Dropped.
1875	Landed Proprietors, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Smyth,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Crawford,	Rejected.
1876	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Crawford,	Withdrawn.
,,	Tenant Right on Expiration of Leases Bill,	Mr. Mulholland,	Dropped.
,,	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Rejected.
1877	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Butt,	Rejected.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Crawford,	Withdrawn.
1878	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Herbert,	Dropped.
,,	Tenant Right Bill,	Lord A. Hill,	Rejected by Lords.
,,	Tenant Right, Ulster, Bill,	Mr. Macartney,	Withdrawn.
,,	Tenants' Improvements, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Martin,	Rejected.
,,	Tenants' Protection, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Moore,	Dropped.
1879	Ulster Tenant Right Bill,	Mr. Macartney,	Rejected.
,,	Ulster Tenant Right Bill, No. 2,	Lord A. Hill,	Withdrawn.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Herbert,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Taylor,	Dropped.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2,	Mr. Downing,	Rejected.
1880 1st Session.	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. Taylor,	Dropped.
,,	Ulster Tenant Right Bill,	Mr. Macartney,	Dropped.
,,	Fixity of Tenure, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. Litton,	Rejected.
,,	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill,	Mr. O'C. Power,	Dropped.
,, 2nd Session.	Compensation for Disturbance, Ireland, Bill (to prevent eviction under circumstances of excessive hardship),	Mr. W. E. Forster,	Rejected by Lords.
1886	Tenants' Relief, Ireland, Bill,	Mr. C. S. Parnell,	Rejected.

Sydney Smith denied thus emphatically that any voluntary concession was ever made by England to Ireland:—

"What did Ireland ever ask that was granted? What did she ever demand that was not refused? How did she get her Mutiny Bill—a limited Parliament—a repeal of Poyning's law—a constitution? Not by the concessions of England, but by her fears. When Ireland asked for all these things upon her knees, her petitions were rejected with Percivalism and contempt; when she demanded them with the voice of 60,000 armed men, they were granted with every mark of consternation and dismay." (*Works*, Longman's Edition, p. 599.)

Speaking at Rochdale, on the 23rd December, 1867, Mr. Bright said:—

"I entirely disagree with those who, when any crisis or trouble arises in Ireland, say that you must first of all preserve order, you must put down all disloyalty and disobedience to the law, you must assert the supremacy of the Government, and then consider the grievances that are complained of. This has been the case in Ireland for 200 years. The great preserver there has been the gallows. Now twenty years ago many of you will recollect that in Ireland, under the guidance of one of Ireland's greatest sons, the late Mr. O'Connell, there were held in Ireland meetings of vast numbers of the people, equal probably in number to the meetings that were held a year ago in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and in London. Those meetings were held to condemn certain things that were evil in Ireland, to demand remedies, to even insist that there should be a repeal of the legislative union between the two countries, for many thought that only an Irish Parliament could abolish the miseries of Ireland, but there is not one of you that can point to any single great measure of justice which has been given to Ireland in consequence of these great meetings. The grievances were not remedied. The demands of the people were not conceded. Nothing has been done in Ireland except under the influence of terror. In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed, but the Duke of Wellington admitted it was passed because he would not take the responsibility of civil war. Afterwards, when a great famine took place, a Poor Law was passed for Ireland, and the Encumbered Estates Court was established, in order that the sale of land might be made more free; but except under the pressure of some great emergency no man can point to anything great or good having been done by the Imperial Parliament for the Irish nation. But if these huge meetings were disregarded, what was more natural or inevitable than that a certain portion of the people, not reasoning well, stimulated by an impassionate feeling of the wrongs done to their country, should descend into the ranks, the odious and criminal ranks, of a dark conspiracy? If last year Parliament had refused to extend the franchise, if all our great meetings had been held in vain, if the popular voice had risen

so that all the world should have heard but the deaf members of the Imperial Legislature, you would have had in England, I will not say a dark and a criminal conspiracy, but you would have had men who would gradually have worked their way among the people, and would have instructed them in principles and in practices which are near akin to the worst form of criminal conspiracy. There is nothing so safe as great meetings. Come together, look each other in the face, let the men who comprehend the things discuss them fairly, before you consider them well for yourselves, vote by an open free vote in favour of the policy that you require, and then let your rulers take that voice as significant of the will of the country, and let them bend to it and give the country that which it demands. That has never been done for Ireland, and it is on this ground, and for this reason, that you have at this moment the terrible and calamitous state of things that exists."

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1881, Lord Derby observed as follows:—

"It is by no means clear to the unprejudiced observer that any gratitude has been earned [in the dealings of England with Ireland]. Why have we altered the Land Laws? To put an end to Irish agitation. Why have we cared to put an end to Irish agitation? Because it was not only discreditable to England as a ruling power, but a practical obstruction to the transaction of English business. Fixity of tenure has been the direct result of two causes—Irish outrage and Parliamentary obstruction. The Irish know it as well as we. Not all the influence and eloquence of Mr. Gladstone would have prevailed on the English House of Commons to do what has been done in the matter of Irish Tenant Right if the answer to all objections had not been ready, 'How else are we to govern Ireland?' . . . In the history of English relations with Ireland it has always been the same. By an unfortunate fatality every concession made to the weaker State has been under pressure. Take as a sample the creation of the almost wholly independent Irish Parliament in 1780-82. Was that a spontaneous gift? Notoriously it was the reverse. English resources were exhausted by the unsuccessful war with America; the Irish Volunteers mustered stronger than any force which could have been brought together at short notice to oppose them; the alternative was to yield to the Irish demands or to engage in a sanguinary civil war, exactly resembling that which had ended so disastrously on the other side of the Atlantic; and the decision taken, probably a wise one, was to let Ireland have her own way. Not very dissimilar was the history of Catholic Emancipation, except that at that date it was a humane and rational aversion to civil war, not an actual disability to carry it on, which determined the issue. Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington did not rest their cause on the alleged justice of the Catholic claims; they could not well do so, having for many years opposed these claims as unfounded. But they could and did say that the mischief of yield-

ing to them was less than the mischief of having to put down an Irish insurrection. The same argument that had prevailed in 1782 prevailed in 1828-29. A third example of the same mode of procedure is in the memory of everybody. The Fenian movement agitated Ireland from 1864 to 1867, producing among other results the Clerkenwell explosion. Mr. Gladstone's statement as to the effect of this and similar attempts on the public mind of England, though too significant to be ignored, is too familiar to be repeated. I have too often heard that speech censured as unwise; to me it has always seemed a gain that the exact and naked truth should be spoken, though at the cost of some unpleasant criticism. A few desperate men, applauded by the whole body of the Irish people for their daring, showed England what Irish feeling really was; made plain to us the depth of a discontent whose existence we had scarcely suspected; and the rest followed of course. Few persons will now regret the Disendowment of the Irish Church or the passing of the Land Act of 1870; but it is regrettable that, for the third time in less than a century, agitation, accompanied with violence, should have been shown to be the most effective instrument for redressing whatever Irishmen may be pleased to consider their wrongs."

CHAPTER XI.

PROHIBITION OF TRADE AND COMMERCE.

"A country will sooner recover from the miseries and devastation occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, and massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, discouraging the manufactures, fettering the industry, and above all, breaking the spirits of the people."—History of Commercial Restraints.

Till the reign of Charles II. England placed no restriction on Irish commerce or manufactures. The first Navigation Act of 1660 put England and Ireland on exact terms of equality. "But," as Mr. Froude observes in his *English in Ireland*, "the equality of privilege lasted only till the conclusion of the settlement and till the revenue had been assigned to the Crown." In the amended Navigation Act of 1663, Ireland was left out. This Act, which is entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Trade," prohibited all exports from Ireland to the Colonies, as well as the importation of Irish cattle into England. A subsequent British Act declares the importation of Irish cattle into England to be "a publick and common nuisance" (18 Car. II., cap. 2); and these were not even temporarily re-admitted until authorised by the Act 32 Geo. II., cap. 11. Nor was the objectionable enactment entirely repealed —though it had become inoperative—till 1825, in the reign of George IV. It likewise forbade the importation of beef, pork, or bacon. Butter and cheese from Ireland were subsequently excluded, and the previous statute excluding cattle was made perpetual. In 1670 the exportation to Ireland from the English plantations of sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dyeing wood, the growth of the said plantations, was prohibited by statute.

Restrictions were placed on the glass trade, silk, hops, Irish beer and malt, and other branches of trade, which ultimately caused Edmund Burke to ask :—

likely he may have winced under the ungenerous pressure put on him by the Lords and Commons, whose nominee he was. Mr. Froude says:—

"The King replied briefly that the wish of Parliament should be carried out, and Ireland was invited to apply the knife to her own throat. Two letters of William to the Lords Justices survive in Dublin Castle, embodying the words of the two Addresses, and recommending to the Legislature the worst and most fatal of all the mistaken legislative experiments, to which a dependent country was ever subjected by the folly of its superiors. The Irish House, in dread of abolition if they refused, relying on the promise of encouragement to their linen trade, and otherwise unable to help themselves, acquiesced." (*English in Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 297.)

Accordingly, an Act was passed (10 and 11 Will. III., cap. 10) which prohibited the exportation of either the raw material or the manufactured woollen stuffs, under penalty of the forfeiture of both goods and ship; and a penalty of £500 "for every such offence." The Parliament of London decreed, moreover, that whoever infringed the law made in favour of English manufactures, should be liable to a trial before the Courts both of England and Ireland; and in case of an acquittal in the latter country, he might at any time be again seized and tried in an English Court. Ireland's greatest industries were thus, one by one, sacrificed to England's commercial jealousy. But, on this last occasion, a solemn compact was entered into, in turn, for the encouragement by England of the linen trade in Ireland by way of some slight compensation. And an Act of Parliament was passed in 1696, admitting all productions of hemp and flax duty free from Ireland into England, an advantage over foreign manufacturers estimated to be equal to 25 per cent. (See *English Commons' Journals*, XII., pp. 338-9, and *Irish Commons' Journals*, II., pp. 241-3.)

This compact, however, was subsequently ignored, and the English Parliament, as in the case of the Treaty of Limerick, once again deliberately broke faith with the unfortunate Irish people. In the last century, as in the present, there were, however, English statesmen who hesitated not to expose such barefaced perfidy, especially in relation to the breach of the linen compact. Lord Rockingham, speaking in the English House of Lords on the 11th May, 1779:—

Reminded their lordships of the compact made between both kingdoms in King William's time, when the Parliament of Ireland consented to prohibit the export of their own woollen manufacture, in order to give that of England a preference, by laying a duty equal to a full prohibition on every species of woollens, or even of the raw commodity, and of the solemn assurances given by both Houses of the British Parliament that they would give every possible encouragement, and abstain from every measure which could prevent the linen manufacture to be rendered the staple of Ireland. But how had England kept its word? By laying duties or granting bounties to the linens of British manufacture equal to a prohibition of the Irish, and at the same time giving every kind of private and public encouragement to render Scotland a real rival to Ireland in almost every species of her linen fabrics." (*Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XIII., 330.)

Lord North, when Prime Minister of England, said:—

"Ireland gave up her woollen trade by compact. The compact was an exclusive linen trade, rather a fair competition with England. Ireland, of her own accord, gave up the woollen trade by an Act of her own Legislature, which, when it expired, was made perpetual by an Act of the British Parliament. But this compact was no sooner made than it was violated by England, for, instead of prohibiting foreign linens, duties were laid on and necessarily collected so far from amounting to a prohibition on the import of the Dutch, German, and East Country linen manufactures, that those manufactures have been able, after having the duties imposed on them by the British Parliament, to meet, and in some instances to undersell, Ireland both in Great Britain and the West Indies, and several other parts of the British Empire." (*Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XV., 181.)

In his proposal for the use of Irish manufactures, which was published in 1720, Dean Swift says:—

"The Scripture tells us that oppression makes a wise man mad, therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not mad is because they are not wise. However, it were to be wished that oppression would in time teach a little wisdom to fools." . . . "Whoever travels in this country and observes the face of nature, and the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed." (*Works*, Scott's Edition, Vol. VI., pp. 277-81-82.)

Writing again in 1727, he says:—

"The conveniency of ports and harbours, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this country, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon. Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince

or State; yet this privilege, by the mere superiority of power, is refused us in the most momentous time of our commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, rigorously executed, and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. If we do flourish it must be against every law of nature and reason, like the thorn of Glastonbury, that blossoms in the midst of the winter. The miserable dress, diet, and dwelling of the people, the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom, the old seats of the nobility in ruins, and no new ones in their stead, the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness, upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These, indeed, may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country whence he finds all his wealth transmitted. *Nostra miseria magna est.* There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. . . . Ireland is the poorest of all civilised countries, with every advantage to make it one of the richest." (*Swift's Works*, Scott's Edition.)

Ireland was, after a time, becoming covered with flocks of sheep, to produce wool for the English market, while English laws prevented its manufacture at home; and the injustice of such a state of things suggested to the mind of Swift, for ever teeming with apposite classical illustrations, as a parallel case, the cruelty of the Goddess, as related by Ovid in the story of Arachne and Pallas:—The Goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving. They both met upon a trial of skill, and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, turned her into a spider, enjoining her to spin and weave for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass:—

"I confess," observes Swift, "that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the Goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence, which, however, is fully executed upon us by England, with further additions of rigour and severity, for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them."

Writing in 1778 to the opponents of some trifling relaxation of the commercial restraints of Ireland, Edmund Burke asks:—

"Do they forget that the whole woollen manufacture of Ireland, the most extensive and profitable of any, and the natural staple of that kingdom, has been in a manner so destroyed by restric-

tive laws of their own, that in a few years it is probable the Irish will not be able to wear a coat of their own fabric? Is this equality? Do gentlemen forget that the understood faith to which they (the Irish Parliament) were persuaded to such an unnatural act, has not been kept, and that a linen manufacture has been set up and highly encouraged against them!" (*Irish Affairs*, pp. 112-13.)

The English historian, Carte, comments on this example of paternal government. He says:—

"The English seem never to have understood the art of governing their provinces, and have always treated them in such a manner, as either to put them under necessity or subject them to the temptation of casting off their Government whenever an opportunity offered. It was a series of this impolitic conduct which lost them Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Guyenne, and all the dominions which they formerly had in France. . . When Rochelle, Saintes, Engousleme, and other towns in those provinces, submitted to the Kings of France, they took particular care to insert in their capitulations an express article, that in any circumstances or distress of the affairs of France, they should never be delivered back into the power of the English. It is not a little surprising that a thinking people, as the English are, should not grow wiser by any experience, and after losing such considerable territories abroad by their oppressive treatment of them, should go on to hazard the loss of Ireland, and endeavour the ruin of a colony of their own countrymen planted in that kingdom." (*Life of Ormonde*, Vol. VI.)

Carte, an Englishman and a Protestant minister, died in 1754. He could not have dreamed that the successful revolt of the American colonies would add another example of the misgovernment of the parent State; or that revolt, long continued, would, A.D., 1886, render it imperative on the greatest of living English statesmen to formulate a plan of Home Rule for Ireland, with the express purpose of avoiding a like catastrophe in that kingdom.

America was not heedless of what was going on in Ireland at this juncture any more than the great Republic is at the present time. It was a consciousness of American sympathy which inspired Irish patriots of that day to declare their Parliament an independent one, exactly as American sympathy to-day encourages, still more powerfully, the Irish people to look forward confidently to the immediate future for the realisation of their national hopes; aided as that sympathy now is by the goodwill of the majority of the electors of Great Britain. Benjamin Franklin watched the progress of events with deep interest. He had visited Ireland and

formed friendships there; and he was well informed of her wants and her wrongs. Writing to Sir Edward Newenham in 1779, he says:—

"I admire the spirit with which I see the Irish are at length determined to claim some share of that freedom of commerce, which is the right of all mankind, but which they have been so long deprived of by the abominable selfishness of their fellow-subjects. To enjoy all the advantages of the climate, soil, and situation in which God and nature have placed us, is as clear a right as that of breathing, and can never be justly taken from men but as a punishment for some atrocious crime." (*Life of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. III. 1883.)

The eminent author of *Commercial Restraints*,* who was a Principal Secretary of State, and Provost of Trinity College in Ireland (*temp.* 1779), thus summarises the disastrous effects of eighty years' restrictive legislation in that country, viz., between 1699 and 1779:—

"Can the history of any fruitful country on the globe, enjoying peace for fourscore years, and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery of the lower orders of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern story. If the ineffectual endeavours by the representatives of those poor people to give them employment or food were not sufficient proofs, I should appeal to the human countenance for my voucher, and rest the evidence on that hopeless despondency that hangs on the brow of unemployed industry." (pp. 78-9.)

The cruel system which doomed Ireland to perennial poverty, that, according to Mr. Froude, *she might be more easily governed*, while England grew richer every decade by the spoliation, is thus described by Hussey Burgh, sometime Lord Chief Baron of the

* This work, by Mr. Hely Hutchinson, like kindred efforts of Swift and Molyneux, was suppressed, and burnt by the common hangman, at the instance of the English Government; just as Irish newspapers are, even to this day, suppressed when they become too troublesome to Dublin Castle, which, it is apprehended, must fall (like the walls of Jericho) before "the great shout of the whole people." It is, indeed, a melancholy reflection, that the work of Molyneux was burnt by order of William III.'s Whig Parliament, for daring to extend to unfortunate Ireland those principles on which the English Revolution itself was professedly founded. As late as 1807, when Peter Plymley's letters advocating further relaxation of the laws affecting Catholics first appeared in print, the Government of that day took great pains to find out the author; all they *could* find was, that the letters were brought to Mr. Budd, the publisher [in secret probably], by the Earl of Lauderdale. "Somehow, or another, it came to be conjectured that I was the author," writes Sydney Smith, thirty years afterwards; "I have always denied it," &c.—meaning he found it highly expedient to disclaim the authorship at the time lest he should be subjected to persecution in his own person. (*Works*, Preface, p. vii.)

Court of Exchequer, in the course of a speech in the Irish House of Commons in October in the same year:—

"The usurped authority of a foreign Parliament has kept up the most wicked laws that a jealous, monopolising, ungrateful spirit could devise, to restrain the bounty of Providence and enslave a nation whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland are synonymous; they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes, and though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws have borne her down to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpents' teeth: they have sprung up as armed men." (*Macnevin's Volunteers*, p. 117.)

The Volunteer Movement had then commenced, and English Ministers were amazed to find themselves too suddenly confronted by an armed Irish nation. Edmund Burke says:—

"In its presence the British Parliament made an universal surrender of all that had been thought the peculiar, reserved, uncommunicable rights of England—the exclusive commerce of America, of Africa, of the West Indies, all the enumerations of the Acts of Navigation, all the manufactures—iron, glass, even the sacred fleece itself—all went together. No reserve, no exceptions, no debate, no discussion. A sudden light broke in upon us all. It broke in, not through well-contrived and well-disposed windows, but through flaws and breaches, through the yawning chasms of our ruin. We were taught wisdom by humiliation. No town in England presumed to have a prejudice or dared to mutter a petition. What was worse, the whole Parliament of England, which retained authority for nothing but surrenders, was despoiled of every shadow of its superintendence. It was, without any qualification, denied in theory, as it had been trampled upon in practice." (*Irish Affairs*, pp. 129-30.)

Mr. Froude says:—

"The chain was allowed to remain till it was broken by the revolt of the American Colonies, and Ireland was to learn the deadly lesson that her real wrongs would receive attention only when England was compelled to remember them through fear." (*English in Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 104.)

How wisely Burke said, in his first speech at Bristol:—

"That all things which came from Great Britain should issue as a gift of her bounty and beneficence rather than as claims recovered against struggling litigants; or at least if your beneficence obtained no credit in your concessions, yet that they should appear the salutary provisions of your wisdom and foresight—not as things wrung from you with your blood by the cruel gripe of a rigid necessity."

Having seen what eighteenth century public men have had to say on the subject, let us now listen to our modern historians as regards this shameful page in the records of the English Parliament. To begin with, Mr. Lecky thus succinctly states the particulars attending the breach of the linen compact:—

"The main industry of Ireland had been deliberately destroyed because it had so prospered that English manufacturers had begun to regard it as a competitor with their own. It is true, indeed, that a promise was made that the linen and hempen manufacture should be encouraged as a compensation, but even if it had been a just principle that a nation should be restricted by force of law to one or two forms of industry, there was no proportion between that which was destroyed and that which was to be favoured, and no real reciprocity established between the two countries."

Mr. Lecky having stated the antiquity of the linen manufacture and its vicissitudes in Ireland, and having mentioned that "in 1700 the value of the export of Irish linen amounted to little more than £14,000," thus proceeds:—

"The English utterly suppressed the existing woollen manufacture in Ireland in order to reserve that industry entirely to themselves, but the English and Scotch continued, as usual, their manufacture of linen. The Irish trade was ruined in 1699, but no legislative encouragement was given to the Irish linen manufacture till 1705, when, at the urgent petition of the Irish Parliament, the Irish were allowed to export their white and brown linens, but these only to the British Colonies, and they were not permitted to bring any Colonial goods in return. The Irish linen manufacture was undoubtedly encouraged by bounties, but not until 1743, when the country had sunk into a condition of appalling wretchedness. In spite of the compact of 1698, the hempen manufacture was so discouraged that it positively ceased. Disabling duties were imposed on Irish sail-cloth imported into England. Irish checked, striped and dyed linens were absolutely excluded from the Colonies. They were virtually excluded from England by the imposition of a duty of 30 per cent., and Ireland was not allowed to participate in the bounties granted for the exportation of these descriptions of linen from Great Britain to foreign countries."

He again observes:—

"No country ever exercised a more complete control over the destinies of another than did England over those of Ireland, for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution. No serious resistance of any kind was attempted. The nation was as passive as clay in the hands of the potter, and it is a circumstance of peculiar aggravation that a large part of the legislation I have recounted

was a distinct violation of a solemn treaty. The commercial legislation which ruined Irish industry, the confiscation of Irish land which demoralised and impoverished the nation, were all directly due to the English Government, and the English Parliament." (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 211, 212, 256.)

What was the Irish Parliament doing all this time, during which the Irish people were crushed by a system which Mr. Pitt himself has characterised as one "of cruel and abominable restraint"? During the greater part of the eighteenth century it had, observes Mr. Lecky, "little power except that of protesting against laws crushing Irish commerce, but what little it could do it appears to have done." (*Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 187.)

Mr. Froude says:—

England governed for what she deemed her own interest, making her calculation on the gross balance of her trade ledgers, and leaving her moral obligations to accumulate, as if right and wrong had been blotted out of the Statute-book of the universe. . . . The English deliberately determined to keep Ireland poor and miserable, *as the readiest means to prevent it being troublesome.* They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufactures by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on its wretched agriculture, for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmer." . . .

He further observes:—

"With their shipping destroyed by the Navigation Act, their woollen manufactures taken from them, their trade in all its branches crippled and confined, the single resource left to those of the Irish who still nourished dreams of improving their unfortunate country was agriculture. The soil was at least their own, which needed only to be drained, cleared of weeds, and manured to produce grass crops and corn crops as rich as the best in England. Here was employment for a population three times more numerous than as yet existed. Here was a prospect, if not of commercial wealth, yet of substantial comfort and material abundance. . . . The tenants were forbidden in their leases to break or plough the soil. The people no longer employed were driven away into holes and corners, and eked out a wretched subsistence by potato gardens, or by keeping starving cattle of their own on the neglected bogs. . . . The disgrace of allowing a nation of human beings to subsist upon such conditions, forced itself at last on the conscience of the Irish Parliament, and though composed of landowers, the House of Commons, in 1716, resolved unanimously to make an effort for a general change of system, with a view no longer to discourage agriculture. They passed a vote that covenants which prohibited the breaking soil with the plough

were impolitic, and should have no binding force. They passed heads of a Bill, which they recommended with the utmost earnestness to the consideration of the English Council, enjoining that for every hundred acres which any tenant held he should break up and cultivate five, and, as a further encouragement, that a trifling bounty should be granted by the Government on corn grown for exportation.

"And what did England answer? . . . The bounty system might or might not have been well calculated to produce the effect which Ireland desired. It was the system which England herself practised with every industry which she wished to encourage, and it was not on economic grounds that the Privy Council rejected a Bill which they ought rather to have thrust of their own accord on Irish acceptance. The real motive was probably the same which had led to the suppression of the manufactures—the detestable opinion that *to govern Ireland conveniently, Ireland must be kept weak.* Although the corn consumed in Ireland had been for many years imported, the English farmers were haunted with a terror of being undersold in their own and foreign markets by a country where labour was cheap. A motive so iniquitous could not be confessed, but the objections which the Council were not ashamed to allege were scarcely less disgraceful to them. The English manufacturers having secured, as they supposed, the monopoly of Irish wool on their own terms, conceived that the whole soil of Ireland ought to be devoted to growing it." (*English in Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 439, 441-46.) . . . "If the high persons at the head of the great British Empire had deliberately considered by what means they could condemn Ireland to remain the scandal of their rule, they could have chosen no measures better suited to their end than those which they pursued unrelentingly through three-quarters of a century." (*English in Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 213.)

Irish trade having thus been transferred to England, there was little left except what was contraband with France and Spain; upon which fact Mr. Froude makes this further observation, in his *History of England*, Vol. X.:—

"The Irish were not to be blamed if they looked to Spain, to France, to any friend on earth, or in Heaven, to deliver them from power which discharged no single duty that rulers owe to subjects."

It was an observation of Lord Beaconsfield that:—

"The commercial principle does not work in Ireland: all men agree that Ireland has been misgoverned. And who has misgoverned her? The State. It is the conduct of the State, past or present, that prevents the free action of the commercial principle in Ireland." (*Speech in the House of Commons* (*Railways* [*Ireland*]), *February 5th*, 1847.)

Coming down to more recent times, Lord Dufferin, now

Governor-General of India, writes as follows, in a pamphlet published by him in 1867:—

"From Queen Elizabeth's reign until the Union the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through disuetude. The owners of England's pastures had the honour of opening the campaign. As early as the commencement of the sixteenth century the beeves of Roscommon, Tipperary, and Queen's County undersold the produce of the English grass counties in their own market. By an Act [of Parliament] Irish cattle were declared 'a nuisance,' and their importation prohibited. Forbidden to send our beasts alive across the Channel, we killed them at home, and began to supply the sister country with cured provisions. A second Act of Parliament imposed prohibitory duties on salted meats. The hides of the animals still remained; but the same influence put a stop to the importation of leather. Our cattle trade abolished, we tried sheep-farming. The sheep-breeders of England immediately took alarm, and Irish wool was declared contraband [by Parliament]. Headed in this direction, we tried to work up the raw material at home; but this created the greatest outcry of all. Every maker of fustian, flannel, and broadcloth in the country rose up in arms, and by an Act of William III. the woollen industry of Ireland was extinguished, and 20,000 manufacturers left the island. The easiness of the Irish labour market, and the cheapness of provisions still giving us an advantage, even though we had to import our materials, we next made a dash at the silk business; but the English silk manufacturer, the sugar refiner, the soap and candle maker (who especially dreaded the abundance of our kelp), and every other trade or interest that thought it worth its while to petition, was received by Parliament with the same partial cordiality, until the most searching scrutiny failed to detect a single vent through which it was possible for the hated industry of Ireland to respire. But although excluded from the markets of Great Britain, a hundred harbours gave her access to the universal sea. Alas! a rival commerce on her own element was still less welcome to England, and as early as the reign of Charles II. the Levant, the ports of Europe, and the oceans beyond the Cape of Good Hope were forbidden to the flag of Ireland. The Colonial trade alone was in a manner open, if that can be called an open trade which for a long time precluded all exports whatever, and excluded from direct importation to Ireland such important articles as sugar, cotton, and tobacco. What has been the consequence of such a system, pursued with relentless pertinacity for 250 years? This—that, *debarred from every other trade and industry*, the entire nation flung itself back upon *the land*, with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose

current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilised."

Such is Lord Dufferin's eloquent epitome of Anglo-Irish commercial history.

Mr. Alfred Harris, in the course of a thoughtful article in the *Contemporary Review* for October last, observes:—

"Our principle of action as regards Irish industries has been to leave the country to its own unaided resources, and when famine and poverty have asserted their sway, we have pointed to America as the proper home for a pauperised and disaffected people. The result is that an indignant, but now prosperous, crowd of emigrants conduct the campaign against us, and supply the sinews of war for our discomfiture."

Finally, Mr. J. R. Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, observes:—

"Pitt saw that much, at least, of the misery and disloyalty of Ireland sprang from its poverty. And of this poverty much was the direct result of unjust law. Ireland was a grazing country, but to protect the interest of English graziers the import of its cattle into England was forbidden. To protect the interest of English clothiers and weavers, its manufacturers were loaded with duties."

The same historian, writing on Ireland, under the Georges, says that:—

"For more than a century Ireland was the worst governed country in Europe. England did her best to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes passed by the jealousy of English landowners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden, lest it might interfere with the profits of the English wool growers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment; and the poverty, deepened by the rapid growth of the native population, *turned the country into a hell.*" (Sec. IV., p. 788.)

CHAPTER XII.

PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE AND ENFORCED IGNORANCE.

"To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them like the Moriscos of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic."—HALLAM.

The eighteenth century ushers in another melancholy period for Ireland, that which is known as the period of the Penal Laws. Burke's compendious description of this system of legal oppression is frequently quoted, and can never be forgotten:—

"It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

Here is a brief sketch of some of them, as they flourished in the last century:—

If the eldest son of a Catholic family became a Protestant, the very fact invested him with the ownership of his parents' property; who had for the future nothing but the revenue coming from it, and who stood to their son in the position of tenants to their landlord. And no Catholic could be guardian to Catholic children. In case a Protestant guardian had not been appointed by the family, it was the duty of the Chancellor of Ireland to choose one for the Catholic minor.

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century the sacred prerogatives of domestic education and the inviolable privileges of the family hearth had been respected, even by Elizabeth, by Cromwell, and the Long Parliament. Orange hatred, however, more clear-sighted, was desirous to reach Catholicism even behind this venerated intrenchment, and to leave Catholics no alternative but to stagnate in utter ignorance or to imbibe

Protestant learning. For the attainment of this end a law of Queen Anne *banished from Ireland all Catholic teachers, and sentenced them even to death in case of return.* Wealthy families might, however, it was found, evade this law by sending their children to the schools of the Continent; so, another law was passed during the same year, which forbade Catholics under the severest penalties—forfeiture to the Crown of all real and personal estate—to send their children across the seas without special permission.

If a priest married a Catholic to a Protestant, the penalty was death. All bishops or ecclesiastical superiors whatever, having the power to ordain, were banished; in case of return, sentence of death for high treason, including hanging, drawing, and quartering, was incurred. Any common informer was at liberty to set the law in motion, and recover half the forfeiture, the burden of proof of innocence being cast on the person accused.

Catholics were excluded from Parliament, from public offices, and from the liberal professions, except that of medicine. By a law of 1703, modified in 1778, and repealed only in 1782, Irish Catholics were declared incapable of acquiring landed property. They might become farmers, but under the following conditions: Their lease must not exceed thirty years, a period regarded in Ireland at that time as very short; and during the whole run of the lease, the rent must, at least, equal two-thirds of the produce of the land.

Catholics were forbidden to keep horses worth more than five pounds; any Protestant was empowered to seize the best horse belonging to a Catholic, upon the payment of this sum. It is worthy of remark, that the offence here mentioned is not one's appearance in public with fine horses—it is the simple fact of possessing them. If a Catholic showed his horses, they were taken from him; *if he concealed them, he was punished.*

We often hear complaint now-a-days of the intolerance of Rome in forbidding marriage between Catholics and Protestants, except on condition that the children of the marriage shall be brought up in the creed of the former. But there was a penal statute which, perhaps, came home somewhat more forcibly to many Irishmen, as affecting their social relations, by practically preventing the marriage of Protestants with Roman Catholics

altogether. This was carried into effect by the Act 9 Will. III., cap. 3, which provided that any Protestant woman having an interest in land, who should marry any person without a certificate from a minister or a justice of the peace that the husband was a known Protestant, *should suffer the forfeiture of her estates to the next Protestant heir-at-law.*

English Protestant historians were not slow to realise the object of this dreadful persecution. My first extract from their writings is from the pen of a Protestant clergyman—the historian Leland. He shows the design with which these cruelties—*i.e.*, confiscations and penal laws—were committed:—

"The favourite object of the Irish governors and the English Parliament, was the utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin." (*Leland*, Book v., Chap. 4.)

My second quotation, establishing the same fact, is from another Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Warner:—

"It is evident from their (the Lords Justices) last letter to the Lieutenant, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of mere Irish only, but of all the old English families that were Roman Catholics." (*Warner's History*, p. 176.)

Upon this subject—namely, the design of utter extirpation—my next quotation is from the equally undeniable authority of Lord Clarendon:—

"The Parliament party . . . had grounded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman Catholic religion, *and even with any humanity to the Irish nation*, and more especially to those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had upon the matter sworn to extirpate." (*Clarendon*, I., 215.)

It was, in fact, in the words of another eminent Protestant historian, "extirpation preached for gospel." (*Carte's Ormonde*, c. iii., p. 170.)

The disabilities of Roman Catholics were further increased in the first year of the reign of George I., when an Act was passed by which every Roman Catholic was disfranchised, and thereby deprived of his vote both at parliamentary and municipal elections.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the Roman Catholic popu-

lation were disarmed also by statute (7 Will. III., cap. 5.), and that no manufacturer of firearms was permitted to take a Roman Catholic apprentice; for disarmament is the ordinary condition to which the Irish peasant has been subject *even to the present day.* And not without good reason, seeing that the British Government has never yet been able to contrive, meanwhile, any rational or Christian system whereby the Queen's subjects in Ireland might be enabled to live in the most ordinary comfort contented. It would be simple madness on the part of a "foreign" Government, as Mr. Gladstone has designated it, to supply its subjects with arms, which would inevitably be used for the overthrow of oppression, as in 1782. In truth the Irish are, at this hour, no better than serfs, however humiliating may be the description. "For, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed, is," says Swift, "the very definition of slavery"; true liberty only existing, according to Lord Bacon, "where there is a cheerful obedience to wise and just laws."

In 1715 and 1745, while Scotland and the North of England were in armed revolt, not a man stirred in Ireland; yet the spirit of persecution against Irish Catholics survived till fifty-five years ago, when it gradually gave way, no doubt to some extent owing to the increase of knowledge; but still more, it is painful to have to confess, owing to the fears, rather than the spontaneous good will, of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, in 1829.

It should, perhaps, be mentioned as illustrative of the state of servitude in which our fellow-subjects daily lived in the last century in Ireland, that in a legal case, in 1759, a Catholic was reminded from the Bench that "the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the Government." An order had been issued to deface all ensigns of honour borne by persons who had no legal title thereto, and the armorial bearings of the Catholic Lord Kenmare, an ancestor of the present Earl (who is honoured with the friendship of the Queen), were erased from his carriage in the very yard of Dublin Castle. (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., p. 436.)

Hallam says:—

"To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them like the Moriscos of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic."

Well may Mr. Matthew Arnold speak of:—

"That penal code, of which the monstrosity is not half known to Englishmen, and may be studied by them with profit."

I close this chapter with a short passage from the pen of Sydney Smith:—

"It [the Penal Code] reflects indelible disgrace upon the English character, and explains but too clearly the cause of that hatred in which the English name has been so long held in Ireland. It would require centuries to efface such an impression; and yet when we find it fresh and operating at the end of a few years, we explain the fact by every cause which can degrade the Irish, and by none which can remind us of our own scandalous policy." (*Works*, Longman's Edition, p. 148.)

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW THE ACT OF UNION WAS CARRIED.

"It is a simple and unexaggerated statement of the fact, that, in the entire history of representative government there is no instance of corruption having been applied on so large a scale, and with such audacious effrontery."—LECKY.

The "Union" was carried by means absolutely infamous; the fact is not denied, but is admitted on all hands. The details are matters of history, and constitute one of the most shameful chapters in the annals of any country. Since the Irish people were firmly and unalterably opposed to the Act of Union, projected in 1799, the Government of Pitt determined to carry the Act by wholesale bribery, an unwilling instrument of which was found in the person of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis; and by dismissing all those honest officials who, being opposed to it, could not be induced to sell their country's liberty for gold. 'It seems very desirable," Pitt observed, writing to Lord Cornwallis, January 26th, 1799, "if Government is strong enough to do it without too much immediate hazard, to mark by dismissal the sense entertained of the conduct of those persons in office who opposed." Every species of corruption was practised, and in some instances, on a scale of fabulous magnitude. Even the Press did not escape in the general pollution. Castlereagh, writing to Wickham, January 2nd, 1799, says:—

"We cannot give that activity to the Press which is requisite; already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain. I know the difficulties, and shall respect them as much as possible, in the extent of our expenditure; but notwithstanding every difficulty I cannot help most earnestly requesting to receive £5,000 in bank-notes by the first messenger."

A meeting of members of the bar was held in Dublin in December, 1798, when 33 favoured union, of whom 26 received, subsequently, appointments as judges, commissioners, and Custom House officials, (many in place of others dismissed). One of these persons—W. Longfield—was appointed commissioner to distribute the bribes to the Irish Parliament. Castlereagh considered that £1,500,000 would be the necessary sum for the purpose of bribery. The sum actually expended was, it is said, £1,260,000. There were eighty boroughs, with 103 borough seats in the Irish Parliament, belonging to patrons. The following are amongst the sums that were paid, many in hard cash, in return for a vote or votes for the Act of Union:—

Lord Downshire, £52,500, Lord Ely, £45,000; Earl of Carric[1] £14,350; Lord Clanmorris, £14,000; Sir Hercules Langris £13,862; Duke of Leinster, £13,800; Lord Lismore, £12,; Earl of Ludlow, £7,500; Earl of Shannon, £7,500; Lord £7,500; Hon. E. Massey, £6,850; Earl of Massareene and his brothers, each £3,750. Lord Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenai at length disgusted with such dishonouring work. Writing t Bishop of Lichfield, April 27th, 1799, he says:—

"You will easily conceive how unpleasant my situation i and how little I can flatter myself with the hopes of obtaining any credit for myself, or of rendering any essential service to my country. Sincerely do I repent that I did not return to Bengal."

He observes to General Ross, June 8th in the same year:—

"My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work."

When the address proposing the Union was only carried by a majority of one in the House of Commons, he wrote to the Duke of Portland:—

"The late experiment has shown the impossibility of carrying a measure which is contrary to the private interests of those who are to decide upon it, *and which is not supported by the voice of the country at large;* and I think it is evident that if ever a second trial of the Union is to be made, the Catholics must be included."

An Act introduced by Attorney-General Toler (afterwards Lord Norbury), was passed to indemnify the agents of Government for any legal difficulties to which they had exposed them-

selves by what was called "vigour beyond the law"; which vigour had often been displayed in the infliction of bodily torture, especially flogging, in the burning of houses, and the murder of the inhabitants in the rebellion, deliberately provoked, which ensued. The expression of public opinion was as far as possible stifled. Sheriffs were appointed in the anti-national interest. Mr. Darby, high sheriff of the King's County, and Major Rogers, who commanded the British artillery at Birr, conspired to disperse a meeting of freeholders, convened by the magistrates, to petition against the Union. Major Rogers approached the Sessions House where the petitioners were assembled, riding at the head of four pieces of artillery with matches, and he declared that he only waited for one word from the sheriff to blow the Sessions House about the ears of its occupants. After some parley, the magistrates and freeholders, having rapidly adopted the petition, deemed it prudent to disperse, and adjourned to the inn, where the petition lay for signatures.

Pitt felt most strongly that the Union could only be carried by wholesale bribery and corruption. But his letters are a marvel of evasion. He hints, suggests, but scarcely ever states the thing out. He thought Foster (the Speaker) might be corrupted, and he wrote to Cornwallis:—

"I think I may say that he (Foster) will not obstruct the measure, and I rather hope that if it can be made palatable to him personally that he will give it fair support. It would, as it seems to me, be well worth while, for this purpose, to hold out to him the prospect of an Irish Peerage."

Foster, however, scorned the offer, declaring he would not be a party to bartering the free constitution of his country for all the revenue of England. Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, was cast in quite a different mould from Lord Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant. He did not care a fig for the morality of the thing. The Union had to be carried—never mind by what means. Writing to the Duke of Portland on another occasion, he says:—

"Your Grace, I trust, will not be surprised at my request that you will assist us in the same way and to the same extent as you did previous to Mr. Elliot's leaving London. The advantages have been important, and it is very desirable that this request should be complied with without delay."

Mr. Elliot, "previous to leaving London," had received a sum

of money to be placed at the disposal of Lord Castlereagh for Unionist purposes. This second letter was not answered as promptly as Castlereagh desired, so on the 2nd January, 1800, he wrote to John King at the Treasury, London:—

"I am impatient to hear from you on the subject of my letter to the Duke. We are in great distress, and I wish the transmiss was more considerable than the last: it is very important that we should not be destitute of the means on which so much depends."

And what were these "means on which so much depends"? The success of the Union depended on the amount of coin which Lord Castlereagh could distribute among the Unionist faction. This letter bears a memorandum in Mr. King's handwriting:—

"It (the money) was sent this day to Lord Castlereagh. I ventured so far as to observe to Lord Castlereagh that the fund was good security for a still further sum if it could be well laid out."

Who could refuse Lord Castlereagh? and of course the "fund was well laid out." On the 25th of January we find the Chief Secretary writing for more money, and not getting it, on the 27th February, 1800, he addressed this precious epistle to King:—

"Private and secret.

"My Dear Sir—I see no prospect of converts; the Opposition are steady to each other. I hope we shall be able to keep our friends true. A few votes might have a very injurious effect. We require *your assistance* [the italics are Castlereagh's] and you *must* be prepared to enable us to fulfil the expectations which it was impossible to avoid creating at the moment of difficulty."

On the 1st March, Cooke, Under-Secretary, followed up Castlereagh's letter with this:—

"When can you make the remittance promised? It is absolutely essential, for our demands increase. Pray let Lord Castlereagh know without delay what can be done by you."

Grattan said:—

"The Ministry founded its authority on moral depravity, and formed a league and covenant with an oligarchy, to transfer for hire, virtually and substantially, the power of legislation to the Cabinet of another kingdom."

Mr. Lecky says:—

"It is a simple and unexaggerated statement of the fact, that, in the entire history of representative government there is no instance of corruption having been applied on so large a scale, and with such audacious effrontery."

And in his *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 147, speaking of the policy of Pitt, the historian says:—

"He sowed in Ireland the seeds of discord and bloodshed, of religious animosities and social disorganisation, which paralysed the energies of the country, and rendered possible the success of his machinations. The rebellion of 1798, with all the accumulated miseries it entailed, was the direct and predicted consequence of his policy."

This rebellion, thus provoked, cost £22,000,000 to suppress it, which enormous sum, with the amount alleged to have been distributed for purposes of bribery, &c., raised the public debt of Ireland to £26,000,000. And what has been the effect of a Union carried by fraud and upheld by force, never acquiesced in by the Irish people, and hated from its very inception to the present hour? Let Mr. Lecky answer, than whom there can be no better informed or more competent witness:—

"The measure of Pitt centralised, but it did not unite, or, rather, by uniting the Legislatures it divided the nations. In a country where the sentiment of nationality was as intense as in any part of Europe, it destroyed the national Legislature contrary to the manifest wish of the people, and by means so corrupt, treacherous, and shameful that they are never likely to be forgotten. More than seventy years have passed since the boasted measure of Pitt, and it is unfortunately incontestable that the lower orders in Ireland are as hostile to the system of Government under which they live as the Hungarian people have been to Austrian, or the Roman people to Papal rule; *that Irish disloyalty is multiplying enemies of England wherever the English tongue is spoken;* and that national sentiment runs so strongly that multitudes of Irish Catholics look back with deep affection to the Irish Parliament, although no Catholic could sit within its walls, and although it was only during the last seven years of its independent existence that Catholics could vote for its members. Among the opponents of the Union were many of the most loyal as well as nearly all the ablest men in Ireland. The Union of 1800 was not only a great crime, but was also like most crimes—a great blunder!" (*Leaders of Public Opinion.*)

The reader is referred to the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, which may be obtained at any library, for the grounds of Mr. Lecky's

sweeping accusation. It was probably after some fresh perusal of the revolting letters of Lord Castlereagh—the "cold-blooded, smooth-faced, placid miscreant," as he is described by Byron—that Mr. Gladstone penned the now historic private epistle wherein he speaks of the "blackguardism" by means of which the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was eventually carried. Addressing the House of Commons on the 16th April last, Mr. Gladstone refers to the Union as follows:—

"We used the whole civil government of Ireland as an engine of wholesale corruption, and we extended that corruption to what ought to have been a sacred thing—namely, the Church which we maintained and supported in the land. We did everything in our power to irritate and to exasperate the Irish people by the whole of that policy. Then came 1795, the brightest period of the history of the Irish Parliament under the Lord Lieutenancy of Lord Fitzwilliam, when, through the sentiment of nationality, that Parliament was about to do for Ireland what would have given to it the seed of every promise of happiness and prosperity, beginning with the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a measure that would have led by a chain of links that could not have been broken to Parliamentary Reform, and the admission of the people to political power. But they took Lord Fitzwilliam away. They strove to keep him, but England would not let them. What then? We brought about the Union. I have avoided that subject because I did not want to enter into the details of it. It is dreadful to read the language of Lord Cornwallis and the disgust of an honourable mind at the transactions in which he found himself under the painful necessity of engaging. I will only say that we obtained that Union, against the sense of every class of the community, *by wholesale bribery and unblushing intimidation.*"

Chapter XIV.

OPINIONS OF THE GREAT WHIGS ON THE SUBJECT.

"By a union I mean something more than a mere word—a union, not of Parliaments, but of hearts, affections, and interests—a union of vigour, of ardour, of zeal for the general welfare of the British Empire."
—Charles Grey.

Let us now observe what the great Whigs thought of the Act of Union in days gone by, for it is worth recalling, seeing that so many of their successors have ranged themselves in opposition to the Irish national claims, even when advocated by a statesman so eminent as Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Edinburgh on the 21st of June last, observed as follows :—

"Every genuine Whig was a strong opponent to the Act of Union, predicted its ruinous consequences, and all the difficulties with which we are now endeavouring to struggle. Not he [Charles James Fox] alone, but I believe every great family, certainly the bulk of the great families of the Whig connection, followed Mr. Fox in that policy; and we are now defending the policy of the Fitzwilliams and the Cavendishes, and I know not how many more of that day, against their descendants who resist us in the present."

The accuracy of this observation will be gathered at once from a cursory examination even of this brief list of Whig opinions. To begin with, Charles James Fox, speaking in the House of Commons, April 16th, 1782, said :—

"For his part he had rather see Ireland totally separated from the Crown of England than kept in obedience only by force. Unwilling subjects were little better than enemies; it would be better not to have subjects at all than to have such as would be continually on the watch to seize the opportunity of making themselves free."

Lord Shelburne, another member of the same illustrious party, speaking in the House, May 17th, 1782, was equally emphatic on the reasonableness of the Irish national claims. He observed :—

"Ireland had demanded four things: the first and the most essential to them was a free Constitution, which they could not be said to enjoy while they were subject to laws not made with their own consent.'

Lord Carlisle, another eminent Whig, and sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, writing to Lord Hillsborough, March 19th, 1782, declared:—

"It is beyond a doubt that the practicability of governing Ireland by English laws is becoming utterly visionary. It is with me equally beyond a doubt that Ireland may be well and happily governed by its own laws. It is, however, by no means so clear that if the present moment is neglected this country will not be driven into a state of confusion, the end of which no man can foresee or limit."

Edmund Burke, writing to Lord Charlemont, says:—

"I am convinced that no reluctant tie can be a strong one, and that a natural cheerful alliance will be a far securer link of connection than any principle of subordination borne with grudging discontent."

Elsewhere the great orator said:—

"I wish to have as close a union of interest and affection with Ireland as I can; and that, I am sure, is a far better thing than any nominal union of Government."

And in his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, written in 1793, he thus refers to proposals which were then in the air for a union with Great Britain:—

"I have heard a discussion concerning such a union amongst all sorts of men ever since I remember anything. For my own part, I have never been able to bring my mind to anything clear and decisive upon the subject. There cannot be a more arduous question. As far as I can form an opinion, it would not be for the advantage of the two kingdoms."

Writing from Bath in March, 1797, Burke thus defines the relations which ought to subsist betwixt the two Parliaments of Great Britain and of Ireland:—

"My poor opinion is that the closest connection between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the well-being—I had almost said the being—of the two kingdoms. For that purpose I humbly conceive that the whole of the superior, and what I should call Imperial, politics ought to have its residence here; and that Ireland, locally, civilly, and commercially independent, ought politically to look up to Great Britain in all matters of peace or of war, and in a word with her to

live and to die. At bottom, Ireland has no other choice—I mean, no other rational choice." . . . And then in this same letter there is an eloquent paragraph on the Irish House of Commons, in which he expressly declares it to be his sincere wish that the said House should "stand on its present basis." This, let it be borne in mind, was "Grattan's Parliament." (*Irish Affairs*, p. 173.)

There is contemporary confirmation, if confirmation were needed, that Burke was in favour of the maintenance of an Irish Parliament. His intimate friend and executor, Dr. Lawrance, M.P., speaking in 1799 in the English House of Commons on the debate on the Union, related that Burke used to say to him:—

"England and Ireland have grown up under circumstances which do not admit of incorporation with each other. . . . I desire to see the connection of the two sister kingdoms reduced to a positive compact; and the manner explicitly defined in which Ireland, with the entire and absolute power of local legislation, should be bound on questions of peace or war to stand or fall with Great Britain." (*Parliamentary Debates*, 1799, p. 311.)

Sheridan, another of the great Whigs, was a British statesman of Irish descent, and an equal honour to England and Ireland. On January 23rd, 1799, speaking on the Address, he said:—

"An union effected at present without the unequivocal sense of the Irish people in its favour, an union effected by fraud, by intrigue, by corruption, by intimidation, will ultimately tend to endanger the connection between the two countries."

And again, in the House of Commons, February 7th, 1799, the same distinguished man spoke as follows:—

"I deny that we have no alternative between separation and union. The real alternative is, that the Irish Government should no longer continue to be a corrupt English job. Is it meant to be asserted that there is some innate depravity in the Irish character which renders them unfit to have a Parliament of their own? No, the cause of the corruption which has been complained of is obvious. The Government of Ireland has been made a job of for the advantage of English Ministers. This is the corruption, this is the evil that has pervaded it from first to last; but before Ireland be required to surrender her independence, let at least a trial be made of what can be done by an honest Irish Parliament; by a Parliament uninfluenced by a British Minister; by a Parliament having the interest and the happiness of Ireland for its object, and looking to Irish prosperity and Irish gratitude for its reward."

The honoured name of Charles Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, requires no introduction to English readers. Speaking in the House of Commons, February 7th, 1799, he said:—

"What I most heartily wish for is a union between the two countries: by a union I mean something more than a mere word—a union, not of Parliaments, but of hearts, affections, and interests—a union of vigour, of ardour, of zeal for the general welfare of the British Empire It is this species of union, and this only, that can tend to increase the real strength of the Empire, and give it security against any danger. But if any measure with the name only of union be proposed, and the tendency of which would be to disunite us, to create disaffection, distrust, and jealousy, it can only tend to weaken the whole of the British Empire. Of this nature do I take the present measure [Bill of Union] to be. Discontent, distrust, jealousy, suspicion are the visible fruits of it in Ireland already: if you persist in it, resentment will follow; and though you should be able, which I doubt, to obtain a seeming consent of the Parliament of Ireland to the measure, *yet the people of that country would wait for an opportunity of recovering their rights, which they will say were taken from them by force.*"

The opposition to the Union resolutions in the House of Lords was led by Lord Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, who, speaking March 19th, 1799, reminded the House that this opposition was not limited to the Irish Parliament only, but the project had been treated by the Irish nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of frenzy. He said:—

"After this marked reprobation of the proposal [*i.e.*, the Union], what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame than our persevering in it? However anxious he might be to consolidate the connection between the two countries, he would not advise the adoption of the measure, even could the consent of the Irish House of Commons be obtained, so long as the minds of the people were averse to it; because he well knew that it would be to nourish, in delusive security, *a secret fire which would one day not only devour that country, but the whole Empire.*"

On the Report Mr. Hobhouse—a name once great among the Whigs—said:—

"The Union scheme went to the destruction of the rights of the Irish nation, and could not but meet with the opposition of people of all classes, except such as wished for a separation between the two countries." . . . "This measure will, instead of confidence, introduce jealousy; instead of affection, hatred; instead of strength, weakness; instead of virtue, corruption." "Sir John Parnell, Mr. Lee, Mr. Barrington, Mr. Plunket, all the lawyers of eminence, nearly all the bar" (witness the debate on Sunday, December 9th, 1798),

"opposed the Union *because they were convinced that it would facilitate the total separation of the two countries*, and that though Union might receive the assent of the two Legislatures, the people would not be bound by such an agreement."

So much for the opinions—one might almost say the *prophecies*—of the great Whigs of a past century or a past generation. And surely no one who is not the merest partisan, and wholly incapable of intellectual generalisation, could think for a moment of comparing the wise, far-seeing, and truly patriotic Whig statesmen of those bygone days with the politicians, pretending to the same faith, who combined with their enemies to effect the temporary defeat of Mr. Gladstone a few months ago.

Amongst the few speeches which he ever delivered in the House of Lords, Lord Byron, who did not give up to party "what was meant for mankind,"—in this respect contrasting very favourably with one or two of our second-rate modern poets—speaking of the Union, on the 21st of April, 1812, uttered this scathing denunciation of that unblessed compact:—

"That Union, so called, as *lucus a non lucendo*, a union from never uniting, which in its first operation gave a death-blow to the independence of Ireland, and in its last may be the cause of her eternal separation from this country. If it must be called a Union, it is the union of the shark with his prey; the spoiler swallows up his victim, and they become one and inseparable. Thus has Great Britain swallowed up the Parliament, the Constitution, the independence of Ireland."

There is another illustrious Englishman, happily still living, who has spoken remarkable words in reference to the ill-assorted connection between England and Ireland; and though he must on no account be placed in the same category as the Whigs—since he scorns the name—yet it may not be altogether out of place to quote him here. Referring to the alleged "donation" of Ireland to Henry II. by Pope Adrian, Cardinal Newman observes as follows:—

"It does require some explanation how an oracle so high and irrefragable [as the Holy See] should have given its religious sanction to a Union so unblessed, and which, at the end of seven centuries, is as devoid of moral basis, or of effective accomplishment, as it was at the commencement." (*Historical Sketches*, Vol. III., p. 257.)

CHAPTER XV.

THE FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL GRIEVANCE RESULTING FROM THE UNION.

"*The nation that loses her liberty loses her revenues.*"—GRATTAN.

Ireland had no public debt till within a few years of Grattan's Parliament, and only owed £2,000,000 down to within two years of the Union; in which year the debt rose to nearly £27,000,000. The increase was due to the policy of the English Government, Pitt having spent £2,000,000, or thereabouts, in a wholesale system of bribery, the steady object of his Irish policy being, according to Mr. Lecky, "to corrupt and degrade, in order that he might ultimately destroy the Legislature of the country." Further, Mr. Lecky accuses Pitt of having deliberately provoked the rebellion of 1798 for party purposes, which was quenched in blood at an expenditure of £22,000,000, and this enormous sum, with the millions spent in bribery, was added to the public debt of Ireland. Nor is this all. At the time of the Union it was solemnly agreed and arranged that Ireland's contributions to Imperial expenditure as compared with that of Great Britain should be as 1 to 7½, a proportion which was strongly objected to by the opponents of the Union as greater than Ireland should be called upon to bear, having regard to her relative ability. It was arranged also that Ireland's taxation should not be raised to the standard of Great Britain until two conditions should be reached —(1) that the debts of the two countries should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts to Ireland; and (2) that the circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation. The two Exchequers were to be kept separate meanwhile, but the English Government took care that the period should be short, for in 1817, that is, sixteen years after the Union, the Irish debt was increased to

£121,000,000, and the two Exchequers were, in violation of a solemn engagement, summarily amalgamated. The English debt was increased by less than one-half, while the Irish debt was quadrupled, thus bringing the latter up to the proportion insisted on by Castlereagh, by which Parliament was enabled, under the seventh article of the Union, to abolish separate quotas of contribution, and thenceforth tax the two countries indiscriminately.

The following table, contained in a Parliamentary return, No. 35, issued in 1819, exhibits the financial progress made by Ireland on the road to ruin, to gratify Pitt's ideas of Imperial unity; which have, as Mr. Lecky says, "by uniting the Legislatures, divided the nations":—

Year.	British debt. £	Ann. charge. £	Irish debt. £	Ann. charge. £
Jan. 5, 1801 ...	450,504,984 ...	17,718,851 ..	28,545,134 ...	1,244,463
Jan. 5, 1817 ...	734,522,104 ...	28,238,416 ...	112,704,773 ...	4,104,514

But it was not in the matter of taxation only that Ireland suffered by the Union. Lord Clare, the chief Irish advocate of the Union, made this notable admission in 1798:—

"There is not a nation on the face of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation, in manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland," viz., during the years of Grattan's Parliament.

Judge Jebb, another distinguished man, in a pamphlet published in the same year, wrote:—

"In the course of fifteen years our commerce, our agriculture, and our manufactures have swelled to an amount that the most sanguine friends of Ireland could not have dared to prognosticate."

And Lord Plunket, in 1799, said:—

"Ireland's revenues, her trade, her manufactures had thriven beyond the hope or the example of any other country of her extent, within these few years [before the Union], advancing with a rapidity astonishing even to herself."

The bankers of Dublin held a meeting on December 18th, 1798, at which they passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, that since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in 1782 to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased."

The Guild of Merchants met on January 14th following, and passed a resolution declaring :—

"That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertion of our countrymen in 1782. That we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right and immediate power to legislate for themselves."

Let us see what was the effect of Pitt's measure on manufactures. In 1800 there were in—

Dublin	-	90 Woollen manufacturers, employing 4,918 hands,
,,	-	30 Wool-combers, employing 230 hands,
,,	-	13 Carpet-combers, employing 230 hands,
,,	-	2,500 Silk-loom weavers,
Cork	-	1,000 Braid weavers,
,,	-	2,000 Worsted weavers,
,,	-	3,000 Hosiers,
,,	-	700 Wool-combers,
,,	-	2,000 Cotton weavers,
,,	-	600 Linen-check weavers,
Wicklow	-	1,000 Hand-loom weavers,
Kilkenny	-	57 Blanket manufacturers,
Balbriggan	-	2,500 Calico Looms at work.

To-day not a vestige of these industries remains, while of new works to take their place there are practically none. From a Report of the Select Committee on Dublin Local Taxation in 1825, it would appear that :—

"Prior to the Union, 98 Peers, and a proportionate number of wealthy Commoners, inhabited the city [of Dublin]. The number of resident peers at present does not exceed twelve." . . . "The number of insolvent houses augmented, from the year 1815 to 1822, from 880 to 4,719. In 1799 there were only 7 bankrupts in Dublin; in 1810 there were 125."

And this is but one instance of decline, for all over the country may be seen roofless factories, idle mill-wheels, and empty store-houses. In the town of Galway alone, the capital of an impoverished district, though it possesses one of the finest harbours in Europe, there are everywhere around innumerable proofs of such melancholy decay. What Dublin is reduced to now, sixty years later, any visitor can see for himself.

Chapter XVI.

ABSENTEEISM.—ANOTHER RESULT.

"*Absentee is a word used commonly with regard to Irishmen living out of their country.*"—Johnson.

But there is another financial result of the Union, so-called, of 1800, which also deserves attention. Although it cannot be denied that Absenteeism was an Irish grievance before the Union, yet it derived a new stimulus from that event, as it took away from the educated classes of Irishmen the only remaining incentive which they had left them to remain at home. Their Parliament abolished, those magnificent mansions of the wealthy with which Dublin abounds to this day—a melancholy memorial of the past,—were converted into barracks, Government offices, or public institutions, not always of a reproductive character, if they did not remain altogether untenanted, or lapse into decay. It might have been better, perhaps, for the peace and happiness of the United Kingdom if the late Mr. M'Culloch had confined his theories on Absenteeism more strictly within the limits of political economy as an abstract science. His evidence before Select Committees, in 1825-30, is every day quoted as an apology for an ordinary state of things in Ireland, which is a direct inversion of that which prevails or would be tolerated for a single year in England. No English nobleman or English gentleman, however carelessly disposed, would dare allow his tenantry to be seen in the destitute and degraded state which is the normal condition of the Irish peasantry, for instance, while he resided himself permanently in France or Germany. Public opinion in England would be too strong for him; and, indeed, the common voice of mankind is agreed that Absenteeism is an evil and an injustice. In Ireland it commonly points to lands only half-cultivated, to labourers employed no more than a third of their time, to children famishing

for want of clothes as well as for want of food, and, lastly, to hovels the like of which, as human habitations, has never yet been described by modern or ancient traveller as existing elsewhere in the world—not even in the much-scorned recesses of Asiatic Turkey.

Would these things be if landowners resided on their estates? They do not choose to do so, and there is no law to compel them, except the great law of moral obligation at which they snap their fingers. But the day of retribution comes when such neglect of duty develops into destitution and disaffection. The political economist cannot shut his eyes to these facts, though he may urge that they are outside the boundaries of his science, and belong to the moralist to explain. Irishmen living out of their country are described by an English writer, Sadler, "as the deadliest foes of Ireland. . . . the cutpurses of the Empire." Swift was never tired lashing the terrible evil that required "those great remittances which perpetually drained the country" . . . "and drove half the farmers into beggary and banishment." Almost every English writer on Irish topics has reprobated the evil, and written in condemnation of the heartless absentees, as, for instance, Croker, Curwen, Reid, Young, Kay, Thornton, &c. One of the most recent English writers on the subject, Mr. W. Leigh Bernard, observes that "numerous large owners of lands in Ireland at the present day have not even a residence in the country, and those who have residences rarely occupy them, save for a very short season each year."

D'Alton, in his *History of the County Dublin*, p. 85, gives a comparative table, compiled from the most approved authorities, of the amount of the annual absentee rental, as follows:—

1691 - - - -	£136,018
1729 - - - -	627,799
1782 - - - -	2,223,222
1783 - - - -	1,608,932
1804 - - - -	3,000,000
1830 - - - -	4,000,000
1838 - - - -	5,000,000

But it is now commonly computed by modern writers at or about £6.000,000, and this enormous sum is abstracted annually from a

poor country like Ireland. In one county, Mayo, and that perhaps the poorest in the whole country, five of the largest landed proprietors are absentee gentlemen of rank, whose estates alone extend over an area of 369,000 acres. The Parliamentary returns prepared by the Local Government Board set forth the valuation of this vast acreage, for taxation purposes, as £71,000, which probably represents a rental of £100,000 a year; in other words, a sum largely in excess of the total amount distributed throughout the county by the various charitable organisations during the crisis of 1879-80, and nearly a third of the valuation of the whole of Mayo. And this, it is to be remembered, merely comprises the property of a few of the class, since the county is interspersed with their estates, numerous if smaller, in various directions.

An English Tory, Mr. Sadler, M.P. for Newark, author of *Ireland and Its Evil* (1829), asks:—

"Is a system which can only be supported by brute force, and is kept up by constant blood-shedding, to be perpetuated for ever? Are we still to garrison a defenceless country in behalf of those whose property was, generally speaking, originally conferred on the special condition of residence, but whose desertion occasions all the evils under which she has groaned for centuries—property so treated that it would not be worth a day's purchase were the proprietors its sole protectors? But they are aware that their absence is balanced by the presence of a body of military and police, which enables them to conduct themselves with as little apprehension as remorse. The possessions of the entire Empire would be lost were such conduct general."

But it is the moral iniquity of the system, even more than the material loss, which operates so disastrously in Ireland. Several official reports attest the various evils caused by this eternal drain on the only industry left there in the present century. Mr. Sergeant Lloyd, before a Committee of the House of Lords, observed:—

"The parts with which I am acquainted the principal gentry have deserted. They have become absentees, and I am sure I ought not to have omitted to enumerate that as a principal cause of the disorderly state of the disturbed counties." (*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 207.)

Similar was the testimony before the same Committee of Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice) Blackburne, while Commissioner of the Insurrection Act during several years in the South of Ireland:—

He said:—

"As to the state of Ireland," "any view I suggest would be incomplete without stating the effects of Absenteeship. My opinion is that, independent of its abstraction from the country of so much wealth, it produces great mischief to the whole framework of society; in Ireland, I may say, there is the destitution, the want of a distinct class. In ordinary times, the loss of influence and authority, and the control which belongs to education, to rank, and to property, must be deeply felt in any country; but when it becomes disturbed, I need not say that that which would form the barrier for the protection of the peace is lost in Ireland; and I have now been administering the Insurrection Act in counties where the property of absentees is extensive."

The following is an extract from a remarkable charge—still applicable, to a large extent, to the state of Ireland—which was delivered by Baron Fletcher to the Wexford County Grand Jury in 1813:—

"I should imagine that the permanent absentees ought to see the policy (if no better motive can influence them) of appropriating liberally at home some part of those splendid revenues which they draw from this country. Is it not high time for them to offer some assistance, originating from themselves, towards improving and ameliorating the condition of the lower orders of the peasantry upon their great domains, and rendering their lives more comfortable. . . . Are the farms of an English landowner out of lease, or his cottages in a state of dilapidation? He rebuilds every one of them for his tenants, or he covenants to supply them with materials for the purpose. But how are matters conducted in this country? Why, if there is a house likely to fall into ruins upon an expiring lease, the new rack-rent tenant must rebuild it himself; and can you wonder if your plantations are visited for the purpose, if your young trees are turned into plough handles, spade handles, or roofs for their cabins? They are more than Egyptian taskmasters who call for bricks without furnishing a supply of straw. . . . Gentlemen, I will tell you what these absentees ought particularly to do. They ought to promote the establishment of houses of refuge, houses of industry, and schoolhouses, and set the example, upon their own estates, of building decent cottages, so that the Irish peasant may have at least the comfort of an 'English sow'; for an English farmer would refuse to eat the flesh of a hog so lodged and fed as an Irish peasant is. . . . I do not suppose that you should expect any immediate amendment or public benefit from the plans I have suggested for the education of the poor. It is in vain to flatter yourselves that you can improve their minds if you neglect their bodies. Where have you ever heard of a people desirous of education who had not clothes to cover them or bread to eat? I have never known that any people, under such circumstances, had any appetite for moral instruction."

What a picture these upright Judges severally present us with as to the evils of Absenteeism in their day. Yet the Imperial Parliament has never, *down to the present hour*, even made an honest attempt to grapple with them. The usual artificial famines have desolated town and country alike, but successive Governments have seemed incapable of applying any remedy save Insurrection Acts, Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts, and Martial Law.

Absenteeism is, it should perhaps be explained, coeval with the English invasion, but early English monarchs tried to apply a remedy, though probably for military and other State reasons rather than through compassion for its victims. For instance, Richard II. asked his Parliament, in 1377, to make a law "obliging all persons who possessed lands, rents, or other income in Ireland to reside there, or else to pay a tax to the amount of two-thirds of their Irish revenues." Sir John Davies (*temp.* 1612) explains how Richard's ordinance was acted upon in the reign of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.; the latter not fearing to put it in execution even against the Duke of Norfolk, by depriving him of two parts of the profits of Dorbury's Island and other lands in the County of Wexford. And afterwards, upon the same grounds, all the Irish estates of the House of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Berkeley, and others were entirely resumed by the Act of Absentees, made in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII: The 10th of Charles I. imposed a tax on absentees of four shillings in the pound; that is, on Irish persons "dwelling in England and elsewhere out of Ireland . . . unless such persons should reside within the kingdom [Ireland] for six months in every year." And the Irish historian, Haverty, relates how, four centuries later, during the Lord Lieutenancy of Earl Harcourt (1773), a Bill of the same nature was presented to the Irish Parliament, "to lay a tax of two shillings in the pound on the income of Irish absentee landlords, who would not reside in Ireland at least six months in each year." It is reported to have been a popular measure, rendering the Viceroy, who proposed it, a favourite with the people. But, as might have been expected, having been proposed to the very class against whom it was hoped it would operate, it was, of course, unlike the law of Richard II., thrown out. Later still, under the administration of Sir Robert Peel (1841-46), a new tax was levied upon Irish absentees, in the shape of the Income-tax,

if they were unable to prove that they resided for the greater portion of the year at home. But it is evident that this was not seriously meant as an attempt at a coercive measure, and the result is seen in the deplorable consequences of the heartless disregard, by the landlords, of the duties of property during the great famine of 1847. The Society of Friends, for instance, reported in their *Transactions* (pp. 212-14-16) in 1852, that many of the largest Irish counties, such, for instance, as Cork, Cavan, Donegal, Mayo, &c., were virtually deserted by the wealthiest of the proprietors of the soil, leaving the whole burden to fall on those others who were compelled by the smallness of their fortunes to reside on their estates, and whose moderate incomes were insufficient to ameliorate the sad condition of the starving population around them.

And Mr. Froude writes as follows on the subject:—

"The absentee landlords of Ireland had neither community of interest with the people nor sympathy of race. They had no fear of provoking their resentment, for they lived beyond their reach. They had no desire for their welfare, for as individuals they were ignorant of their existence. They regarded their Irish estates as the sources of their income; their only desire was to extract the most out of them which the soil could be made to yield; and they cared no more for the souls and the bodies of those who were in fact committed to their charge than the owners of a West Indian plantation for the herds of slaves whose backs were blistering in the cane fields." (*English in Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 20.)

Mr. J. H. Tuke, an English member of the deservedly honoured Society of Friends, thus relates his own experiences on this subject in his *Donegal and Connaught*, some three-and-thirty years later, viz., in 1880:—

"Mayo was one of the proclaimed districts, and has been the centre of the great wave of anti-rent agitation which last autumn swept across the country and which has been productive of so much evil fruit. The districts around Claremorris and Swinford seem especially disturbed, and it may be noted that there is hardly a resident landlord in these districts, and that therefore the people are more left to themselves than in the case where a good resident landlord exists. Here, too, the misery of the population has been very marked, and the absence of men of independent position or judgment is most seriously felt in the administration of the Poor Law. The difference in the disaffected state of the people in North and South Mayo further illustrates this. In *South* Mayo, from Westport eastward, the chief landlords are nearly all non-residents—five or more—whose total rentals taken out of the

country cannot be less than £80,000 a year. . . . It is in South Mayo that the great seat of disturbance exists, and where, as I have noticed, the largest body of police is quartered, and where there are many men who dare not stir out of their houses without their escort. In North Mayo a less hostile spirit as a rule exists. Many of the landlords are resident, and exercise a beneficial influence over their poorer neighbours and tenants. . . . Nor must it be overlooked, in reference to the disaffected condition of Mayo, that it was in this county that the greatest number of evictions occurred in 1846-50; thousands were thus turned out of house and home, and the records of the famine year have left a tale of suffering and sorrow which will not be soon forgotten. . . . At Newport, as elsewhere, the amount of work thrown upon the very few resident gentry is enormous, and the strain is now much added to by the preparation of the lists, and the distribution of seed potatoes and oats to the numerous applicants, whether in connection with the Union supply, or those granted to the poorer tenants from the Dublin Fund. In addition to the injury caused by the withdrawal of income, the injustice committed by non-resident landlords, who thus evade all their duties in a time of extreme need, is often adverted to; *and I have heard resident proprietors most seriously urge the infliction of a heavy fine for non-residence.*" (pp. 58-87.)

If any commonplace compiler of a modern English pamphlet were to hint that the absentee aristocracy of Ireland should have the ordinances of Richard II. or Henry VIII. put in force against them, such a pamphleteer would most assuredly be told that he was not endowed with, and therefore could lay no claim to, the "wisdom of our ancestors." And yet it can hardly be on the score of old age that those ordinances are discarded in Ireland; an Act of Edward III., for the arrest of "night-walkers," having actually been put in force to secure the arrest of highly respectable, educated ladies in that country who showed too keen a sympathy with the victims of landlord oppression in 1882-3, while their male relatives were in gaol as "suspects," *i.e.*, untried prisoners, without the commission of any overt act being charged against them. An extract from *Hansard* will describe the treatment to which these ladies were subjected who were sentenced to be imprisoned by Mr. Clifford Lloyd and other magistrates, with the aid of that long-deceased monarch Edward III.:—

"Mr. Labouchere asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is true that Mrs. Moore, Miss Kirk, Miss O'Connor, and Miss Reynolds, who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment under an ancient Act for alleged intimidation,

by different stipendiary magistrates, are kept in solitude for about twenty-three hours out of twenty-four; and whether the time has arrived when, in the interests of the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, these ladies should be restored to their friends?

"Mr. Trevelyan (now Sir George) said the ladies named in this question had been committed to prison in default of finding bail, and are treated in exact conformity with the prison rules; and according to the rules for 'bailed prisoners,' they are allowed two hours for exercise daily, *and are therefore in their cells for twenty-two out of twenty-four hours.* They can at once return to their friends on tendering the requisite sureties." (*Hansard*, Vol. CCLXIX., p. 1404.)*

It will be seen that these ladies were suffering far more severely than the men arrested under the Coercion Act. The prisoners under the Coercion Act were allowed to have communication with each other for six hours daily. The young ladies sentenced by Mr. Clifford Lloyd were in solitude throughout the entire day. In the prisons in which they were placed there were none but the degraded of their own sex; and sometimes the young ladies attended their religious devotions in close proximity to the prostitutes and thieves of the district.

Again then, it may be asked, what has there been to prevent Parliament from making absenteeism a penal offence amongst Irish landlords at any time in the past, and especially since the Union? It is to be feared the answer must be the same regarding this as Irish grievances generally; Parliament uniformly held its penalties and coercive measures, not for the evil-doers who so richly merited them, but rather for their unfortunate plundered victims—the half-starved, half-naked peasants whom their oppressive exactions periodically drove into insurrection and revolt.

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* How cold our quondam Chief Secretary is. It was this void in his nature which made him the object of so much dislike in Ireland. It must surely go very hard even with an official of Dublin Castle when he has to take to torturing womankind. The ordeal brought out some fine traits of character. I met Miss Helen Taylor, of London, a disciple of John Stuart Mill, on a Sunday morning, in Belmullet, whither she had travelled all night some fifty miles over a bleak bog, in the midst of a November storm of wind and rain, to attend an inquest on a peasant girl who had been bayonetted to death by some drunken policemen.

Chapter XVII.

THE ULSTER QUESTION.

IS THE PROVINCE PROTESTANT?

"Ulster, tried by every test of wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, is far in advance of the southern and western provinces of Ireland."—An Exploded Superstition.

It is still so commonly understood in England, although without the slightest warrant, that Ulster is almost an exclusively Protestant province, it may be rendering a service to the politics of common-sense to expose the fallacy once more, even though it should be for the hundredth time. The *Times*, with characteristic enterprise, found out this fallacy some time ago, and uttered the following thoughtful reflections on the fact in June, 1884:—

"The truth is that Ulster is by no means the homogeneous Orange and Protestant community which it suits the Orangemen to represent it. In some counties the Catholics are in a large majority, and it must be acknowledged, we fear, that the Nationalists have a much stronger hold on many parts of Ulster than it is at all satisfactory to contemplate."

The following figures, compiled from the Census returns of 1881, furnish very instructive reading, especially for those persons who have been so far misled by the "heedless rhetoric" of the platform and the Press as to imagine that the northern Irish province is exclusively, or even essentially, Protestant in its population:—

Antrim County.		Armagh County.	
Catholics	107,175	Catholics	75,709
Episcopalians	96,415	Episcopalians	53,390
Presbyterians	178,415	Presbyterians	26,077
Methodists	11,407	Methodists	4,884
Other denominations	18,350	Other denominations	3,109

Cavan County.	
Catholics	104,685
Episcopalians	19,022
Presbyterians	4,396
Methodists	1,088
Other denominations	285
Donegal County.	
Catholics	157,608
Episcopalians	24,759
Presbyterians	20,784
Methodists	2,014
Other denominations	870
Down County.	
Catholics	81,020
Episcopalians	63,721
Presbyterians	109,220
Methodists	5,055
Other denominations	12,957
Derry County.	
Catholics	73,274
Episcopalians	31,596
Presbyterians	54,727
Methodists	938
Other denominations	4,426
Fermanagh County.	
Catholics	47,359
Episcopalians	30,874
Presbyterians	1,708
Methodists	4,863
Other denominations	57
Monaghan County.	
Catholics	75,714
Episcopalians	13,623
Presbyterians	12,213
Methodists	544
Other denominations	652
Tyrone County.	
Catholics	109,793
Episcopalians	44,256
Presbyterians	38,564
Methodists	3,597
Other denominations	1,499
Carrickfergus, County of the Town of:	
Catholics	1,169
Episcopalians	1,746
Presbyterians	5,525
Methodists	435
Other denominations	1,127

Summary of the population of the counties of Ulster, showing the numerical strength of its three great religious bodies:—

Catholics	833,566
Episcopalians	379,402
Presbyterians	451,629

And the foresight of the *Times* in 1884 was proved to demonstration at the last Election, since of the thirty-three Ulster members seventeen are Nationalists, or, in other words, the Nationalist representatives of that province are actually in a majority of one over all the other Ulster members combined. Of the nine Ulster counties the following—four in number—are *wholly represented by Nationalists*:—

Donegal.	Cavan.
Fermanagh.	Monaghan.

Of the other five Ulster counties, there is now not one in which the Nationalists do not hold one or more seats. Thus, of the four seats in Tyrone, they have two; of the four Down seats, they have one; of the three seats for Derry they have one; of the three Armagh seats they have one; and of the Antrim seats, the Nationalists now hold West Belfast. Instead, therefore, of Ulster

being a Protestant province, it is simply a province whose extreme eastern portion is overwhelmingly Protestant, in contrast to its western, central, and southern portions, which are overwhelmingly Catholic. The overwhelmingly Protestant division comprises one-fourth of the area, and about two-fifths of the population, and three counties; the overwhelmingly Catholic division comprises three-fifths of the population, and three-fourths of the area, and six counties.

IS ULSTER WEALTHY?

Another popular superstition prevails very widely in England, and that is, that Ulster is exceptionally prosperous, and that this is so because it is the abode of Protestantism. If Ulster were exceptionally prosperous, the fact could be easily accounted for, without taking into consideration the very peculiar loyalty of some of its inhabitants. It was there only that, before recent land legislation, any limit was put by the custom of tenant right to oppression by the landlords, and Ulster possessed the one Irish industry—linen—which was not entirely crushed out of existence by British law and policy. Mr. T. Galloway Rigg, a Scotch statistician, has exploded this fallacy with the aid of Parliamentary returns, moved for by Mr. Peter Rylands and Mr. Trevelyan, in 1882 and 1884 respectively. Mr. Rylands' return gives the Income-tax assessments for the four Irish provinces as follows:—

	Population 1881.	Income-tax Assessments, 1879-80.	Income-tax Assessments per Inhabitant.
Leinster ...	1,282,881	£13,272,202	£10 6 9
Munster ...	1,323,910	7,980,076	6 0 7
Ulster ...	1,739,542	9,952,289	5 14 5
Connaught ...	813,506	2,995,438	3 13 7

But there is another comparison to test the wealth of the four Irish provinces, and that is exhibited in Mr. Trevelyan's return, giving the valuation of rateable property in each county and borough constituency, province by province; which clearly verifies the inference to be drawn from the preceding statistics:—

	Population 1881.	Valuation of Rateable Property.	Valuation per Inhabitant.
Leinster ...	1,282,881	£4,711,193	£3 13 5
Munster ...	1,323,910	3,365,182	2 10 10
Ulster ...	1,739,542	4,348,713	2 9 11
Connaught ...	813,506	1,431,019	1 15 2

So that whether we take Income-tax assessments or the valuation of rateable property as a comparative criterion of wealth, it is evident that Ulster must take third place in the roll of Irish provinces, as regards comparative wealth. Indeed, if Ulster had been "exceptionally prosperous," it would not have the fatal pre-eminence shown by the emigration returns for the decade 1871-81; for people do not usually flee the country in which they are prosperous. The following figures show the ratio in which the provincial population of Ireland decreased in the decade 1871-81:—

Ulster	... ...	5·38 per cent.
Munster	... ...	5·26 ,,
Leinster	... ...	4·63 ,,
Connaught	... ...	3·59 ,,

IS ULSTER EXCEPTIONALLY EDUCATED?

We have seen how unfounded is the boast of the exceptional wealth of Ulster. Let us now see how it stands as regards the education of the people, in comparison with the other three provinces. The percentage of persons able to read and write in the four provinces is thus tabulated in the Census returns of 1881:—

Leinster	... ...	58 5
Ulster	... ...	53·4
Munster	... ...	53·2
Connaught	... ...	41·5

A further Parliamentary return shows that there are thousands of "illiterates" in every Ulster county, including the "Loyalist" strongholds, and the figures for the boroughs, which are as follows, are very significant:—

Belfast	... ...	1,559	Limerick	... ...	425
Cork	... ...	1,297	Waterford	... ...	416
Dublin	... ...	869	Galway	... ...	381
Derry	... ...	637			

It would thus appear that not only does Belfast, the head-quarters of Orangeism, contain the largest number of illiterate voters, but it has nearly twice as many as Dublin, which has nearly 52,000 more population. Derry, too, with a population of 29,162 has 212 more "illiterates" than Limerick, which has a population of 48,670, and 221 more "illiterates" than Waterford, the popula-

tion of which is about equal to that of the home of the "Apprentice Boys."

IS ULSTER PROVIDENTIALLY HOUSED?

And Mr. Trevelyan's return of the 24th May, 1884, brings out, in addition, the following result as regards houses rated at £1 and under—that is, houses of the lowest class:—

Ulster	152,499
Connaught	105,008
Munster	92,632
Leinster	85,040

In other words, Ulster has more than a third of the whole number of the worst class of houses in Ireland.

WHAT ARE THE AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS OF THE PROVINCE?

There are 538,000 agricultural holdings in Ireland whose average rental does not exceed £6 a year each, and of these the *Times* lately stated, following the high authority of Sir James Caird, that they belonged to a class of holdings from which the rental was, if the present agricultural depression continued, "practically irrecoverable by anybody." The following table shows that Ulster has not only by far the largest number of these miserable holdings, *but more than Munster and Leinster have when added together*:—

Ulster	207,833
Connaught	128,124
Munster	105,429
Leinster	97,000
	538,386

Mr. T. W. Russell, an Irish Tory M.P., speaking lately in the House of Commons on Mr. Parnell's Bill, stated that, according to a recent Parliamentary return, there were more evictions in Ulster than in any other province—a natural result, seeing the extraordinary proportion of small holdings that province contains, and the poverty of its agricultural population as compared with that of either Leinster or Munster. The following table affords an additional instance of the comparative poverty of the self-styled Imperial province:—

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROVINCIAL SUMMARY OF PAYMENTS UNDER SECTION 1.

	No of Holdings.	Total Arrears wiped off.	Paid to Landlords.
Connaught ...	52,883	£634,331	£273,716
Ulster ...	41,134	561,391	239,125
Leinster and Munster	31,873	565,100	254,744

"With regard to taxation," said Mr. Goschen. the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech on the first reading of the Home Rule Bill, "there is another point on which I wish to ask the view of the Government. I want to know whether the financial situation won't be materially altered as to whether Ulster is included or not included in the arrangement? I myself believe that the whole financial equilibrium will break down if Ulster should be excluded." And Mr. David Plunket, M.P., stated at a public meeting lately that "Ulster, tried by every test of wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, was far in advance of the Southern and Western provinces of Ireland." When public men so eminent are labouring under so extraordinary a delusion, while having access, in the Library of the House of Commons, to Parliamentary and other public documents, there is surely some excuse for the inveterate superstition about Ulster which is embedded in the minds of the "millions." The real truth is that Ulster, like the rest of Ireland, despite the energy and industry of its inhabitants of all creeds, is not by any means the home of exceptional comfort, but, on the contrary, like the rest of Ireland, has suffered much from misgovernment, and, like the rest of Ireland, can never really be happy or contented till it comes under the fostering sway of a native Parliament, such as that which has been proposed by Mr. Gladstone.

WHAT ARE ITS MORAL CONDITIONS?

It were scarcely worth while pursuing the Ulster craze further, but for another statistical point, and that a delicate one, which it is necessary, in the interests of truth, to have clearly established. Of the children born in Ireland in 1885, 112,733, or 97·2 per cent., were legitimate, and 3,218, or 2·8 per cent., illegitimate, according to the 22nd Annual Report of the Irish Registrar-General,

himself a Protestant. Taking the illegitimate births in their order of magnitude, they are—Ulster, 4·3 per cent.; Leinster, 2·3 per cent.; Munster, 2·2 per cent.; Connaught, 0·9 per cent. As these are in provinces, we will take the highest and the lowest of the counties in order to show the shame and the glory of Irish womanhood. The highest in their order of unchastity are—Antrim, 5·8; Armagh, 5·0; Londonderry, 4·8; Down, 4·5; Tyrone, 4·0; Fermanagh, 3·5; Monaghan, 2·8; Donegal, 2·0; Cavan, 1·6. These nine counties are in Ulster. In Connaught, where the average of illegitimate births is 0·9, there are five counties: Galway, 1·5 per cent; Sligo, 1·0 per cent.; Mayo, 0·7 per cent.; Roscommon, 0·7; Leitrim, 0·6. In chastity these five counties represent the flower of womankind. Let us consider the meaning of the figures. In 1,000 persons in Antrim there are 58 illegitimate children, in Leitrim only 6. If female chastity be a virtue, then the above figures show the relative proportions, as regards the virtue of their women, between the two counties named, *i.e.*, Orange Antrim and Romanist Leitrim.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is responsible for what follows:—

"What can give rise to the great difference between the greater portion of the women of Ulster and those of the other parts of Ireland? Dividing Ulster into two portions, Protestants and Catholics, and judging these by the number of Protestant and Catholic marriages celebrated last year, we find the proportions to be per cent.:—

	Protestants.	Catholics.	Illegitimate Births.
Antrim	80	20	5·8*
Down	73	27	4·5*
Londonderry	60	40	4·8*
Armagh	60	40	5·*
Fermanagh	54	46	3·5
Tyrone	53	47	4·*
Monaghan	34	66	2·8
Cavan	27	73	1·6
Donegal	22	78	2·

The counties marked * returned Orange members to the present Parliament. It seems that Orangeism and illegitimacy go together, and that illegitimate children in Ireland are in proportion to Orange Lodges. No other county in Ireland returns an Orangeman."

So far the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But, unfortunately, the painful fact revealed by these figures has been attested in another way. Sir John Forbes, D.C.L. of Oxford, and Queen's

physician besides, travelling through Ireland in 1852, reported on the subject in this startling fashion :—

"That the proportion of illegitimate children coincides almost exactly with the relative proportions of the two religions in each province of Ireland ; being large where the Protestant element is large, and small where it is small. Thus, in Connaught, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is only as 1 to 6·45, the proportion of illegitimate children to legitimate is only as 1 to 23·53 ; while in Ulster, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is as 1·42 to 1, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is as 1 to 7·26." (*Memorandums made in Ireland in* 1852, Vol. II., p. 245.)

As there appears to be no longer any reason to doubt the justice of the reflections uttered by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it must be charitably concluded that Ulster Orangemen devote so much time to piously cursing the Pope and the Papists, there is little left for their meditating on the sacred injunctions contained in the seventh commandment.

Chapter XVIII.

WILL ROMAN CATHOLICS PERSECUTE THE PROTESTANT MINORITY?

"It is but justice to this maligned body [Irish Catholics] to add, that on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own."—Taylor's Civil Wars of Ireland.

There is nothing excites an Irish Roman Catholic's indignation so readily as to impute to his co-religionists a persecuting spirit. He declares that the spirit of persecution for conscience sake is all on the other side, not alone in Ireland, but elsewhere, and he points triumphantly to the works of the most eminent Protestants—Buckle, Hallam, Laing, Lecky, Sydney Smith, &c.,—to verify his contention. *Audi alteram partem.*

The restoration of Catholic worship by Mary was ephemeral, and unfortunately accompanied in England by *reprisals* which have stained the memory of that Princess. Ireland stood aloof from the regretful excesses of this reaction, and displayed in these circumstances a truly evangelical generosity. Not only were the lives and property of the Irish Protestants respected, but when the English Protestants had to fly from the proscriptions of their own Parliament, they sought and found a refuge in Catholic Ireland. History cannot forget this magnanimous hospitality. The Dublin merchants rented and furnished seventy-four houses in order to shelter the fugitive Protestants of Bristol; and they not only housed them, but provided for all their wants, and, after Mary's death, had them safely conveyed back to England. These facts are vouched for by the Protestant historians, Leland, Taylor, Lecky, (and Sydney Smith). "Those asserters of the Reformation who had not fled from this kingdom [of Ireland]," observes Leland:—

"Were, by the lenity of the Irish Government, suffered to sink into obscurity and neglect." . . . "Indeed several English families, friends to the Reformation, fled into Ireland [from England] and there enjoyed their opinions and worship in privacy, without notice or molestation." (*History of Ireland*, Book III., Chap. 8.)

Taylor says:—

"The restoration of the old religion was effected without violence. No persecution of the Protestants was attempted; and several of the English, who fled from the furious zeal of Mary's inquisitors, found a safe retreat among the Catholics of Ireland. It is but justice to this maligned body to add, that on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own. They had suffered persecution and learned mercy, as they showed in the reign of Mary, in the wars from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James II." (*History of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 169.)

Sydney Smith (whom the reader need hardly be reminded was a clergyman of the Evangelical school in the Church of England) declared, writing in 1808:—

"If the Protestant religion had spread in Ireland as it did in England, and if there had never been any difference of faith between the two countries, can it be believed that the Irish, ill-treated and infamously governed as they have been, would never have made any efforts to shake off the yoke of England? Surely there are causes enough to account for their impatience of that yoke without endeavouring to inflame the zeal of ignorant people against the Catholic religion. . . . Many sanguinary scenes attributed to the Catholic religion are to be partly imputed . . . to the unjust invasion and the tyrannical, infamous policy of the English." . . . "In the reign of Queen Mary there was no recrimination upon the Protestants—a striking proof that the bigotry of the Catholic religion had not risen to any great height in Ireland. In the reign of Elizabeth the Catholic *in the pale* regularly fought against the Catholic *out of the pale*." (*Works*, Longman's Edition, pp. 91-2.)

On the evidences of religious toleration in the past history of Ireland generally, Mr. Lecky says:—

"Irish history contains its full share of violence and massacre, but whoever will examine these episodes with impartiality may easily convince himself that their connection with religion has been most superficial. Religious cries have been sometimes raised, religious enthusiasm has been often appealed to, in the agony of a struggle, but the real causes have usually been the conflicts of races and classes, the struggle of a nationality against annihilation. Amongst the Catholics at

least religious intolerance has never been a prevailing vice, and those who have studied closely the history and character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion in every form which they have commonly evinced. Their original conversion to Christianity was probably accompanied by less violence and bloodshed than that of any equally considerable nation in Europe; and in spite of the fearful calamities which followed the Reformation, it is a memorable fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell, a Protestant prelate, during the outbreak of 1641, and the Act establishing liberty of conscience, passed by the Irish Parliament in 1689, in the full flush of the brief Catholic ascendency under James II., exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character; and it was displayed in another form scarcely less vividly during the Quaker missions, which began towards the close of the Commonwealth, and continued with little intermission for two generations. . . . The experience of [John] Wesley half a century later was very similar. . . . And he has more than once in his *Journal* spoken in terms of warm appreciation of the docile and tolerant spirit he almost everywhere encountered." (*Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 389-91.)

Again, in 1689, in the month of May, James II. opened in person a Parliament convoked at Dublin, in which sat forty-six Peers and 228 Commoners. This Catholic Parliament passed many laws in favour of liberty of conscience, thus exhibiting "great moderation," observes the English Protestant historian Walpole, "considering the state of the law during the Protestant ascendency." This Catholic Parliament did not pass any law inflicting penalties on Protestants for their opinions, though their Catholic fathers had been mercilessly persecuted by the Puritans; and they were themselves soon to be mercilessly persecuted also under a daughter of the King for whom they were in arms. Their fellow Catholics in England and Scotland at the moment were under proscription and persecution, but they, the Irish Catholics, set an example of forbearance, nevertheless, which is nearly unique in history. The results, however, of the war, fatal as it was to the House of Stuart and to the Jacobite cause, rendered its resolutions completely sterile.

This chapter, regarding the principle and practice of religious toleration amongst Irish Catholics, would scarcely be complete without quoting a passage from a recent authoritative declaration on the general question by Cardinal Manning, who addressed a

public letter on the subject to an American correspondent on the 1st of July last (See *Times*). His Eminence observes:—

"It is both senseless and shallow to quote old texts written when the great revolt of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the main subjects in debate. The unity of Christian Europe was an ancient and precious inheritance, and they who broke it were each one severally and personally guilty of the act. The preservation of religious unity for the peace of commonwealths and for the inheritance of posterity was the duty of States. But when unity is once broken the generations born into the confusion and divisions of the past are in a condition in which persecution is a crime and a heresy. It is a crime, because the millions are unconsciously born into a state of privation of which they are not the authors; and a heresy, because faith is a moral act of human liberty in reason, heart, and will. Force may make hypocrites. It can never generate faith. The pastors and the people of Catholic Ireland are too profoundly conscious of these truths to debase the Divine tradition of their faith with the human cruelties of retaliation. It would level Ireland down to the massacres of Cromwell and the penal laws of Ormonde. But that I may not be suspected of only giving my own private opinion I will quote an authority before which even Mr. Arthur will, I hope, be silent. Leo. XIII., on the 1st of November last year, promulgated these words to the whole Catholic world:—'The Church it is true deems it unlawful to place the various forms of Divine worship on the same footing as the true religion. Still it does not on that account condemn those rulers who, for the sake of securing some great good or of preventing some great evil, allow by custom and usage each kind of religion to have its place in the State. Indeed, the Church is wont diligently to take care that no one shall be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic Faith, for as St. Augustine wisely reminds us, 'Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own free will.'"

Indeed, the most trusted leaders of public opinion, from Grattan to Parnell, have been Protestants—trusted as hardly any nation ever trusted its leaders before. Even Irish rebels, such as Emmet, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John Mitchell, &c., all of whom were Protestants, are still lovingly remembered in song and story by the peasantry, though some of them have been dead for nearly a century. And who that has ever travelled in Ireland is ignorant of the fact that in the Southern and Western provinces, which are almost exclusively Roman Catholic, the Protestant clergy and country gentlemen are living in the most perfect safety from either injury or insult on account of their creed? Mr. Alfred Webb, a member of the Society of Friends, who is greatly esteemed in

Dublin, lately sent out this inquiry amongst his acquaintances indiscriminately throughout all parts of Ireland:—"Have you during your experience of life in Ireland observed any instances of intolerance amongst your Catholic friends and neighbours, such as would lead you to fear for your liberty and safety, and for the free exercise of your religion, under an Irish Constitution, such as that sketched out in Mr. Gladstone's Bill?" In reply, he immediately received more than fifty letters, which he has had printed, entirely repudiating any knowledge of the existence of such a thing as Catholic intolerance in Ireland. This expression of opinion Mr. Webb describes as a "hearty, wholesome, Irish Protestant feeling." Any one of these letters is typical of the series. The following, however, is of exceptional interest, inasmuch as it is from the pen of an English gentleman, who has for more than a quarter of a century acted as manager of the extensive Irish business of Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., not the least distinguished member of Lord Salisbury's present Cabinet:—

80, Abbey Street, Dublin, 11th May, 1886.

I have now lived in Ireland, as you know, for a long period (for more than thirty years), and have had control of a large and very increasing business, with branches all over Ireland. I have never known an instance of Catholic intolerance towards me personally, nor towards the business I have governed, nor does memory recall any case of intolerance from Catholics coming under my own knowledge at any time. I shall not have the slightest fear to entrust my own liberties and those of my family to the control of an Irish Home Rule Parliament in connection with the Bill of Mr. Gladstone.

CHARLES EASON.

Speaking at a public meeting of the Protestant Home Rule Association, in Dublin, on the 30th November last, the Rev. H. S. Lunn, B.A., an English clergyman, and a follower of John Wesley, gave utterance to the following enlightened sentiments, *apropos* of Mr. Chamberlain's fears of Papal persecution in Ireland:—

"He was met everywhere by misrepresentations of the facts of Irish history, and by a wilful ignoring of those facts which was equally misleading. The Irish Tory party in this country [Ireland] dealt with the English Conservative party much as the old lady said she used to deal with her blind husband. She said to her minister on one of his pastoral visits, 'I reads the Bible to him every day, *and many a bit I puts in for his good.*' That was how Irish history, past and present

had been read to the English constituencies by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union. For his own part, it was not without much careful study that he had entered upon this conflict, but as he reviewed the history of Ireland he found that the annals of Irish Catholicism, from its earliest date, were free from any record of persecution. Amongst the many remarkable facts of history it was not least remarkable that in this land alone of all the countries of Europe, was Christianity introduced without bloodshed. The early Irish, although as yet untouched by the influence of the ethics of Christianity, welcomed without any persecution those who first brought them the glad tidings. And in the dark Middle Ages, when the English people were persecuting the Jews to extort from them their hidden treasures, once again the Irish occupied an unique position amongst European nations, and did not engage in such persecution. It was unnecessary for him to repeat what had already been so eloquently urged as to the force and cogency of the facts of Irish history in the reign of Queen Mary, and under the Irish Parliament of James II. But there was one great lesson taught by universal history, upon which he wished to insist. It was that wherever the power of democratic self-government had been extended, a fatal blow had been struck at all persecution."

Mr. Lunn is probably aware of the circumstance, in common with English Wesleyans generally, that their founder gratefully acknowledged the kindness and courtesy he experienced from the Catholic population during his tour in Ireland. It is rather a singular fact that one of the few towns in that country wherein he met with vehement opposition was Protestant Bandon, which was at one time so exclusive in its creed that Swift wrote on its gates :—

> Jew, Turk, and Atheist
> May enter here, but not a Papist.
> (See *Wesley's Journal*, May, 1749.)

Of course the agrarian question has ever been a cause of trouble, and in some cases, though very rare, of anxiety; but then this trouble is of a nature from which the Roman Catholic landlord is no more exempt than his Protestant neighbours. In truth, bigotry and intolerance are practically unknown in Ireland, except amongst those riotous savages in and around Belfast, of whom the Protestant Archbishop Whateley scornfully said :—

"Their very name of Orangemen *is a sign*. It is chosen on purpose to keep up the memory of a civil war, which every friend of humanity would wish to bury in oblivion. It is doing what among the heathen was reckoned an accursed thing—keeping a trophy in repair." (*Life of Whateley*, Vol. I., p. 127.)

Lord Cornwallis, a brave English General and an upright Lord Lieutenant, once passed a judgment on these worthies which has stood the test of a century of historical criticism. He said he found the troops of which they were composed formidable to everybody but the enemy, and "*ferocious and cowardly in the extreme.*" The Orangemen are precisely the same to-day, their ferocity, however, being tempered by discretion in places where they are not in overwhelming numbers.

But do not the facts of everyday life in Ireland forbid the thought of intolerance on the part of Irish Roman Catholics? Apart from any mere polemical controversy on the subject, persecution for conscience sake, of which they have themselves had such bitter experience, is a very powerful teacher of religious toleration. The Irish Roman Catholic constituencies have in numerous instances returned Protestant representatives, with and without the protection of the ballot, and it may be said with confidence that to reject such a candidate *on account of his religious belief*, when acceptable in all other respects, is a thing unknown in Ireland. In the general election of 1832, thirty-three Catholic constituencies used their new-born power to return at the polls forty-three Protestant members of Parliament. In the election of 1848, after the cruel pangs of famine, Catholic constituencies again sent over forty non-Catholic representatives to Parliament. At the general election of 1868, thirty-three Protestant members were elected by Catholic majorities. Coming down to 1874, when the political question of Home Rule began to develop, the number of non-Catholics decreased; but every Protestant who adopted the national demand was received with open arms, and twenty-eight non-Catholic members represented Catholic constituencies in the Parliament of 1874. And the same thing occurred in the Parliaments of 1880-84-85-86. Mr. Charles Dawson, ex-M.P., in the course of a very instructive lecture on the subject, observes:—

"In pursuing this question of Parliamentary representation, I must be clear on one point. I don't think toleration requires that to represent a purely political opinion political opponents should be sent to Parliament. As well ask the supporters of Lord Salisbury to vote for Radicals, or those of Mr. Gladstone to vote for Tories, as to ask the Irish people to send to represent their political views men who would vote directly against them."

And Mr. Dawson proceeds to ask a question which, it must be confessed, is rather an awkward one for us here at home:—

"But if Mr. Chamberlain will throw the stone of 'persecution' and exclusion of the 'minority' at the Irish people, what has he to say of his own country? It has had all the opportunities, and more, than Catholic Ireland has had, of being tolerant to minorities. How did his country exercise it? How many Catholic members of Parliament did the English constituencies elect? How many Catholic mayors or sheriffs did English corporations appoint? How many well-paid officers? When I was in Parliament, during five years, out of over 500 members from England and Scotland, there was but one Catholic."

It is very generally imputed to Mr. Chamberlain by English Protestant Radicals, as well as Irish Catholic Home Rulers, that he is not sincere in giving expression to his apprehension on the subject of Popish persecution. But this is absurd, for hardly would a public man, eminent as he, raise a hypocritical cry of the kind except on the grounds of his own credulity. He believes what he says; but then belief and knowledge are not synonymous. The truth appears to be rather this, that Mr. Chamberlain's rise in the political world has been too rapid, and his mind too much occupied with the exigencies of his high position, to afford time for that "more extensive reading" which is inferentially referred to by Hallam, in the following extract from his writings, as calculated to cool "an honest man's zeal" in an indifferent cause. Hallam says:—

"*Persecution* is the deadly original sin of the Reformed churches, that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive." (*Constitutional History*, Vol. I., Chap. 2.)

It is scarcely a disparagement of Mr. Chamberlain to say that millions of his countrymen, north and south of the Tweed, will prefer the opinion of the illustrious Dr. Chalmers to his, as to the naturally kind, tolerant disposition of the Irish people. Chalmers, like Wesley, speaks from that personal experience in which Mr. Chamberlain is so lamentably deficient. In a sermon preached in the year 1818, on a question deeply touching Ireland, and quoted by Mr. Gladstone in the course of a speech of his at Glasgow on the 22nd of June last, he took occasion to deliver his sentiments on the subject of the Irish nation as follows:—

"I speak of the great mass of the Irish people, and I do think that I perceive a something in the natural character of Ireland which

draws me more attractively to the love of its people than any other picture of national manners has ever inspired." . . .

Dr. Chalmers continues:—

"In Ireland you will find a people whom no penalties could turn, whom no terror of military violence could overcome, who kept on a scowling front of hostility that was not to be softened, while war spread its desolating cruelties over that unhappy land. This very people will do homage to the omnipotence of charity, and when the mighty armour of Christian kindness is brought to bear upon them, it will be found to be irresistible."

But perhaps Mr. Chamberlain's unfounded fears and suspicions are most effectively met by the following important observations of Lord Spencer, who was, for a number of years, a member of the same Cabinet as Mr. Chamberlain, and who probably knows Ireland as well as any Englishman living. Lord Spencer, then, speaking at a public meeting in Chester, on the 16th June last observed as follows: —

"We have been told that Mr. Gladstone's scheme would lead to religious intolerance, that there would be oppression of minorities in Ireland. Now, if I believed in those fears, I, for one, should never have supported the measure. I have had some experience of Ireland. I have been there for over eight years, and yet I don't know of any specific instance where there has been religious intolerance on the part of Roman Catholics against their Protestant fellow countrymen. I have known, and I deeply regret it, that there have been signs of bitter religious animosity, but where has the animosity been shown? *Has it been shown in the provinces where the Roman Catholics greatly predominate?* It has been shown in Ulster, where more than half of the population belong to the Protestant faith. It has too often been the painful experience of governors in Ireland that they have had to send large forces of military and police to keep asunder the Protestants and Roman Catholics at times of great anniversaries. I believe that the Protestants have been the chief cause of nurturing and keeping up this religious animosity. They have thought it necessary to have ceremonials to celebrate the prowess of their ancestors, when they very gallantly fought their own battle, and that too often a battle of Protestants against Roman Catholics, but that happened centuries ago. Why should they keep up the demonstrations, which only tend to aggravate and irritate their Roman Catholic brethren? I don't wonder that the Roman Catholics have often also celebrated their anniversaries, because they could not sit down and see the Orangemen triumphing over them." (*Daily News*, June 17th, 1886.)

Finally, the Rev. Mr. Lunn, in acknowledging the toleration shown by Irish Catholics to Jews as well as Protestants, is not

without historical warrant for his assertion. When they were brutally ill-treated during several successive reigns in England, they availed themselves, in considerable numbers, of the safe refuge which they knew awaited them in Ireland. In the course of a speech which the Chief Rabbi of the Jews delivered in Dublin in 1871, he is reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 21st July, in that year, to have said that :—

"He had long been anxious for many reasons to visit this beautiful country; and amongst others—because it was the only country in which his ancestors had not been persecuted."

CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT ENGLAND HAS LOST BY HER WARS AND PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND.

"My Lords, it is mainly to the Irish Catholics that we owe all our proud predominance in our military career. . . . Without Catholic blood and Catholic valour, no victory could ever have been obtained."—WELLINGTON, IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Brehon Laws of Ireland, under which justice was administered before the English invasion, are a remarkable testimony to the inherent humanity and love of justice which characterise the Irish. Leland says:—

"We are not to wonder that a people accustomed to the refinements found in their own laws should be pronounced of all others the greatest lovers of justice. This is the honourable testimony of Sir John Davies and Sir Edward Coke. With shame we must confess that they were not taught this love of justice by the first English settlers."

The former, it should be premised, was Attorney-General for Ireland in the reign of James I., and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1613. He made a careful study of Irish history and character, and he testified in the following words to the Irish love of justice, in reference to the admission of Ireland within the pale of the English Constitution by King James:—

"They would gladly continue in that condition as long as they might be protected and justly governed, without oppression on the one hand, or impunity on the other: for there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection of the law when upon just cause they do desire it."

The testimony of Lord Chief Justice Coke, a contemporary of Sir John Davies, is:—

"Of the kingdom of Ireland I have been informed by many that have had judicial places there, and partly of my own knowledge, that there is no nation in the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice than they are; which virtue must be accompanied by many others." (*History of Ireland*, p. 35.)

Curiously enough, Mr. Bright, more than two centuries later, speaking at Limerick in 1868, gave expression, almost in the same glowing language, to his discovery of this trait in the Irish character. He observes:—

'There always comes to my aid a feeling which I have had ever since I entered the political field—a deep and abiding faith in justice. I believe that justice may be called, of all things, the miracle-worker amongst men. I believe that all men are to be reached by it, and all bodies of men—the inhabitants of provinces as of nations; and there is nothing I believe more firmly than this—that if there be a people on the face of the earth whose hearts are accessible to justice, it is the Irish people."

Let us now observe how England dealt with those lovers of justice in the seventeenth century. Henceforth devastations, famines, confiscations, exterminations, succeed one another almost unremittingly in unfortunate Ireland. Elizabeth and her successors govern by them, and make them, as it were, the normal conditions of the English domination. In a work of Mr. Godkin, a former Irish correspondent of the *Times*, and an accomplished, honourable man, there is a quotation from a letter written by a Lord-Deputy, about the year 1607, which runs as follows:—

"I have often said and written, it is famine that must consume the Irish, as our swords and other endeavours worked not that speedy effect which is expected; hunger would be a better, because a speedier weapon to employ against them than the sword. . . . I burned all along the Lough [Neagh] within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death. We killed man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could find."

The province of Ulster was by this time pretty well nigh cleared of its native inhabitants; but before "confessing" our shame with the English historian Leland, let us listen to what follows as regards another Irish province, Munster, which met with even a worse fate, and at a somewhat earlier period. There is related in a very curious work of the poet Spenser, one of Elizabeth's coun-

sellors, a plan he proposed to that Princess for crushing at a single blow the obstinate resistance of Ireland:—

"The end will (I assure mee) bee very short, and much sooner than it can be in so greate a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for: altho' there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the soldiour; yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they would quietly consume themselves, and devour one another!"

One shudders to think that this frightful programme did not remain a dead letter; the author of the *Faerie Queen* himself tells us how it was carried out in Munster after the revolt of the Earl of Desmond:—

"Nothwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country full of corne and cattel, yet, ere one yeare and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soone after: insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet, not able to continue there withal; that in shorte space, there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful countrey suddainlie left voyde of man and beast." (*Spenser's State of Ireland* [1860], pp. 525-6.)

Spenser's forgetfulness of humanity on this occasion brought the poet himself a dire punishment. During Tyrone's rebellion his house, at Kilcolman, was sacked and burnt by the Irish; his wife and he with difficulty escaping, whilst their youngest child perished in the flames. The calamity probably hastened his death, which took place in 1599, in London, where, according to Ben Jonson, he "died for lake of bread." And his grandson was expelled from house and property under Cromwell, as an Irish Papist. (*Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 117.) Towards the end of Elizabeth's long reign (1588-63), when Ireland had become so exhausted that, according to Lord Gray, one of her lieutenants, "little was left for Her Majesty to reign over but carcases and ashes," the Virgin Queen gave glory to God, and had struck a medal bearing the inscription "*Pacata Hibernia*." More than two centuries later Suvorof, the Russian field-marshal, operating

on somewhat the same merciless lines in Poland, complacently informed his Imperial mistress, after a last horrible massacre in the Polish capital, that "Peace reigned in Warsaw." "*Pacata Hibernia*"! the heartless irony of the motto recalls the celebrated saying of Tacitus:—"*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*" Florus attempting to describe the state of Samnium after it had been ravaged by orders of the Roman Senate, and put to fire and sword by the legions of P. Decius Mus and Quintus Fabius Rullianus (295 B.C.), says, with his admirable conciseness:—

"Everything was destroyed even to the ruins of the towns, so that Samnium had to be looked for in Samnium itself, and one cannot easily discover the matter of four-and-twenty triumphs."

Thus England tried to dispose of a race concerning which Mr. Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement*) found this contemporary testimony in an English MS. in Trinity College Library, Dublin, dated 1615:—

"There lives not a people more hardy, active, and painful; . . . neither is there any will endure the miseries of warre, as famine, watching, heat, cold, wet, travel, and the like, so naturally and with such facility and courage that they do. The Prince of Orange's Excellency uses often publiquely to deliver that the Irish are souldiers the first day of their birth. The famous Henry IV., late King of France, said they would prove no nation so resolute martial men as they, would they be ruly and not too headstrong. And Sir John Norris was wont to ascribe this particular to that nation above others, that he never beheld so few of any country as of Irish that were idiots and cowards, which is very notable."

And concerning which Edmund Spenser himself had found occasion to write as follows also:—

"I have heard some great warriors say, that in all the services which they have seen abroad in foreign countries, they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge. . . . When hee cometh to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peace or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a souldier as any nation hee meeteth with." (*Spenser's Ireland.*)

The following is from an English Protestant writer, by no means favourable to the Irish; on the contrary, a man disposed to speak ill of them as well as their clergy:—

"The people are thus inclined, religious, frank, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinite paines, verie glorious, menie sorcerers, excellent

horsemen delighted with warres, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. The lewder sorts, both clerks and laiemen, are sensuall and ouer loose in living. The same being vertuouslie bred up or reformed, *are such mirrors of holinesse and austeritie*, that other nations retain but a shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement." (*Stanihurst* apud *Holinshed*, VI., 67.)

But as character is best shown by individual traits, especially when the writer is one adversely inclined, here is a passage descriptive of the fidelity that existed between foster brothers amongst the Irish; and, surely, it is not going too far to say that a people capable of such high and generous attachment to each other, and to their duty, ought to rank high in the esteem of all good men:—

"You cannot find one instance of perfidy, deceit, or treachery among them; nay, they are ready to expose themselves to all manner of dangers for the safety of those who sucked their mother's milk. You may beat them to a mummy; you may put them on the rack; you may burn them on a gridiron; you may expose them to the most exquisite torture that the cruellest tyrant can invent; yet you will never remove them from that innate fidelity which is grafted in them; you will never induce them to betray their duty." (*Ware*, II., 73.)

And yet this attractive people, so endowed by nature, had no faith kept with them by successive English Sovereigns and Parliaments. A few historical references will suffice to prove this. Charles I., in his embarrassments, was voluntarily offered £120,000 (a large sum in his day), in return for the concession of civil and religious liberty. The concessions were reduced to writing, comprised fifty-one articles, and were named "Graces." The amount was ultimately increased to £270,000, under pressure on the part of the faithless Wentworth; who, having bagged the cash, coolly informed the Irish Parliament that the "Graces" would not be confirmed. To shuffle out of a promise in this way "especially commended itself to a mind like that of Charles," observes Walpole, in his *Kingdom of Ireland* (p. 213); and it is not surprising that the King wrote Wentworth how his rascality, in respect to those "unreasonable graces," had filled him with "a great deal of contentment" (*Strafford's State Letters*, I., 331); and Wentworth, in turn, wrote a series of gleeful despatches to Laud, with whom he dearly loved to chuckle over his brow-beating and trickery. The Irish, however, were ultimately avenged, seeing that Charles,

Wentworth, and Laud died on the scaffold in succession at the hands of their English enemies.

Sixty years elapsed. On the 3rd of October, 1691, the Treaty of Limerick was signed by William III., which city was surrendered on the express stipulation that the Catholic population of Ireland should thenceforward enjoy equal protection by law of their properties and their liberties with all other subjects of the King; and in particular the free and unfettered exercise of their religion. The Irish in every respect performed with scrupulous accuracy the stipulations on their part of the Treaty of Limerick. That treaty was totally violated by the British Government, the moment it was perfectly safe to violate it. That violation was perpetrated through the enactment of the Penal Code, which will be found described elsewhere in all its atrocity. Mr. Gladstone, speaking to his constituents in Edinburgh on the 21st of June last, observed:—

"Ah, gentlemen, had that Treaty of Limerick been executed, the last 200 years would have told a very different tale, and an indelible blot of disgrace which the judgment of the civilised world had fixed upon England for its treatment of Ireland would never have been found to sully her brilliant and illustrious escutcheon. Gentlemen, I am sorry to say it was Protestant bigotry and it was national perfidy that trampled under foot the articles of the Treaty of Limerick."

One hundred years elapsed, and we arrive at the period of the Union. The alleged object of the Union was to consolidate the inhabitants of both islands into one nation—one people. The most flattering hopes were held out, the most solemn pledges were vowed. Ireland was no longer to be an alien and a stranger to British liberty. The religion of the inhabitants was no longer to be a badge for persecution—the nations were to be identified—the same privileges—the same laws—the same liberties. Some credulous Catholics of rank were even beguiled with the hopes held out by Pitt into assenting to it. Poor simpletons! They had forgotten the story of Charles I. and the "Graces,"—of William III., and the city of the violated treaty. Ireland lost all and gained nothing by the Union. Every promise was broken, every pledge was violated. Ireland struggled and prayed, and cried out to friends for aid, and to Parliament for relief. But George III. refused to allow Pitt to redeem his pledges, and, after a show of resignation, the Minister consented to return to

office, his pledges broken and his faith violated. For more than a quarter of a century Catholic Emancipation was withheld from the King's Irish subjects, and at length conceded only because neither Wellington nor Peel could any longer resist it. In 1825 it would have been accepted as a boon. In 1829 the concession was extorted from reluctant Ministers through their anxieties; and Ireland was once more to learn the deadly lesson, exemplified elsewhere by Mr. Froude, that her real wrongs would receive attention only "when England was compelled to remember them through fear." Speaking at Liverpool on the 28th of June last, Mr. Gladstone uttered this judgment on the Union:—

"There is no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. . . . The carrying of it was nothing in the world but an artful combination of fraud and force, applied in the basest manner to the attainment of an end which all Ireland detested." . . .

Mr. Gladstone continued:—

"I have heard of more bloody proceedings, but a more base proceeding, a more vile proceeding, is not recorded, in my judgment, in any page of history."

Now what was the nature of the title, and what the character, of the adventurers who supplanted these "lovers of justice" and "brave men" described by Sir John Davies and the Prince of Orange; as related by a sometime Lord Chancellor of Ireland and an eminent clerical historian. Lord Chancellor Clare said:—

"The situation of the Irish nation at the Revolution [of 1688] stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England, carried on here [*i.e.*, in Ireland] from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilised nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British Empire. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British Crown during the whole of the last century was mere rebellion, and the municipal law of England attached upon the crime. What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the Revolution? and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive Monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of adventurers who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. *Confiscation is their common title;* and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation."

So much for the title of the whole of the adventurers; now for the character of many amongst them:—

When Crown grants of land were made to the planters or adventurers, it was expressly stipulated that their tenants were to be English or Scotch, and Protestants. A Presbyterian minister, whose father was one of the planters, thus describes the men who came over to regenerate Ireland:—"From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who from debt, or mocking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God. . . . Most of the people were all void of godliness. . . . On all hands Atheism increased, and disregard of God: iniquity abounds with contention, fighting, murder, and adultery." (MS. History by Rev. A. Stuart, quoted in Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I., p. 96.)

Robert Paine, who was an English "undertaker" himself, has left on record, in his *Briefe Description of Ireland* (1589), a scarcely more attractive commentary on some of his countrymen "transplanted." After warning those at home in England against the evil reports of disappointed adventurers who speak of the danger of living in Ireland, he writes with undisguised contempt of the latter as follows:—

"Yet are they freede from three of the greatest dangers; first, they cannot meete in all that land any worsse than themselves; secondly, they neede not feare robbing, for that they have not anything to loose; lastly, they are not like to runne in debte, for that there is none will truste them. The greatest matter which troubleth them is, they cannot get anything there but by honest trauell [labour], which they are altogether ignorant of."

As to the unfortunate Irish inhabitants themselves, on the other hand, here is Paine's honest testimony:—

"They are obedient to the laws, so you may travel through all the land without any danger or injurie offered of the verye worst Irish, and be greatly releeved of [by] the best."

It is a melancholy reflection that Protestant ecclesiastics of rank, including members of the Episcopal bench, exported from England from time to time, were by no means shining lights amid the general gloom which encircled the oppressed and pillaged Irish. Many of the bishops, for instance, might have B.C. writ in very large letters on their ungodly backs. The Protestant Dean

of St.Patrick's ironical explanation of the dis-edifying anomaly can never be forgotten. Swift pretended to believe that the persons originally nominated in England by the Crown for this high dignity were worthy men. But in crossing Hounslow Heath, on their way westwards, they were intercepted by the highwaymen infesting that notorious place, who, after stripping the rightful owners of their canonicals, proceeded to Ireland themselves instead, where they impudently claimed consecration to the vacant Sees.

The reader may here be disposed to imagine that the old race (the possessors of so "many" virtues, according to the testimony of Lord Chief Justice Coke) was at length exterminated by war, and famine, and proscription; Cromwell having sent the remnant of it to "Hell or Connaught." Yet here is how a greater general even than Cromwell eulogised their posterity in the English House of Lords, when pleading, alas! reluctantly, at the bar of public opinion for their civil and religious liberty. The Duke of Wellington said:—

"It is already well-known to your lordships that of the troops which our Gracious Sovereign did me the honour to entrust to my command at various periods during the [Peninsular] war—a war undertaken for the express purpose of securing the happy institutions and independence of the country—at least one-half were Roman Catholics. My lords, when I call your recollection to this fact, I am sure all further eulogy is unnecessary. Your lordships are well aware for what length of period, and under what difficult circumstances, they maintained the Empire buoyant upon the flood which overwhelmed the thrones and wrecked the institutions of every other people; but they kept alive the only spark of freedom which was unextinguished in Europe. . . . My lords, it is mainly to the Irish Catholics that we owe all our proud predominance in our military career, and that I personally am indebted for the laurels with which you have been pleased to decorate my brow. . . . We must confess, my lords, that without Catholic blood and Catholic valour, no victory could have ever been obtained, and the first military talents might have been exerted in vain."

Ask Lord Wolseley or General Roberts—both of whom are themselves Irish—whether the Irish soldier of to-day is less brave, less loyal than he proved himself to be during the Peninsular War. And yet, though the proportion of Irishmen in the army is much the same now as it was in 1815, such is the grudging spirit in which the religious creed of this valorous race is still recognised, Mr. W. H. Smith, a War Minister, lately publicly disapproved

of the blessing of the colours of an exclusively Irish regiment by one of their own clergy, in a most ungracious official order. Still the Irish peasants at home, in Ireland, from whom our soldiers are recruited, are taunted with dire ingratitude and disloyalty because they refuse to throw up their hats, in the exuberance of their joy, before the unicorn and the lion, or other insignia of British power. In many parts of Ireland, as Lord Aberdeen, lately Lord Lieutenant, observed, *the British Army is never seen except in rendering assistance in evicting starving families from their wretched hovels.*

Chapter XX.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EMINENT MEN ALSO REQUIRING PERUSAL.

THE IRISH QUESTION IN ITS INTEGRITY.

"*Also it is a proverbe of olde date, 'The pride of Fraunce, the treason of Inglande, and the warre of Irelande, shall never have ende.' Which proverbe, touching the warre of Irelande, is like alwaie to continue, without God sette in men's breasts to find some new remedy that never was found before.*"—*State Papers*, Reign of Henry VIII.

The following extract is from a memorable speech made by Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons in 1844. He said:—

"The Irish in extreme distress inhabit an island where there is an Established Church which is not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom live in foreign capitals. Thus you have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church; and in addition the weakest Executive in the world. That is the Irish Question. Well, then, what would hon. gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, 'The remedy is revolution.' But the Irish cannot have a revolution, and why? Because Ireland is connected with another and more powerful country. Then what is the consequence? The connection with England thus became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevents a revolution, and a revolution is the only remedy, England logically is in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery in Ireland. What, then, is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That is the Irish Question in its integrity. . . . But I will say, if these recommendations are adopted, that in fifty years hence the men who shall succeed the present generation in Parliament will find the people of Ireland a contented and thriving peasantry. I do not believe that this object will be carried by the personage whom the hon. member for Belfast calls Louis Philippe, meaning, I suppose, the King of the French. I look to no foreign, no illegitimate influences for bringing about that result—not to

the passions of the Irish people, not to the machinations of their demagogues, not to the intrigues of distant nations, but to a power far more influential, far more benignant—a power more recently risen in the world, not yet sufficiently recognised—[Mr. Ward: 'What, Young England?'] No, not Young England, but a power which Young England respects—that irresistible law of our modern civilisation which has decreed that the system which cannot bear discussion is doomed."

When twitted with this passage many years afterwards, in the course of debate, he attempted a mild disparagement of it, as follows:—

"I have been reminded in the course of this debate of expressions which I used five-and-twenty years ago. I could remind other gentlemen of expressions they used on the same subject five-and-twenty years ago; but I do not much care for that sort of thing. With reference, however, to that passage, which has been quoted from a speech made by me, I may remark that it appeared to me at the time I made it that nobody listened to it. It seemed to me that I was pouring water upon sand, but it seems now that the water came from a golden goblet. With regard to the passage from that speech, there are many remarks which, if I wanted to vindicate or defend myself, I might legitimately make. . . . But I do not care to say it, and I do not wish to say it, because in my conscience the sentiment of that speech was right. It may have been expressed with the heedless rhetoric which I suppose is the appanage of all who sit below the gangway; but in my historical conscience the sentiment of that speech was right." (*March 16th*, 1868.)

Finally, however, when correcting a selection from his speeches, which he published in 1869, and republished in 1874, Mr. Disraeli allowed his powerful argument for Home Rule in Ireland to stand as it was originally spoken, prefaced by the following significant note, which excludes his previous disparagement of the speech, and adopts Mr. Gladstone's interpretation of it instead:—

"This speech was alluded to, and quoted several times, in the debate of last year (1868) by Mr. Bright Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Gladstone, and others. 'There is no injustice at all,' said Mr. Gladstone (April 3rd, 1868), 'in referring to the speech of the Prime Minister in 1844, for the plain and simple reason that the right hon. gentleman has distinctly stated, twice over, in the midst of many apologetic expressions, that the sentiment of that speech was right. Now, what was the sentiment of that speech? I have read it lately, and have not forgotten it. Many hon. members may have read it, but those who have not have a treat to enjoy. I speak seriously. The right hon. gentleman disparaged the speech; but a more closely-woven tissue of argument and observation

has seldom been known in the debates of this House. The whole of that speech, referable to the Church of Ireland, may be fairly summed up in the single word 'Destruction.'"

WHY THE IRISH LAG SO FAR BEHIND ENGLAND.

Lord Robert Cecil, now the Marquis of Salisbury, and Prime Minister of England, speaking in the House of Commons, on the 24th February, 1865, on the occasion of Mr. Pope Hennessy's directing attention to the increasing emigration from Ireland, observed as follows:—

"What is the reason that a people with so bountiful a soil, with such enormous resources (as the Irish), lag so far behind the English in the race? Some say that it is to be found in the character of the Celtic race, but I look to France, and I see a Celtic race there going forward in the path of prosperity with most rapid strides—I believe at the present moment more rapidly than England herself. Some people say that it is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion; but I look to Belgium, and there I see a people second to none in Europe except the English for industry, singularly prosperous, considering the small space of country that they occupy, having improved to the utmost the natural resources of that country, but distinguished among all the peoples of Europe for the earnestness and intensity of their Roman Catholic belief. Therefore I cannot say that the cause of the Irish distress is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion. An hon. friend near me says that it arises from the Irish people listening to demagogues. I have as much dislike to demagogues as he has, but when I look to the Northern States of America I see there people who listen to demagogues, but who undoubtedly have not been wanting in material prosperity. It cannot be demagogues, Romanism, or the Celtic race. What then is it? I am afraid that the one thing which has been peculiar to Ireland has been the Government of England."

This is said to be Lord Salisbury's first speech in reference to Ireland. The spirit of it is so good, it is all the more to be regretted that the same degree of candour, if not generosity, no longer characterises his addresses on the subject. He has undoubtedly not added to his reputation by his latest escapade in rancorous speech, when he tries to disseminate the idea that Irishmen are not to be trusted like other people; and that, in fact, they should be as little regarded as Hottentots. Lord Salisbury must have borrowed his figure of speech from Lord Clonmel (though he forgot the context)—an ascendancy judge of the era before the Union, who, hob-nobbing daily with the men he depicts, has left in his private diary a graphic picture of the magnates of the two

Irish Houses in his time; which relieved of but a little colour, and the extrusion of one or two epithets, might—some uncharitable persons will think—almost do duty for our time too. Lord Clonmel says:—

"The Irish Government resembles extremely the state of Hottentots in Africa. The common Irish, divided, dispersed, pillaged, abused as they are, are the Hottentots; the English administration are the Dutch planters; the followers of the Lord Lieutenant are the bushmen or spies and swindlers: and the wild beasts, lions, &c., are the Irish satraps."

How are we to account for Lord Salisbury's hatred of Ireland and the Irish? He is a highly-educated man, professes Christianity, and even affects to be religiously minded. Perhaps Mr. Herbert Spencer's explanation of the paradox is the nearest approach to the truth:—

"When antagonism has bred hatred towards another nation, and has consequently bred a desire to justify the hatred by ascribing hateful characters to members of that nation, it invariably happens that the political arrangements under which they live, the religion they profess, and the habits peculiar to them, become associated in thought with these hateful characters—become themselves hateful, and cannot therefore have their natures studied with the calmness required by science."—(*Study of Sociology.*)

MR CHAMBERLAIN ON THE PACIFICATION OF IRELAND.

Mr. Chamberlain, speaking at West Islington on the 17th June, 1885, referred to the existing system of government in Ireland as follows:—

"The pacification of Ireland at this moment does, I believe, depend upon the concession to Ireland of the right to govern itself in the matter of its purely domestic business. Now what is the alternative? Are you content, after eighty years of failure, to renew once more the dreary experience of repressive legislation? Is it not discreditable to us that even now it is only by unconstitutional means that we are able to secure peace and order in one portion of Her Majesty's dominions? I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule a sister country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of 30,000 soldiers encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland, or as that which was common in Venice under Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment cannot move a step, he cannot lift a finger in any parochial, municipal, or educational work without being confronted, interfered with, controlled

by, an English official appointed by a foreign Government, and without the shadow or shade of representable authority. I say the time has come to reform altogether the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle, to sweep away altogether these alien boards of foreign officials, and to substitute for them a genuine Irish Administration for purely Irish business."

THE CRAVING FOR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. "A MONUMENT OF INFAMY AND SHAME."

Sydney Smith, who was a century abreast of his contemporaries in the politics of common-sense, has dwelt thus strongly on English misgovernment in Ireland*:—

"So great and so long has been the misgovernment of that country [Ireland], that we truly believe the Empire would be much stronger if everything was open sea between England and the Atlantic, and if *skates* and *cod-fish* swam over the fair land of Ulster. Such jobbing, such profligacy—so much direct tyranny and oppression—such an abuse of God's gifts—such a profanation of God's name for the purposes of bigotry and party spirit, cannot be exceeded in the history of civilised Europe, and will long remain a monument of infamy and shame to England. . . . With such a climate, such a soil, and such a people, the inferiority of Ireland to the rest of Europe is directly chargeable to the long wickedness of the English Government. Ireland, till a *more Liberal policy* is adopted towards her, will always be a cause of anxiety to this country, and in some moment of weakness will forcibly extort what she would now receive with gratitude and exultation." (*Works*, Longman's Edition, p. 345.)

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* *Apropos* of Sydney Smith's unvarying good-will towards Ireland, it may not, perhaps, be generally known that amongst his MSS. was a sketch of English misrule in Ireland from the earliest period to the date of his death in 1845. His daughter and biographer, Lady Holland, says "it was compiled from the best existing documents," but it made up "*so fearful a picture*," her father "hesitated to give it to the world when done." His widow, two years after Sydney's death, thinking it might then, perhaps, be published "without injury," submitted the MS. to Macaulay for his decision. The historian's reply is too long to insert here, but it must be pronounced thoroughly disingenuous. It was written in 1847, in the midst of the great Irish famine, which even the *Times* admits to have been as artificial as the other Irish famines which preceded it; yet Macaulay dissuades Mrs. Smith from publication, on the ground (1) that Irish grievances "had passed away" since the Emancipation Act of 1829, and (2) that the terrible truth might be used by "demagogues" in such a way as "to do positive harm." If Sydney Smith's sketch had been published in 1847, it must—remembering the effect of the Plymly letters, forty years before—in like manner have awakened the public conscience by the bare narration of the facts of Irish history. That an "irresistible law of our modern civilisation has decreed that the system which cannot bear discussion is doomed," was an observation of Lord Beaconsfield. Macaulay's treachery to the cause of truth has, in the interval, cost Ireland and England dear. But it was only in consonance with his Machiavellian policy generally in regard to Ireland. In his essay on Milton he avows, "that one part of the Empire [Ireland] was so unhappily circumstanced that, at that time, *its misery was necessary to our happiness, and its slavery to our freedom*," as though God's justice were a luxury of which the Irish were, in the interest of England, to be forever denied the enjoyment.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, writing in the *Daily News*, on the 23rd of November, 1867—the day of the execution of the three Manchester Fenians, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien—used this remarkable language:—

"The real root of the disaffection which exhibits itself at present in the guise of Fenianism, and which has been suddenly kindled into flame by the arming of the Irish at the American Civil War, but which existed before in a nameless and smouldering state, is, as I believe, the want of national institutions, of a national capital, of any objects of national reverence and attachment, and consequently of anything deserving to be called national life. The English Crown and Parliament the Irish have never learnt, nor have they had any chance of learning, to love or to regard as national, notwithstanding the share which was given to them, too late, in the representation. . . . . 'In Ireland we can make no appeal to patriotism, we can have no patriotic sentiment in our schoolbooks, no patriotic emblems in our schools, because in Ireland everything patriotic is rebellious.' These were words uttered in my hearing, not by a complaining demagogue, but by a desponding statesman. They seemed to me pregnant with fatal truth. If the craving for national institutions, and the disaffection bred on this void of the Irish people's heart seem to us irrational, and even insane, in the absence of any more substantial grievance, we ought to ask ourselves what would become of our own patriotism if we had no national institutions, no objects of national loyalty and reverence, even though we might be pretty well governed, at least in intention, by a neighbouring people whom we regarded as aliens, and who, in fact, regarded us pretty much in the same light? Let us first judge ourselves fairly, and then judge the Irish, remembering always that they are more imaginative and sentimental, and need some centre of national feeling and affection, more than ourselves. The Irish Union has missed its port, and, in order to reach it, will have to tack again. We may hold down a dependency, of course, by force, in Russian and Austrian fashion, but force will never make the hearts of two nations one—especially when they are divided by the sea. Once get rid of the deadly international hatred and there will be hope of real union in the future."

He then adds:—

"If these remarks are true, they would seem to point to some decided measure of provisional decentralisation which shall make Dublin really the capital of Ireland; and render it possible for an Irishman to be a patriot without being a rebel. To do this without dissolving the Union, or shutting out the hope of a perfect incorporation in the end, would, no doubt, be a hard task for our statesmanship. To do it all would be a hard trial for our pride. But how else are we to make patriotism possible in Ireland, which is the one essential thing to be done?"

"PATRIOTISM" AND "FOREIGN ATTACHMENTS."

As it is one of the commonest grounds of accusation against the Irish Nationalists at the present day, that they look for sympathy and material support to their countrymen beyond the seas, the following observations of Lord Macaulay, in extenuation of such foreign attachments, are not, perhaps, inappropriate. He observes:—

"The feeling of patriotism when society is in a healthful state, springs up by a natural and inevitable association in the minds of citizens who know that they owe all their comforts and pleasures to the bond which unites them in one community. But under a powerful and oppressive Government these associations cannot acquire that strength which they have in a better state of things. Men are compelled to seek from their party that protection which they ought to receive from their country. Nothing is so offensive to a man who knows anything of history or human nature as to hear those who exercise the powers of Government accuse any sect of foreign attachments. If there be any proposition universally true in politics it is this, that foreign attachments are the fruit of domestic misrule. It has always been the trick of bigots to make their subjects miserable at home, and then to complain that they look for relief abroad; to divide society, and then to wonder that it is not united; to govern as if a section of the State were the whole, and to censure the other sections of the State for their want of patriotic spirit. . . . . There is no feeling which more certainly develops itself in the minds of men living under tolerably good government than the feeling of patriotism. Since the beginning of the world there never was any nation, not cruelly oppressed, which was wholly destitute of that feeling. To make it, therefore, ground of accusation against a class of men that they are not patriotic is the most vulgar legerdemain of sophistry. It is the logic which the wolf employs against the lamb. It is to accuse the mouth of the stream of poisoning the source." (*Works*, Vol. V., pp. 462-3.)

MR. LECKY ON HOME RULE AND IRISH NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

In the Introduction to his *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Mr. Lecky thus dwells impressively on the question of Nationality in Ireland:—

"In no other history can we trace more clearly the chain of causes and effects, the influence of past legislation, not only upon the material condition, but also upon the character of a nation. In no other history especially can we investigate more fully the evil consequences which must ensue from disregarding that sentiment of nationality which, whether it be wise or foolish, whether it be desirable or the reverse, is at

least one of the strongest and most enduring of human passions. This, as I conceive, lies at the root of Irish discontent. It is a question of nationality as truly as in Hungary or in Poland. Special grievances or anomalies may aggravate, but do not cause it, and they become formidable only in as far as they are connected with it. What discontent was felt against the Protestant Established Church was felt chiefly because it was regarded as an English garrison sustaining an anti-national system; and the agrarian difficulty never assumed its full intensity till by the repeal agitation the landlords had been politically alienated from the people. It appears to me to be perfectly evident, from the existing state of public opinion in Ireland, that no Government will ever command the real affection and loyalty of the people which is not in some degree national, administered in a great measure by Irishmen and through Irish institutions. If the present discontent is ever to be checked, if the ruling power is ever to carry with it the moral weight which is essential to its success, it can only be by calling into being a strong local political feeling, directed by men who have the responsibility of property, who are attached to the connection, and who, at the same time, possess the confidence of the Irish people. As in Hungary, as in Poland, as in Belgium, national institutions alone will obtain the confidence of the nation, and any system of policy which fails to recognise this craving of the national sentiment will fail also to strike a chord of true gratitude. It may palliate, but it cannot cure. It may deal with local symptoms, but it cannot remove the chronic disease. To call into active political life the upper class of Irishmen, and to enlarge the sphere of their political power—to give, in a word, to Ireland the greatest amount of self-government that is compatible with the unity and the security of the Empire—should be the aim of every statesman."

JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., ON REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Mr. Bright spoke as follows at Liverpool on June 3rd, 1868:—

"I have never said that Irishmen are not at liberty to ask for, and if they could accomplish it, to obtain the repeal of the Union. I say that we have no right whatever to insist upon a union between Ireland and Great Britain upon our terms only. There are those among us who disbelieve in any permanent reconciliation with Great Britain, who think that the only true and lasting remedy for Irish discontent is to be found either in the repeal of the Act of Union or in absolute independence. . . . I am one of those who admit—as every sensible man must admit—that an Act which the Parliament of the United Kingdom has passed the Parliament of the United Kingdom can repeal. And, further, I am willing to admit that everybody in England allows, with regard to every foreign country, that any nation, believing it to be its interest, has a right both to ask for and to strive for national independence."

TO HOLD IRELAND BY THE OLD MEANS IMPOSSIBLE.

In his Essay on *England and Ireland*, Mill says:—

"It is not consistent with self-respect, in a nation any more than in an individual, to wait till it is compelled by uncontrollable circumstances to resign that which it cannot in conscience hold. Before allowing its Government to involve it in another repetition of the attempt to maintain English dominion over Ireland by brute force, the English nation ought to commune with its conscience, and solemnly reconsider its position. If England is unable to learn what has to be learnt and unlearn what has to be unlearnt, in order to make her rule willingly accepted by the Irish people; or to look at the hypothesis on its other side, if the Irish are incapable of being taught the superiority of English notions about the way in which they ought to be governed and obstinately persist in preferring their own; if this supposition, whichever way we choose to turn it, is true, are we the power which according to the general fitness of things and the rules of morality, ought to govern Ireland? If so, what are we dreaming of when we give our sympathy to the Poles, the Italians, the Hungarians, the Servians, the Greeks, and I know not how many other oppressed nationalities? On what principle did we act when we renounced the government of the Ionian Islands?

"It is not to fear of consequences, but to a sense of right, that one would wish to appeal on this most momentous question. Yet it is not impertinent to say, that to hold Ireland permanently by the old bad means is simply impossible. Neither Europe nor America would now bear the sight of a Poland across the Irish Channel. Were we to attempt it, and a rebellion so provoked could hold its ground but for a few weeks, there would be an explosion of indignation until the many enemies of British prosperity had time to complicate the situation by a foreign war. Were we even able to prevent a rebellion, or suppress it the moment it broke out, the holding down by military violence of a people in desperation, constantly struggling to break their fetters, is a spectacle which Russia is still able to give to mankind, because Russia is almost inaccessible to a foreign enemy; but the attempt could not long succeed with a country so vulnerable as England, having territories to defend in every part of the globe, and half her population dependent on foreign commerce. Neither do I believe that the mass of the British people, those who are not yet corrupted by power, would permit the attempt. I shall not believe until I see it proved, that the English and Scotch people are capable of the folly and wickedness of carrying fire and sword over Ireland in order that their rulers may govern Ireland contrary to the will of the Irish people."

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